Sacris Erudiri

Journal of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity

Sacris Erudiri

Journal of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity

Founded by Dom Eligius Dekkers († 1998)

Editorial Board

R. Beyers G. Declercq M. Lamberigts B. Meijns
G. Partoens P. Van Deun P. Van Nuffelen W. Verbaal

Editor-in-Chief

J. Leemans

Publishing Manager

B. Janssens

Advisory Board

P. Allen P. Bourgain H. Brandenburg M. Bruun Birkedal
M. Cacouros M. Cassin G. Constable G. Di Maria
G. Dinkova-Bruun Fr. Dolbeau U. Kindermann C. H. Kneepkens
M. Lapidge E. A. Matter Ch. Mériaux B. Neil
D. Ó Cróinín G. Quicke E. Rose P. Stotz J. Van Engen

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief:

Prof. Dr. Johan Leemans

KU Leuven Faculteit Theologie en Religiewetenschappen
OE Geschiedenis van Kerk en Theologie
Ch. Deberiotstraat 26 – bus 3101
B-3000 Leuven (Belgium)
johan.leemans@kuleuven.be

Sacris Erudiri publishes articles in all major European languages.
Norms for publication are available at www.corpuschristianorum.org/series/se.html
This journal does not publish any reviews.

Subscriptions and back issues should be ordered directly from the publisher.

Sacris Erudiri

Journal of Late Antique and Medieval Christianity

LVIII
2019

BREPOLS

Published with the financial support of
"Encyclopédie bénédictine"

Sacris Erudiri is indexed or abstracted in (inter alia) the printed
(and where appropriate, electronic) bibliographies of *Index Religiosus, ATLA,*
L'Année philologique, Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques, Analecta Bollandiana,
the *International Medieval Bibliography* and *Medioevo Latino*

© 2019, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system or transmitted, in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise,
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2019/0095/288
ISBN 978-2-503-58310-5
DOI 10.1484/J.SE.5.119379
ISSN 0771-7776
E-ISSN 2295-9025

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

Table of Contents

Thomas R. Karmann, "Alles habt ihr mit Grabmälern angefüllt ..." Kaiser Julian und die Transformation spätantiker Funeralkultur 7

Marina Giani, *Inenarrabilia sunt Dominicae incarnationis mysteria*. The Sermon on the Nativity in Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 31 (56) 67

Giulio Malavasi, Sulla datazione dei *Tractatus in psalmos* 89 e 90 *series altera* di Gerolamo 95

Matthieu Pignot, Ritual Performance and Christian Belonging: Signing Foreheads with the Cross in the Writings of Augustine of Hippo 111

Matthias Smalbrugge, Augustine's Reception of Augustine. How to Compare Images and How to Write History? 145

H. A. G. Houghton, New Identifications Among the Sixth-Century Fragments of Augustine in Cambridge University Library 171

Javier Soage, El códice Paris, lat. 5600 y cinco exposiciones anónimas 181

Innocent Smith, o.p., 1 Timothy 2, 1 and the *Expositiones Missae* of Thomas Aquinas 203

Anne Bagnall Yardley & Jesse D. Mann, The Prayer Life of a Fifteenth-Century English Priest: Winchester College MS 48 221

Behind the Bishop's Back. The Middle and Lower Clergy in Late Antiquity
Papers collected by the *Presbyters in the Late Antique West* Project
Edited by Robert Wiśniewski

Robert Wiśniewski, Introduction 253

David G. Hunter, Ambrosiaster and Damasus: A Presbyter's Perspective on Clerical Misconduct 255

Juliette J. Day, Presbyters in Late Antique Women's Monasteries: Roles, Responsibilities and Conflicts 267

Jerzy Szafranowski, Behind the Abbot's Back. Clerics within the Monastic Hierarchy 285

Raúl Villegas Marín, *Legimus supra magistrum non esse discipulum*: Pope Celestine I, the "Augustinian Controversy", and the Clerical *cursus honorum* 305

Robert Wiśniewski, The Last Shall Be Last: the Order of Precedence among Clergy in Late Antiquity 321

Rebecca A. Devlin, Separating the Secular from the Spiritual: Wives, Sons and Clients of the Clergy in Late Antique *Hispania* 339

Thomas Deswarte, Isidore of Seville and the Hispanic Order of Grades 361

“Alles habt ihr mit Grabmälern angefüllt …”* Kaiser Julian und die Transformation spätantiker Funeralkultur

Thomas R. Karmann
(*Innsbruck*)

1. Einleitung: Tod, Bestattung und religiöse Identität in der Spätantike

Am 25. Oktober 2016 stellte Kardinal Gerhard Ludwig Müller der Öffentlichkeit eine neue Instruktion mit dem Titel *Ad resurgendum cum Christo* vor. Die Glaubenskongregation nimmt darin Stellung zu dem tiefgreifenden Wandel, den die Bestattungskultur derzeit überall auf der Welt, gerade auch in bislang zutiefst vom Christentum geprägten Ländern erlebt.[1] Die Feuerbestattung ist massiv auf dem Vormarsch. In Verbindung damit etabliert sich zudem eine ganze Reihe neuer Phänomene, die Asche eines Verstorbenen wird z.B. im Rahmen eines Feuerwerks in den Himmel geschossen oder zu einem Diamanten gepresst. Teilweise werden die Überreste aber auch zwischen verschiedenen Mitgliedern der Familie aufgeteilt. Wo es erlaubt ist, findet man Urnen immer wieder zu Hause auf dem Kaminsims oder aber die Asche wird auf hoher See verstreut. Der klassische Friedhof scheint in manchen Regionen fast ausgedient zu haben, vielerorts erfreut sich vor allem der Wald als letzte Ruhestätte immer stärkerer Beliebtheit. Weltweit ändern sich Gesellschaften und mit ihnen natürlich auch ihre Bestattungskulturen.[2]

* Iul., *Gal*. frg. 81 (Masaracchia 175). Der vorliegende Beitrag entstand im Kontext des Regensburger Forschungsprojekts *Metamorphosen des Todes in der Spätantike*. Für Anregungen danke ich herzlich meinen langjährigen Kolleginnen Prof. Dr Jutta Dresken-Weiland und Dr Martina Hartl, vor allem aber dem Leiter des Projekts, meinem Lehrer Prof. Dr Andreas Merkt. Ihm sei dieser Aufsatz mit den besten Wünschen zu seinem 50. Geburtstag gewidmet.

[1] Vgl. Kongregation für die Glaubenslehre, *Instruktion ‘Ad resurgendum cum Christo’ über die Beerdigung der Verstorbenen und die Aufbewahrung der Asche im Fall der Feuerbestattung*, VAS 206, Bonn 2016. Das Schreiben erläutert einerseits die katholische Präferenz für die Erdbestattung auf einem Friedhof, stellt andererseits aber auch Normen zur Aufbewahrung der Asche im Fall der Kremation auf. Das Aufstellen von Urnen in Wohnräumen wird grundsätzlich untersagt, ebenso das Ausstreuen der Asche in Luft, Wasser oder Erde.

[2] Vgl. hierzu z.B. Th. Benkel (Hg.), *Die Zukunft des Todes. Heterotopien des Lebensendes*, Bielefeld 2016. Die derzeitige Pluralisierung und Säkularisierung der Sepulkralkultur wird

Die derzeit feststellbare Metamorphose des Todes ist freilich kein neues Phänomen, immer wieder haben sich in der Grabkultur sowie beim Umgang mit Sterbenden und Toten gravierende Umbrüche ereignet. Ein zentraler Einschnitt stellt dabei die Spätantike dar. Die momentan in gewisser Weise zu Ende gehende, über Jahrhunderte in Grundzügen jedoch recht stabile Sepulkralkultur Europas scheint ihren Anfang in der ausgehenden Antike genommen zu haben. Die spätantiken Veränderungen im Bereich von Tod und Bestattung fielen zeitlich mit der Ausbreitung des Christentums über die Mittelmeerwelt und den Vorderen Orient zusammen, der Wandel in der Funeralkultur des *Imperium Romanum* ging mit dem Aufstieg dieser Religion zu einer staatstragenden und gesellschaftsprägenden Größe einher. Vor diesem Hintergrund stellt sich die Frage, inwiefern christliche Ideen, Praktiken und Institutionen bei diesem tiefgreifenden kulturellen und mentalen Transformationsprozess eine Rolle spielten. Diese Grundsatzfrage kann im Rahmen des vorliegenden Beitrags nicht in ihrer ganzen Bandbreite in den Blick genommen werden. Die Metamorphose des Todes in der Spätantike betrifft eine ganze Reihe von Bereichen. Dies fängt bei der Art der Bestattung an, betrifft den rituellen Umgang mit Toten und reicht bis zur Ausschmückung von Grabstätten mit Bildern und Inschriften.[3]

indirekt auch durch den Umstand sichtbar, dass sich die deutschen Bischöfe in den letzten Jahrzehnten fünfmal zu diesem Bereich äußerten, so häufig wie kaum zu einem anderen Feld der Pastoral. Vgl. Sekretariat der Deutschen Bischofskonferenz, *Unsere Sorge um die Toten und die Hinterbliebenen. Bestattungskultur und Begleitung von Trauernden aus christlicher Sicht*, Bonn 1994; *Christliche Bestattungskultur. Orientierungen und Informationen*, Bonn 2004; *Wenn der Tod am Anfang steht. Eltern trauern um ihr totes neugeborenes Kind – Hinweise zur Begleitung, Seelsorge und Beratung*, Bonn 2005; *Tote begraben und Trauernde trösten. Bestattungskultur im Wandel aus katholischer Sicht*, Bonn 2005; *'Der Herr vollende an Dir, was er in der Taufe begonnen hat'. Katholische Bestattungskultur angesichts neuer Herausforderungen*, Bonn 2011. Darüber hinaus ist in diesem Kontext auch noch *Die kirchliche Begräbnisfeier. Pastorale Einführung*, Bonn 2009 zu nennen.

[3] Ein hervorragender Überblick über die verschiedenen Bereiche der spätantiken Christianisierung des Todes findet sich bei A. Merkt, "'Über den Gräbern Gott anbeten'. Religiöse 'Revolutionen' und kulturelle Umbrüche in der Spätantike", in: Ders. (Hg.), *Metamorphosen des Todes. Totengedenken, Bestattungskulturen und Jenseitsvorstellungen im Wandel der Zeit: Vom alten Ägypten bis zum Friedwald der Gegenwart*, RKSt 2, Regensburg 2016, 125-143. Vgl. daneben u.a. W. Gessel, "Bestattung und Todesverständnis in der Alten Kirche. Ein Überblick", in: H. Becker u.a. (Hg.), *Im Angesicht des Todes. Ein interdisziplinäres Kompendium*, Bd. 1, St. Ottilien 1987, 535-586. A. Samellas, *Death in the Eastern Mediterranean (50-600 A.D.). The Christianization of the East: An Interpretation*, STAC 12, Tübingen 2002. U. Volp, *Tod und Ritual in den christlichen Gemeinden der Antike*, SVigChr, Leiden 2002. J. Rist, "Sterben und Tod in der Alten Kirche. Theologische Konzepte, Rituale und die römischen Katakomben", in: Ch. Breitsameter (Hg.), *Hoffnung auf Vollendung. Christliche Eschatologie im Kontext der Weltreligionen*, ThiK 19, Berlin 2012, 67-88. N. Hayward, "Early Christian Funerary Ritual", in: R. E. DeMaris u.a. (Hg.), *Early Christian Ritual Life*, London 2018, 112-129.

All dies scheint letztlich aber mit theologischen Vorstellungen zusammenzuhängen, in denen sich das antike Christentum vom Großteil seiner Umwelt diametral unterschied. In diesem Kontext wäre auf die frühchristliche Schöpfungslehre, Anthropologie und Eschatologie zu verweisen, vor allem aber auf die Christologie und damit zusammenhängend auf die Auferstehungshoffnung. Mit ihr ist gleichsam der Markenkern des Christentums angesprochen, was u.a. in 1Kor 15,13f deutlich wird: "Wenn es keine Auferstehung der Toten gibt, ist auch Christus nicht auferweckt worden. Ist aber Christus nicht auferweckt worden, dann ist unsere Verkündigung leer und euer Glaube sinnlos".[4] Für den Mittelplatoniker Kelsos, einem der schärfsten Kritiker des Christentums im 2. Jahrhundert, zeigt aber z.B. genau dieser Punkt die ganze Absurdität des neuen Glaubens, er spricht von der leiblichen Auferstehung als einer "Hoffnung für Würmer".[5] Genau diese Hoffnung scheint jedoch die Triebfeder dafür gewesen zu sein, dass sich im Zuge der allmählichen Christianisierung der antiken Welt auch die Einstellungen zum Tod, die Vorstellungen vom Jenseits und die Praktiken der Bestattung sowie des Totengedenkens wandelten.[6]

Wie stets in der Forschung gibt es freilich auch zu diesem Fragenkomplex recht unterschiedliche Positionen: Lange Zeit wurde vor allem der Wandel des Bestattungswesens herausgestellt. Der Münsteraner Archäologe Hugo Brandenburg sprach mit Blick auf die Funeralkultur program-

[4] Tertullian definiert zu Beginn seiner Schrift *De resurrectione carnis* das Christentum z.B. folgendermaßen: "Die Zuversicht der Christen ist die Auferstehung der Toten. Dadurch sind wir erst Gläubige". Für den Theologen aus Karthago besteht hier eine scharfe Trennlinie zur paganen Umwelt: "Die breite Masse verlacht uns aber, weil sie meint, dass nach dem Tod nichts übrigbleibt". Tert., *resurr.* 1, 1 (CSEL 47, 25). Zur Auferstehung im frühen Christentum vgl. allgemein z.B. H. E. Lona, *Über die Auferstehung des Fleisches. Studien zur frühchristlichen Eschatologie*, BZNW 66, Berlin 1993. O. Lehtipuu, *Debates over the Resurrection of the Dead. Constructing Early Christian Identity*, Oxford 2015.

[5] Orig., *Cels.* V, 14 (GCS 3, 15). Kelsos bezeichnet die Christen aufgrund ihres Glaubens an die Auferstehung des Leibes sogar als ein "Körper liebendes Geschlecht" (φιλοσώματον γένος). Ebd. VII, 36 (186). Vielleicht liegt hier der tiefere theologische Grund dafür, dass für das spätantike Christentum in der Forschung teilweise sogar ein *material turn* diagnostiziert werden kann. Vgl. zu diesem Begriff z.B. P. Cox Miller, *The Corporeal Imagination. Signifying the Holy in Late Ancient Christianity*, Philadelphia 2009.

[6] Exemplarisch soll hier auf drei Arbeiten verwiesen werden, die im Rahmen des in Anm. 1 erwähnten Regensburger Forschungsprojekts entstanden sind. Vgl. J. Dresken-Weiland, *Bild, Grab und Wort. Untersuchungen zu Jenseitsvorstellungen von Christen des 3. und 4. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg 2010. J. Dresken-Weiland, A. Angerstorfer, A. Merkt, *Himmel, Paradies, Schalom. Tod und Jenseits in christlichen und jüdischen Grabinschriften der Antike*, Regensburg 2012. M. Hartl, *Leichen, Asche und Gebeine. Der frühchristliche Umgang mit dem toten Körper und die Anfänge des Reliquienkults*, Regensburg 2018.

matisch von einem "Zeichen des Kulturumbruchs der Spätantike".[7] In den letzten Jahren ist hier jedoch in erster Linie durch die Arbeiten von Éric Rebillard ein gewisser Perspektivenwechsel eingetreten. Der französische Althistoriker, der jetzt in den USA lehrt, macht nämlich vor allem auf die Kontinuitäten zur vor- und außerchristlichen Umwelt aufmerksam.[8] Letztlich stehen sich diese beiden Positionen m.E. aber nicht unversöhnlich gegenüber, sondern sollten eher komplementär betrachtet werden. Im vorliegenden Beitrag werden allerdings in erster Linie die Veränderungen in den Blick genommen, und zwar solche, die man mit dem großen französischen Mediävisten Jacques Le Goff als "Phänomene bedeutsamen Wandels"[9] bezeichnen kann. Solche Transformationen vollziehen sich häufig zwar mit der Geschwindigkeit eines Gletschers, sind also dem bloßen Auge des Beobachters meist verborgen, werden aber gleichsam im Zeitraffer des Historikers dann doch erkennbar.[10]

Allerdings gibt es im Lauf der Geschichte auch immer wieder Momente, in denen sich langfristige Entwicklungen wie in einer Art Brennglas bündeln. Ein solcher ist die kurze Herrschaft Kaiser Julians, der in den Jahren 361 bis 363 regierte, sich wieder zu den alten Göttern Roms bekannte und das Rad der Geschichte noch einmal zurückdrehen wollte. Im Folgenden soll also eine Art Gegenprobe durchgeführt werden. Wenn Julian den mit Konstantin begonnen Prozess der Verchristlichung des *Imperium Romanum*, der unter dessen Söhnen noch spürbar an Fahrt gewann, wieder rückgängig zu machen suchte, stellt sich nämlich die Frage, ob dieser heidnische Restaurationsprozess dann auch wahrnehmbare Auswirkungen auf die Sepulkralkultur hatte. Oder ganz knapp formuliert: Ist unter Julian eine Repaganisierung des Todes feststellbar? Dass in der Antike eine besondere Nähe zwischen dem Christentum und den Bereichen Tod und Bestattung gesehen wurde, kann hier nur angedeutet werden. Als Beispiel könnte man auf eine kurze Passage aus der *Apologie* des Aristeides, also auf

[7] H. Brandenburg, "'Coemeterium'. Der Wandel des Bestattungswesens als Zeichen des Kulturumbruchs der Spätantike", in: Laverna 5, 1994, 206-233. Vgl. daneben auch die in Anm. 4 angeführte Literatur. In der älteren Forschung scheint das Veränderungspotenzial des antiken Christentums im Bereich Tod und Bestattung m.E. allerdings zu stark betont bzw. zu früh angesetzt worden zu sein. Vgl. z.B. A. C. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity*, SCA 1, Washington, DC 1941.

[8] Vgl. u.a. É. Rebillard, *Religion et sépulture. L'Église, les vivants et les morts dans l'Antiquité tardive*, CeS 115, Paris 2003 bzw. *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, CSCP 59, Ithaka 2009. Ders., *Transformations of Religious Practices in Late Antiquity*, CStS 1028, Farnham 2013, 227-340. Eine knappe Zusammenfassung der Position Rebillards findet sich auch in Ders., "The Church, the Living, and the Dead", in: Ph. Rousseau u.a. (Hg.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, Malden [2]2010, 220-230.

[9] J. LeGoff, *Geschichte und Gedächtnis*, HS 6, Frankfurt a.M. 1992, 166.

[10] Vgl. insgesamt hierzu Merkt, Gräbern (Anm. 4), 126-128.

einen Text aus dem frühen 2. Jahrhundert verweisen.[11] Daneben findet sich darauf aber auch ein Hinweis im Œuvre Julians selbst, und zwar in einem Brief an Arsakios, den Oberpriester von Galatien. Der Kaiser erwähnt dort drei Bereiche, die seiner Meinung nach für den Erfolg des Christentums verantwortlich sind. In diesem Kontext nennt er auch ausdrücklich die christliche "Vorsorge für die Bestattung der Toten" (ἡ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν νεκρῶν προμήθεια).[12] Die Sepulkralkultur scheint in der Spätantike trotz aller kulturellen Kontinuitäten also ein Bereich gewesen zu sein, an dem christliche Identität zumindest partiell sichtbar wurde.[13] Bevor aber dem

[11] Vgl. Arist., *apol.* 15, 7 u. 9 (SC 470, 240-242): "Wenn aber einer von ihren Armen aus der Welt scheidet und ihn irgendeiner von ihnen [= Christen] sieht, so sorgt er nach Vermögen für sein Begräbnis. [...] Und wenn ein Gerechter von ihnen aus der Welt scheidet, freuen sie sich, danken Gott und geben seinem Leichnam das Geleit, als ginge er nur von einem Ort zum anderen". Dieser Abschnitt der Verteidigungsschrift des Aristeides ist nur auf Syrisch überliefert.

[12] Iul., *ep.* 84 (Bidez 144). "Die hellenische Sache [= Heidentum] gedeiht nicht so, wie man es erwarten dürfte, durch unsere, ihrer Anhänger Verschulden. Denn das Walten der Götter ist glänzend und groß, und gewaltiger als alles Wünschen, alles Hoffen. Möge Adrasteia [= die Unausweichliche] unseren Worten gnädig sein! Bis vor kurzer Zeit wagte ja niemand, diese so rasch eingetretene, so bedeutende, so grundlegende Wendung auch nur sich auszumalen. Doch nun? Glauben wir denn, dass es damit genug sei, und beachten wir nicht, dass die Menschenfreundlichkeit gegen die Fremden, die Vorsorge für die Bestattung der Toten und die vorgebliche Reinheit des Lebenswandels es waren, die gemeinsam die Gottlosigkeit [= Christentum] am meisten gefördert haben? Jede dieser Tugenden, meine ich, muss von uns [= Heiden] mit aufrichtigem Eifer geübt werden. Auch reicht es nicht aus, dass du [= Arsakios] allein dich so verhältst, sondern alle, die in Galatien Priester sind, müssen ohne Ausnahme ebenso handeln! [...] Denn es ist eine Schmach, wenn von den Juden nicht ein einziger um Unterstützung nachsuchen muss, während die gottlosen Galiläer [= Christen] neben den ihren auch noch unsere Leute [= Heiden] ernähren, die unsrigen aber die Hilfe von unserer Seite ganz offenbar entbehren müssen". Ebd. (144f). Die Authentizität dieses nur bei Sozomenos überlieferten Schreibens wird in der Forschung z.T. bezweifelt. Vgl. P. van Nuffelen, "Deux fausses lettres de Julien l'Apostat (la lettre aux Juifs, ep. 51 [Wright], et la lettre à Arsacius, ep. 84 [Bidez])", in: VigChr 55, 2001, 131-150. J. Bouffartigue, "L'authenticité de la lettre 84 de l'empereur Julien", in: RPh 79, 2005, 231-242.

[13] Vgl. hierzu z.B. A. Merkt, "'A Place for my Body'. Aspects of Individualization in Early Christian Funerary Culture and Eschatological Thought", in: K. Waldner u.a. (Hg.), *Burial Rituals, Ideas of Afterlife, and the Individual in the Hellenistic World and the Roman Empire*, PAwB 57, Stuttgart 2016, 201-218. Der Begriff Identität spielt derzeit im altertumswissenschaftlichen Diskurs insgesamt, aber v.a. in der Forschung zum antiken Christentum eine bedeutende Rolle. Guy Stroumsa hat zu Recht herausgestellt, dass Religion ab dem 2. und 3. Jahrhundert für die Identitätsbestimmung stark an Bedeutung gewann. Gleichzeitig muss allerdings im Blick behalten werden, dass die Identität spätantiker Menschen meist sehr vielschichtig war und selten allein über die Zugehörigkeit zu einer einzigen religiösen Gruppe definiert werden kann. Vgl. u.a. J. M. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World*, Oxford 2004. G. G. Stroumsa, *The End of Sacrifice. Religious Transformations in Late Antiquity*, Chicago 2009, 84-109. É. Rebillard, *Christians and Their Many Identities in Late Antiquity. North Africa, 200-450 CE*, Ithaca 2012.

eigentlichen Untersuchungsgegenstand dieses Beitrags nachgegangen wird, was freilich jeweils nur eine Art Probebohrung bzw. Stichprobe sein kann, soll zunächst Kaiser Julian wenigstens kurz vorgestellt werden.

2. Hintergrund: Kaiser Julian und sein paganer Restaurationsversuch

Für spätantike Verhältnisse ist die Überlieferung zu Julian geradezu hervorragend. Über kaum eine Person des Altertums wissen wir so viel wie über diesen Kaiser, die Quellensituation ist ähnlich gut wie etwa bei Cicero oder Augustinus.[14] Dies hängt zum einen damit zusammen, dass von Julian selbst zahlreiche Zeugnisse erhalten sind, und zwar ganz unterschiedlicher Genera: Reden, Briefe, Gesetze, zwei Satiren, aber auch theologische Traktate und eine zumindest fragmentarisch überlieferte Kampfschrift gegen das Christentum.[15] Zum anderen besitzen wir daneben eine riesige Palette von Quellen über ihn: Von christlicher Seite sind dies meist hasserfüllte Angriffe, z.B. durch Ephraem den Syrer oder Gregor von Nazianz. Darüber hinaus gibt es aber auch eine ganze Reihe panegyrischer Zeugnisse zu diesem Kaiser, etwa von seinem einstigen Lehrer, dem berühmten Rhetoren Libanios. Die spätantike Geschichtsschreibung beschäftigte sich ebenfalls ausführlich mit Julian, als Beispiel kann man hier Ammianus Marcellinus nennen, der den Herrscher sogar persönlich erlebt hatte.[16] Komplettiert wird dieser Befund durch archäologische Zeugnisse, u.a. Statuen, Münzen

[14] Eine hilfreiche Übersicht zu den wichtigsten Quellen findet sich bei K. Bringmann, *Kaiser Julian. Der letzte heidnische Herrscher*, Darmstadt 2004, 237-240.

[15] Eine kritische Neuedition der literarischen Schriften Julians während seiner Alleinherrschaft bietet H.-G. Nesselrath (Hg.), *Iuliani Augusti Opera*, Berlin 2015. Wichtig bleiben daneben aber auch zwei ältere zweisprachige Gesamtausgaben. Vgl. W. C. Wright (Hg.), *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, 3 Bde., London 1913-1923. J. Bidez u.a. (Hg.), *L'empereur Julien, Œuvres complètes*, 4 Bde., Paris 1924-1966. Darüber hinaus gibt es natürlich zahlreiche Ausgaben und Übersetzungen einzelner Schriften Julians. In deutscher Sprache vgl. z.B. J. R. Asmus (Hg.), *Kaiser Julians philosophische Werke*, PhB 116, Leipzig 1908. B. K. Weis (Hg.), *Julian, Briefe*, München 1973. F. L. Müller (Hg.), *Die beiden Satiren des Kaisers Julianus Apostata*, Palingenesia 66, Stuttgart 1998.

[16] Eine Zusammenstellung verschiedener Texte von Claudius Mamertinus, Johannes Chrysostomos und Ephraem findet sich bei S. N. C. Lieu (Hg.), *The Emperor Julian. Panegyric and Polemic*, TTH 2, Liverpool ²1989. Daneben vgl. u.a. W. Seyfarth, *Ammianus Marcellinus, Römische Geschichte*, 4 Bde., SQAW 21/1-4, Berlin 1968-1971. A. F. Norman (Hg.), *Libanius, The Julianic Orations*, LCL 451, London 1969. J. Bernardi (Hg.), *Grégoire de Nazianze, Discours 4-5 contre Julien*, SC 309, Paris 1983. Darüber hinaus sind zu Julian natürlich auch die Kirchenhistoriker des 5. Jahrhunderts heranzuziehen. Vgl. u.a. G. Ch. Hansen (Hg.), *Sozomenos, Kirchengeschichte*, 4 Bde., FC 73/1-4, Turnhout 2004. Insgesamt vgl. hierzu z.B. P. Célérier, *L'ombre de l'empereur Julien. Le destin des écrits de Julien chez les auteurs païens et chrétiens du IVe au VIe siècle*, Paris 2013.

und Inschriften.[17] Das Bild Julians schwankt in den Quellen zwischen tiefer Verehrung und ebenso großem Abscheu. Eine objektive Beurteilung fällt vor diesem Hintergrund schwer. Dadurch wird ein Stück weit erklärbar, warum sich die moderne Forschung so intensiv mit Julian beschäftigt. Es vergeht kaum ein Jahr, in dem nicht mindestens eine große Monographie zu diesem Kaiser erscheint. Die folgenden Hinweise können deshalb nur eine ganz grobe Skizze sein. Fast zu jedem einzelnen Punkt ließe sich eine breite Forschungsdiskussion anführen.[18]

Flavius Claudius Iulianus wurde wohl Ende 331 in der neuen östlichen Hauptstadt Konstantinopel geboren. Er war der Sohn eines Halbbruders Konstantins des Großen und damit einer der Enkel von Konstantius Chlorus. Bereits nach wenigen Monaten starb seine Mutter Basilina. Im Jahr 337 sollte Julian dann auch seinen Vater Iulius Constantius verlieren, und zwar in Zusammenhang mit den dynastischen Morden nach dem Tode Konstantins. Dessen Söhne und Erben ließen den Großteil der männlichen Verwandtschaft umbringen, um so mögliche Konkurrenten um die Herrschaft auszuschalten. Nur Julian und sein etwas älterer Halbbruder Gallus überlebten.[19] Die beiden Waisen wurden zunächst von Eusebios, dem Bischof von Nikomedien, erzogen, später wuchsen sie dann abgeschirmt von der Umwelt in Kappadokien auf dem Landgut Macellum auf. Erst 351 durfte Julian von dort weg, und zwar als sein Bruder von ihrem Cousin Konstantius II. zum Caesar erhoben wurde. Der junge Prinz konnte sich nun frei bewegen, er entschied sich für ein philosophisches Studium, u.a. bei dem Neuplatoniker Aidesios, vor allem jedoch bei Maximos von Ephesos. Im Jahr 355 konnte Julian dann sogar in Athen studieren, wo er übrigens Gregor von Nazianz und Basileios von Kaisareia zu Kommilitonen hatte.[20]

[17] Vgl. u.a. St. Conti (Hg.), *Die Inschriften Kaiser Julians*, AwK 10, Stuttgart 2004. Th. Fleck (Hg.), *Die Portraits Julianus Apostatas*, Antiquitates 44, Hamburg 2008.

[18] Neben der in Anm. 15 genannten Monographie vgl. u.a. folgende wichtige Gesamtdarstellungen: J. Bidez, *La vie de l'empereur Julien*, Paris ²1965. P. Athanassiadi, *Julian. An Intellectual Biography*, Oxford ²1992. G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, Cambridge/MA ⁵1997. A. Lippold, "Iulianus (Kaiser)", in: RAC 19, 2001, 442-483. K. Rosen, *Julian. Kaiser, Gott und Christenhasser*, Stuttgart 2006. A. Marcone, *Giuliano. Imperatore filosofo e sacerdote che tentò la restaurazione del paganesimo*, Rom 2019. St. Rebenich, H.-U. Wiemer (Hg.), *A Companion to Julian the Apostate*, Leiden 2020 (im Druck).

[19] Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. R. Klein, "Die Kämpfe um die Nachfolge nach dem Tode Constantins des Großen", in: ByF 6, 1979, 101-150. R. W. Burgess, "The Summer of Blood. The 'Great Massacre' of 337 and the Promotion of the Sons of Constantine", in: DOP 62, 2008, 5-51.

[20] Zur Rolle der Philosophie in Julians Entwicklung vgl. neben der in Anm. 26 genannten Literatur z.B. I. Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Konversion zur Philosophie in der Spätantike. Kaiser Julian und Synesios von Kyrene*, PAwB 23, Stuttgart 2008, 57-154. L. B. Dingeldein, "Julian's Philosophy and His Religious Program", in: N. DesRosiers, L. C. Vuong (Hg.), *Religious*

Im selben Jahr sollte sich Julians Leben allerdings noch einmal grundlegend ändern. Konstantius erhob ihn am 6. November in Mailand zum Caesar. Ein Jahr zuvor hatte dieser Gallus wegen Eigenmächtigkeiten in der Amtsführung hinrichten lassen. Da der Kaiser selbst kinderlos war, das Reich mit seinen zahlreichen Brennpunkten für einen einzigen Herrscher aber letztlich zu groß, fiel die Wahl nun auf Julian, seinen einzigen noch lebenden männlichen Verwandten. Konstantius wies dem neuen Caesar Gallien als Aufgabenfeld zu. Obwohl Julian auf diese Position nicht vorbereitet war, füllte er sie erfolgreich aus. Es gelang ihm die Rheingrenze gegen Franken und Alemannen zu sichern, die teilweise stark in Mitleidenschaft gezogenen Städte in Gallien und Germanien wurden wieder aufgebaut, die römische Verwaltung reorganisiert.[21] Die Erfolge Julians im Westen versetzten seinen Vetter jedoch in Alarmbereitschaft. Anfang 360 forderte Konstantius von Julian Truppen für den Perserkrieg an. Die Soldaten widersetzten sich jedoch einer Verlegung in den Osten und riefen Julian stattdessen in Paris zum Augustus aus. Da die anschließenden Verhandlungen zwischen beiden scheiterten, deutete alles auf einen Bürgerkrieg hin. Doch Julian hatte Glück. Auf seinem Zug gegen Konstantius erreichte ihn die Nachricht vom überraschenden Tod seines Vetters am 3. November 361. Dieser soll Julian auf dem Sterbebett sogar noch zu seinem Nachfolger bestimmt haben.[22]

Julian war in Gallien als Usurpator aufgebrochen, Ende 361 zog er als allgemein anerkannter Augustus in Konstantinopel ein. Er war der letzte Spross der konstantinischen Dynastie, doch er unterschied sich in einem Punkt diametral von seinen Vorgängern: Julian verehrte die alten Götter und brachte ihnen öffentlich blutige Opfer dar. Hierzu wäre natürlich eine ganze Reihe von Fragen zu klären: Wann wandte sich Julian vom Christentum ab? Was waren die Gründe hierfür? Welchen Glauben vertrat der Kai-

Competition in the Greco-Roman World, Atlanta 2016, 119-132. Einen äußerst instruktiven Vergleich zwischen dem Denken Julians und dem Gregors von Nazianz bietet S. Elm, *Sons of Hellenism, Fathers of the Church. Emperor Julian, Gregory of Nazianzus, and the Vision of Rome*, TCH 49, Berkeley 2012.

[21] Zur Mitregentschaft Julians vgl. u.a. M. Casella, "Julien: les années parisiennes", in: AnTar 17, 2009, 91-107. In Gallien stand dem jungen Caesar der erfahrene Beamte Salutios zu Seite, 361 wurde dieser dann von Julian zum Prätorianerpräfekten des Ostens ernannt. Evtl. ist Salutios mit dem Neuplatoniker Salustios identisch, der die Abhandlung *De diis et mundo*, eine Art paganer Katechismus, verfasste. Vgl. hierzu z.B. E. C. Clarke, "Communication, Human and Divine: Saloustious Reconsidered", in: Phronesis 43, 1998, 326-350.

[22] Vgl. hierzu u.a. K. Rosen, "Beobachtungen zur Erhebung Julians 360-361 n.Chr.", in: R, Klein (Hg.), *Julian Apostata*, WdF 509, Darmstadt 1978, 409-447. J. Szidat, "Die Usurpation Iulians. Ein Sonderfall?", in: J. Szidat, F. Paschoud (Hg.), *Usurpationen in der Spätantike*, Stuttgart 1997, 63-70.

ser? Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags können diese freilich nur gestreift werden: Julian datiert seine Abkehr vom Christentum – er selbst war wohl getauft und wirkte als Heranwachsender vielleicht sogar als Lektor – auf sein 20. Lebensjahr. Die Hinwendung zu den alten Göttern war aber wahrscheinlich ein langsamer Prozess, der erst durch den endgültigen Bruch mit Konstantius II. zu einem Ende kam.[23] Auch die Gründe sind vielschichtig: Zu einem ist hier auf die Begeisterung Julians für die klassische griechische Literatur zu verweisen, daneben aber auch auf seine Prägung durch den Platonismus, der in der Spätantike zunehmend eine stark religiöse Prägung aufwies. Darüber hinaus kann man vermuten, dass ihn die christliche Botschaft, die er sehr genau kannte, intellektuell, aber auch personell nicht mehr überzeugen konnte.[24] Was kann man darüber hinaus ganz knapp zu den persönlichen religiösen Vorstellungen des Kaisers sagen? Diese stellen den Versuch dar, die traditionellen Kulte mit philosophischen Ideen zu verbinden. Eine zentrale Stellung nimmt in Julians Denken dabei der Sonnengott Helios ein, hier scheinen vielleicht auch familiäre Traditionen nachzuwirken.[25]

Julians Regierungszeit dauerte insgesamt nur knapp 20 Monate, bereits am 26. Juni 363 starb er bei Maranga in Mesopotamien, im Krieg gegen das Sassanidenreich tödlich verletzt. Diese kurze Phase als Alleinherrscher war allerdings prall angefüllt mit Aktivitäten. Der Kaiser engagierte sich

[23] Vgl. z.B. K. Rosen, "Kaiser Julian auf dem Weg vom Christentum zum Heidentum", in: JAC 40, 1997, 126-146. In einem Brief an die Alexandriner datiert Julian seine Bekehrung zu den alten Göttern auf die Zeit um 351: "Ihr werdet den rechten Weg [= Heidentum] nicht verfehlen, wenn ihr einem [= Julian] folgt, der bis zu seinem 20. Lebensjahr ebenfalls jenen Weg [= Christentum] gegangen ist und, siehe, mit Hilfe der Götter nun diesen schon das zwölfte Jahr geht". Iul., *ep*. 111 (Bidez 191). Allerdings erwähnt Ammian, dass Julian noch zu Epiphanie 361 in Vienne an einem christlichen Gottesdienst teilnahm. Vgl. Amm. XXI, 2, 4f (SQAW 21/2, 132).

[24] Entscheidend für Julians Konversion waren sicherlich seine philosophischen Lehrer, allen voran Maximos von Ephesos. Vgl. z.B. Lib., *or*. XVIII, 18 (LCL 451, 290). Zu den Differenzen zwischen dem julianischen und dem christlichen Gottes-, Welt- und Menschenbild vgl. u.a. F. R. Prostmeier, "'Die Wolke der Gottlosigkeit'. Gültigkeit und politische Relevanz des traditionellen Wirklichkeitsverständnisses in der Politik gegen das Christentum bei Kaiser Julian", in: JAC 44, 2001, 33-57. Ch. Schäfer, "Julian 'Apostata' und die philosophische Reaktion gegen das Christentum", in: Ders. (Hg.), *Kaiser Julian 'Apostata' und die philosophische Reaktion gegen das Christentum*, MillSt 21, Berlin 2008, 41-64.

[25] Vgl. u.a. R. Smith, *Julian's Gods. Religion and Philosophy in the Thought and Action of Julian the Apostate*, London 1995. J. Bregman, "Elements of the Emperor Julian's Theology", in: J. J. Cleary (Hg.), *Traditions of Platonism*, FS J. Dillon, Aldershot 1999, 337-350. S. Stöcklin-Kaldewey, *Kaiser Julians Gottesverehrung im Kontext der Spätantike*, STAC 86, Tübingen 2014. Eine zentrale Rolle bei der Rekonstruktion Julians religiöser Vorstellungen nehmen seine beiden theologischen Reden, auf die Göttermutter und auf König Helios, ein. Vgl. Iul., *or*. VIII (Rochefort 103-131); *or*. XI (Lacombrade 100-138).

intensiv auf den Feldern der Rechtsprechung und Reichsverwaltung mit Schwerpunkten in der Städteförderung, im Steuerwesen und in der Grenzsicherung.[26] Ein ganz besonderes Augenmerk lag von Anfang an jedoch auf der Religionspolitik.[27] Noch 361 erließ Julian ein Restitutionsedikt, durch das die Tempel wieder geöffnet und der Verehrung der alten Götter im vollen Umfang wiederhergestellt, also die Opfer wiederaufgenommen und die Einkünfte der Kulte erneut gesichert werden sollten.[28] Einen Widerhall diese Maßnahmen finden sich z.B. auch in einer Inschrift aus der Nähe von Paneas, in der Julian u.a. als *templorum restaurator*[29] gefeiert wird. Dadurch wurde die privilegierte Stellung, die das Christentum mittlerweile einnahm, bereits grundsätzlich in Frage gestellt. Julian ließ im Gegenzug aber auch alle bisherigen Förderungen für die Kirche einstellen. Allerdings setzte der Kaiser zunächst vor allem auf religiöse Toleranz. Das Heidentum sollte zwar gefördert, die Christen jedoch nicht direkt unterdrückt werden.[30] Wahrscheinlich ist in diesem Kontext auch Julians Amnestieerlass

[26] Vgl. hierzu z.B. R. Andreotti, "Kaiser Julians Gesetzgebungswerk und Verwaltung", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 130-190. E. Pack, *Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians. Untersuchungen zu den Quellen eines Kaiserbildes*, CollLat 194, Brüssel 1986. J. Harries, "Julian the Lawgiver", in: N. Baker-Brian, Sh. Tougher (Hg.), *Emperor and Author. The Writings of Julian the Apostate*, Swansea 2012, 121-136. R. Brendel, *Kaiser Julians Gesetzgebungswerk und Reichsverwaltung*, SGFA 32, Hamburg 2017.

[27] "Die Wiederherstellung des Götterkultes" ist als "das integrierende Zentrum von Julians Politik" anzusehen. H.-U. Wiemer, *Libanios und Julian. Studien zum Verhältnis von Rhetorik und Politik im vierten Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, Vestigia 46, München 1995, 365. Eine aktuelle, konzise Darstellung der verschiedenen Maßnahmen des Kaisers findet sich bei Th. Nesselrath, *Kaiser Julian und die Repaganisierung des Reiches. Konzept und Vorbilder*, JAC.E.KR 9, Münster 2013. Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte vgl. u.a. H. C. Teitler, *The Last Pagan Emperor. Julian the Apostate and the War against Christianity*, Oxford 2017.

[28] Vgl. z.B. B. K. Weis, *Das Restitutionsedict Kaiser Julians*, Heidelberg 1933. J. J. Arce, "Reconstrucciones de templos paganos en época del emperador Juliano (361-363 d.C.)", in: RSA 5, 1975, 201-215. Die Wiederaufnahme des blutigen Opferkults stieß aber z.T. selbst bei Heiden auf Ablehnung. Vgl. hierzu u.a. S. Bradbury, "Julian's Pagan Revival and the Decline of Blood Sacrifice", in: Phoe. 49, 1995, 331-356.

[29] CIII 18 (AwK 10, 71). In dieser Inschrift aus Ma'ayan Barukh finden sich übrigens zentrale Punkte des julianischen Regierungsprogrammes wieder: "Für den Befreier der römischen Welt, den Wiederhersteller der Tempel, den Erneuerer der Stadträte und des [ganzen] Staatswesens, den Vernichter der Barbaren, unseren Herrn Julian, den immerwährenden Kaiser, den größten Sieger über Alemannen, Franken und Sarmaten, den obersten Priester, den Vater des Vaterlandes hat das Volk der Phönizier anlässlich seines Oberkommandos [dies Gelübde abgelegt]". Zum Hintergrund dieser Inschrift vgl. u.a. K. Dietz, "Kaiser Julian in Phönizien", in: Chiron 30, 2000, 807-855.

[30] Julians religionspolitische Grundsätze werden u.a. in einem Schreiben an Atarbios, den Statthalter der Provinz *Syria Euphratensis*, sichtbar: "Ich will bei den Göttern, dass die Galiläer [= Christen] weder getötet, noch zu Unrecht geschlagen werden, noch sonst irgendein Unheil erleiden; jedoch erkläre ich, dass die Verehrer der Götter durchaus den Vorrang vor ihnen haben müssen. Denn wegen der Torheit der Galiläer wäre beinahe alles umgestürzt

zu sehen. Er erlaubte damit den unter Konstantius verbannten Klerikern die Heimkehr.[31]

Mit zunehmender Herrschaftsdauer scheinen Kaiser Julians Maßnahmen gegen das Christentum zwar aggressiver geworden zu sein. Ob er allerdings für die Zeit nach dem Perserfeldzug tatsächlich Verfolgungen plante, wie immer wieder vermutet wird, ist mehr als fraglich.[32] Für die zweite Phase seiner Herrschaft ist in diesem Kontext noch auf das berühmte Schulgesetz,[33] die Pläne zum Wiederaufbau des jüdischen Tempels in Jerusalem[34] oder seine Schrift gegen die Galiläer, wie er die Christen verächtlich nannte, zu verweisen.[35] Julian wollte das Christentum aus dem öffentlichen

worden, durch die Huld der Götter aber sind wir alle gerettet. Daher soll man den Göttern sowie den sie verehrenden Menschen und Städten Ehre erweisen". Iul., *ep*. 83 (Bidez 143f). Insgesamt vgl. hierzu z.B. J. Bouffartigue, "L'empereur Julien était-il intolérant?", in: REAug 53, 2007, 1-14.

[31] Vgl. u.a. M. DiMaio, "The Emperor Julian's Edicts of Religious Toleration", in: AncW 20, 1989, 99-109. Ein Sonderfall ist hier Athanasios, der zwar zunächst nach Alexandrien zurückkehren konnte, im Herbst 362 dann aber auch von Julian verbannt wurde. Vgl. dazu Anm. 170.

[32] Zu den angeblichen christlichen Martyrien unter Julian vgl. z.B. B. de Gaiffier, "'Sub Iuliano Apostata' dans le martyrologe romain", in: AnBoll 74, 1956, 5-49. H. Ch. Brennecke, *Studien zur Geschichte der Homöer. Der Osten bis zum Ende der homöischen Reichskirche*, BHTh 73, Tübingen 1988, 114-157. Indirekt belegen sogar gegnerische Zeugnisse Julians weitgehend gewaltfreies Vorgehen gegen das Christentum, Gregor von Nazianz wirft dem Kaiser z.B. vor, den Christen sogar das Martyrium vorenthalten zu haben. Vgl. Greg. Naz., *or*. IV, 58 (SC 309, 164).

[33] Das genaue Anliegen des Rhetorenedikts ist in der Forschung noch immer stark umstritten. Vgl. neben der in Anm. 96 genannten Literatur u.a. B. C. Hardy, "Kaiser Julian und sein Schulgesetz", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 387-408. S. Pricoco, "L'editto di Giuliano sui maestri (C.Th. 13, 3, 5)", in: Orph. NS 1, 1980, 348-370. R. Klein, "Kaiser Julians Rhetoren- und Unterrichtsgesetz", in: RQ 76, 1981, 73-94.

[34] Vgl. hierzu z.B. M. Adler, "Kaiser Julian und die Juden", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 48-111. J. Hahn, "Kaiser Julian und ein dritter Tempel? Idee, Wirklichkeit und Wirkung eines gescheiterten Projekts", in: Ders. (Hg.), *Zerstörungen des Jerusalemer Tempels. Geschehen – Wahrnehmung – Bewältigung*, WUNT 147, Tübingen 2002, 237-363. D. B. Levenson, "The Ancient and Medieval Sources for the Emperor Julian's Attempt to Rebuild the Jerusalem Temple", in: JSJ 35, 2004, 409-460. Mit dem Projekt eines Neubaus des Jerusalemer Tempels waren bei Julian ganz unterschiedliche Zielsetzungen verbunden, es besaß sicherlich nicht nur eine antichristliche Stoßrichtung. Vgl. daneben auch A. Finkelstein, *The Specter of the Jews. Emperor Julian and the Rhetoric of Ethnicity in Syrian Antioch*, Oakland 2018.

[35] Das Werk Julians ist nur fragmentarisch erhalten, und zwar v.a. über die Erwiderung Kyrills von Alexandreia. Auch letztere liegt nun in einer kritischen Edition vor. Vgl. E. Masaracchia (Hg.), *Giuliano Imperatore, Contra Galilaeos*, TeC 9, Rom 1990. W. Kinzig, Ch. Riedweg (Hg.), *Kyrill von Alexandrien, Gegen Julian*, 2 Bde., GCS NF 20-21, Berlin 2016-2017. Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. W. J. Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity. The Conflict between Hellenic and Christian Wisdom in the 'Contra Galilaeos' of Julian the Apostate and 'Contra Iulianum' of Cyril of Alexandria*, AnGreg 210, Rom 1978. Ch. Riedweg, "With Stoicism and Platonism against the Christians. Structures of Philosophical Argumentation in

Leben zurückdrängen und die alten Kulte wieder in ihre überkommene Stellung einsetzen. Dazu scheint er auch manche Erfolgsrezepte der Kirche in den Blick genommen zu haben, Aus diesem Grund versuchte er z.B. den Aufbau einer übergeordneten paganen Organisationsstruktur oder die Etablierung einer heidnisch motivierten Sozialfürsorge.[36] Vor diesem Hintergrund stellt sich nun die Frage, ob der Kaiser auch auf dem Bestattungssektor eine Art Repaganisierung einleiten wollte.

3. Stichprobe 1: Die Bestattung Konstantius' II. oder ein Christ im Olymp

Mit der ersten Probebohrung befinden wir uns unmittelbar zu Beginn der Alleinherrschaft Julians. Am 11. Dezember 361 zog der neue, nun allgemein anerkannte Kaiser unter dem Jubel der Bevölkerung in seiner Geburtsstadt Konstantinopel ein.[37] Bald danach fand die Beisetzung seines Vorgängers Konstantius II. statt. Dessen Leichnam hatte Jovian, damals *protector domesticus*, später Julians Nachfolger auf dem Kaiserthron, von Mopsukrene in die Hauptstadt gebracht.[38] Der neue Augustus empfing die sterbliche Hülle seines Cousins und veranlasste dessen Begräbnis. Libanios berichtet in seinem *Epitaphios* auf Julian, der wohl aus dem Jahr 368 stammt, dazu Folgendes:

Julian's 'Contra Galilaeos'", in: Her. 166, 1999, 63-91. J. W. Hargis, *Against the Christians. The Rise of Early Anti-Christian Polemic*, PatSt 1, New York 2001. Zur Bezeichnung Galiläer vgl. S. Scicolone, "Le accezioni dell'appellativo 'Galilei' in Giuliano", in: Aevum 56, 1982, 71-80.

[36] Vgl. z.B. W. Koch, "Comment l'empereur Julien tâcha de fonder une église païenne", in: RBPH 6, 1927, 123-146; 7, 1928, 49-82; 511-550; 1363-1385. M. Mazza, "Giuliano o dell'utopia religiosa. Il tentative di fondare una chiesa pagana?", in: C. Prato, V. Ugenti (Hg.), *Giuliano imperatore. Le sue idee, i suoi amici, i suoi avversari*, Rudiae 10, Galatina 2000, 17-42. Nesselrath, *Kaiser* (Anm. 28), 83-189. Kritisch hierzu H.-U. Wiemer, "Neue Priester braucht das Land, oder: Wollte Kaiser Julian eine 'heidnische Kirche' schaffen?", in: ZAC 21, 2017, 520-558. In diesem Kontext ist auch auf das julianische Priesterideal zu verweisen. Vgl. u.a. J. Hahn, "Kaiser Julians Konzept eines Philosophenpriestertums. Idee und Scheitern einer Vision", in: J. Hahn, M. Vielberg (Hg.), *Formen und Funktionen von Leitbildern*, AwK 17, 2007, 147-161.

[37] Vgl. Amm. XXII, 2, 4 (SQAW 21/3, 8-10). Zum Aufenthalt Julians in Konstantinopel vgl. z.B. Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 93-106. Rosen, *Julian* (Anm. 19), 236-275.

[38] Vgl. Amm. XXI, 16, 20 (SQAW 21/2, 172): "Der Leichnam des Verstorbenen [= Konstantius II.] wurde also einbalsamiert und in einem Sarg geborgen. Jovian, damals noch Offizier der Leibgarde, erhielt den Befehl, ihn in königlichem Zug nach Konstantinopel zu geleiten, wo er nahe bei seinen Verwandten bestattet werden sollte". Zu Konstantius II. vgl. u.a. P. Barceló, *Constantius II. und seine Zeit. Die Anfänge des Staatskirchentums*, Stuttgart 2004. P. Maraval, *Les fils de Constantin: Constantin II (337-340), Constance II (337-361), Constant (337-350)*, Paris 2013. Zu Jovian vgl. die in Anm. 171 genannte Literatur.

> Und nichts war stärker als seine [= Julians] Natur, sondern seine erste Frage galt dem Toten [= Konstantius II.], wo der Leichnam sei und ob er die gebührenden Ehren erfahren habe. So redlich war er demjenigen gegenüber, der sich im umgekehrten Fall sicherlich wie Kreon [= König von Theben] verhalten hätte. Dem Verstorbenen gegenüber ließ er es damit aber nicht bewenden, sondern begab sich hinab zum Hafen der Hauptstadt, ließ das ganze Volk zusammenkommen und wehklagte, während der Tote noch über das Meer gebracht wurde. Er berührte den Sarg mit beiden Händen, nachdem er alle kaiserlichen Abzeichen bis auf den Mantel abgelegt hatte, und hielt es für unwürdig, den Körper für das verantwortlich zu machen, was zu Lebzeiten dessen Seele ausgeheckt hatte.[39]

Julian sorgte sich also um eine ehrenvolle Bestattung für seinen Vorgänger, er nahm auch selbst daran teil. Neben Libanios wird dies übrigens u.a. durch Claudius Mamertinus und Gregor von Nazianz bestätigt.[40] Konstantius wurde in oder bei der Apostelkirche beigesetzt. Dort war einst auch sein Vater Konstantin inmitten der zwölf Apostel zur letzten Ruhe gebettet worden, mittlerweile war die Anlage aber grundlegend umgestaltet worden. Julian ließ seinem Vetter wahrscheinlich sogar eine christliche Bestattung zuteilwerden, sicherlich aber zumindest eine christliche Begräbnisstätte.[41]

[39] Lib, *or*. XVIII, 120 (LCL 451, 354-356). Vgl. E. Bliembach, *Libanius, Oratio 18 (Epitaphios). Kommentar (§ § 111-308)*, Würzburg 1976, 14f. Die Ehrung des toten Konstantius durch Julian erwähnt Libanios übrigens auch noch an anderer Stelle. Vgl. Lib., *or*. XIII, 36 (LCL 451, 22). Zum *Epitaphios* vgl. u.a. U. Criscuolo, "Giuliano nell'epitafio di Libanio", in: Prato, Ugenti, *Giuliano* (Anm. 37), 267-291. F. Felgentreu, "Zur Datierung der 18. Rede des Libanios", in: Klio 86, 2004, 206-217. P. van Nuffelen, "Earthquakes in A.D. 363-368 and the Date of Libanios, 'Oratio' 18", in: CQ 56, 2006, 657-661. Zum Hintergrund vgl. daneben auch R. Scholl, *Historische Beiträge zu den Julianischen Reden des Libanios*, Palingenesia 48, Stuttgart 1994. Wiemer, *Libanios* (Anm. 28).

[40] Vgl. Claud. Mam. 27, 5 (BBGW 10, 68). Greg. Naz., *or*. V, 16f (SC 309, 322-328). Philost., *h. e*. VI, 6 (GCS 21, 74). Socr., *h. e*. III, 1, 50 (GCS NF 1, 192). Zonar. XIII, 12, 4f (CSHB 3, 59f). Eine gewisse Ausnahme bildet hier der Bericht Gregors. Denn dieser verweist explizit auf ein christliches Begräbnis des Konstantius. Daneben erwähnt auch er die Ehrung des Verstorbenen durch Julian, spricht in diesem Kontext allerdings von Zwang. Vgl. insgesamt hierzu J. Arce, "Los funerales del emperador Constancio II (a. 361 d.C.)", in: A. Bernabé Pajares u.a. (Hg.), *'Athlon'. Satura grammatica*, FS F. R. Adrados, Madrid 1987, 29-39.

[41] Zur kaiserlichen Grablege in bzw. bei der Apostelkirche vgl. u.a. G. Downey, "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople", in: JHS 79, 1959, 27-51. Ph. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337-1042)", in: DOP 16, 1962, 1-63. C. A. Mango, "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics", in: ByZ 83, 1990, 51-62. N. Asutay-Effenberger, A. Effenberger, *Die Porphyrsarkophage der oströmischen Kaiser. Versuch einer Bestandserfassung, Zeitbestimmung und Zuordnung*, Wiesbaden 2006, v.a. 94-145. M. J. Johnson, *The Roman Imperial Mausoleum in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2009, v.a. 119-128. Insgesamt vgl. daneben auch

Andererseits veranlasste Julian jedoch auch die Konsekration seines Vorgängers, d.h. er ließ ihn vom Senat unter die Staatsgötter aufnehmen. Dies berichtet zumindest Eutropius, daneben gibt es aber auch bei Symmachus einen Hinweis darauf.[42] Bei der Ehrung des verstorbenen Konstantius durch Julian finden sich also christliche und pagane Elemente direkt nebeneinander, allerdings noch nichts Spezifisches, das auf ein besonderes Interesse des neuen Kaisers an der Funeralkultur und deren Repaganisierung hindeuten würde. Es darf allerdings nicht vergessen werden, dass die gerade erwähnten Ereignisse ganz am Anfang der Alleinherrschaft Julians stehen. Mit der Beisetzung Konstantius' II. verband er sicherlich das Ziel, seinen Herrschaftsanspruch noch einmal deutlich zu machen und sich als legitimen Nachfolger seines Cousins darzustellen.[43]

Interessant ist in diesem Zusammenhang allerdings, was Julian grundsätzlich über die Divinisierung, also die Apotheose verstorbener Kaiser dachte. Wir besitzen hierzu einen Hinweis in einer seiner Satiren, und zwar in den *Caesares* bzw. dem *Symposion*. Diese Schrift entstand wahrscheinlich anlässlich der Saturnalien des Jahres 362 in Antiocheia.[44] Octavian wird

J. Arce, *'Funus imperatorum'. Los funerales de los emperadores romanos*, Madrid [2]1990. Unter Konstantius II. scheint die Apostelkirche bzw. das Kaisermausoleum erheblich umgebaut und voneinander getrennt worden zu sein, allerdings ist in der Forschung hierzu vieles umstritten. Vgl. z.B. R. W. Burgess, "The 'Passio s. Artemii', Philostorgius, and the Date of the Invention and Translation of the Relics of Sts Andrew and Luke", in: AnBoll 121, 2003, 5-36.

[42] Vgl. Eutr. X, 15, 2 (MGH.AA 2, 180): "... und er [= Konstantius II.] hat es verdient, unter die Staatsgötter aufgenommen zu werden". Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. A. Amici, "La divinizzazione degli imperatori nel 'breviarium' di Eutropio. Ancora sulla formula 'meruit inter divos referri'", in: GIF 54, 2002, 29-51. Bei Symmachus findet sich die Notiz, dass "Konstantius in gleicher Weise" wie sein Vater Konstantin und sein Bruder Konstans "in den Himmel aufgenommen wurde". Sym., *rel.* 40, 2 (MGH.AA 6/1, 312). Zum Hintergrund vgl. z.B. G. Bonamente, "Apoteosi e imperatori cristiani", in: G. Bonamente, A. Nestori (Hg.), *I cristiani e l'imperio nel IV secolo*, Macerata 1988, 107-142. St. Rebenich, "Vom dreizehnten Gott zum dreizehnten Apostel? Der tote Kaiser in der Spätantike", in: ZAC 4, 2000, 300-324. P. Barceló, "Beobachtungen zur Verehrung des christlichen Kaisers in der Spätantike", in: H. Cancik, K. Hitzl (Hg.), *Zur Praxis der Herrscherverehrung in Rom und seinen Provinzen*, Tübingen 2003, 319-340.

[43] Vgl. insgesamt hierzu u.a. Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 93. Rosen, *Julian* (Anm. 19), 240. Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. H. Gesche, "Die Divinisierung der römischen Kaiser in ihrer Funktion als Herrschaftslegitimierung", in: Chiron 8, 1978, 374-390. Interessant ist der Hinweis bei Libanios, dass Julian erst nach der Beisetzung des Konstantius mit der öffentlichen Restituierung der paganen Kulte in Konstantinopel begann. Vgl. Lib., *or.* XVIII, 121 (LCL 451, 356).

[44] Zu diesem Werk vgl. z.B. B. Baldwin, "The 'Caesares' of Julian", in: Klio 60, 1978, 449-466. G. W. Bowersock, "The Emperor Julian on His Predecessors", in: YClS 27, 1982, 159-172. Müller, *Satiren* (Anm. 16), 37-48. Die Schrift könnte evtl. auch schon ein Jahr früher, also noch in Konstantinopel entstanden sein.

darin von Julian als "Puppenmacher" (κοροπλάθος)[45] lächerlich gemacht. Der Kaiser desavouiert damit die Sitte der Konsekration jedoch auch insgesamt, die ja mit Augustus gleichsam ihren Anfang nahm, als dieser seinen Adoptivvater Caesar zum Staatsgott erklären ließ.

Darüber hinaus geht aus dem gerade erwähnten Werk gleichzeitig aber auch hervor, welche Meinung Julian über seinen divinisierten Vorgänger Konstantius, vor allem jedoch über dessen Vater, seinen Onkel Konstantin tatsächlich hatte: In den *Caesares* wird nämlich von einem Wettstreit der römischen Kaiser inklusive des Makedonenkönigs Alexander über ihre jeweilige Lebensleistung berichtet. Dieser Agon findet anlässlich eines von Romulus bzw. Quirinus im Himmel ausgerichteten Gastmahls statt. Diese Szenerie gibt Julian die Möglichkeit, zu den unterschiedlichen Herrschergestalten des *Imperium Romanum* Stellung zu nehmen. Als Sieger geht aus diesem Wettkampf natürlich der Philosophenkaiser Marc Aurel hervor.[46] Ganz am Ende der Satire soll sich dann jeder Kaiser unter den Olympiern eine zu ihm passende Gottheit erwählen. Hier lässt Julian auch Konstantin und dessen Söhne auftreten:

> Doch Konstantin fand unter den Göttern kein Vorbild für seine Lebensform. Als er jedoch in der Nähe die Tryphe [= Schwelgerei] sah, lief er darum zu ihr hin. Diese aber nahm ihn zärtlich auf, schlang die Arme um ihn, staffierte ihn mit bunten Kleidern aus, schminkte ihn und führte ihn zur Asotia [= Verschwendung] fort. So fand er auch Jesus, der sich dort herumtrieb und allen zurief: "Wer ein Verderber, wer ein Meuchelmörder, wer ein Verfluchter und ein Dreckskerl ist, der komme getrost zu mir. Denn ich werde ihn mit diesem Wasser hier sofort reinwaschen und dadurch entsühnen; und sollte einer nochmals derselben Schuld verfallen, werde ich ihn, wenn er sich an die Brust schlägt und sich das Haupt rauft, erneute Reinigung schenken". Hocherfreut gesellte sich Konstantin zu ihm und er führte seine Söhne aus der Götterver-

[45] Iul., *Caes*. 33 (Lacombrade 66). Julian lässt den niederen Gott Silenos zu Octavian Folgendes sagen: "Wie jene Puppen so hast du uns, Augustus, Götter gebastelt, und zwar als einen, ja den ersten von ihnen diesen Caesar da". Ebd. Vgl. aber auch Ders., *or*. III, 32 (Bidez 169). Zur Divinisierung römischer Kaiser vgl. grundlegend u.a. E. Bickermann, "Die römische Kaiserapotheose", in: A. Wlosok (Hg.), *Römischer Kaiserkult*, WdF 372, Darmstadt 1978, 82-121. W. Kierdorf, "'Funus' und 'consecratio'. Zu Terminologie und Ablauf der römischen Kaiserapotheose", in: Chiron 16, 1986, 43-69. M. Clauss, *Kaiser und Gott. Herrscherkult im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 1999.

[46] Vgl. hierzu u.a. Ch. Lacombrade, "L'empereur Julien émule de Marc-Aurèle", in: Pallas 14, 1967, 9-22. D. Hunt, "Julian and Marcus Aurelius", in: D. Innes u.a. (Hg.), *Ethics and Rhetoric*, FS D. Russell, Oxford 1995, 287-298. Auffällig ist, dass Julian jedoch auch Marc Aurel tadelt, und zwar u.a. wegen der Divinisierung seiner Gattin Faustina. Hier werden Julians grundsätzliche Vorbehalte gegen diese Praxis ebenfalls sichtbar. Vgl. Iul., *Caes*. 35 (Lacombrade 68).

> sammlung heraus. Nichts desto weniger aber setzten ihm und auch jenen die blutschuldrächenden Dämonen [= Erinnyen] zu wegen ihres gottlosen Frevels, sie verlangten nach Strafe für das Blut der Verwandten, bis schließlich Zeus sie um des Claudius [= II. bzw. Gothicus] und des Konstantius [= I. bzw. Chlorus] willen aufatmen ließ.[47]

Konstantin kann nach Julian unter den Göttern des Olymps keine zu ihm passende Gestalt finden. Ihm bleibt nichts übrig, als schließlich Zuflucht bei den Göttinnen der Wollust und Völlerei zu suchen. Dort begegnet er dann Jesus, der allen Verbrechern Reinigung durch Taufe und Buße in Aussicht stellt. Doch Konstantin und seine Söhne finden keine Ruhe, ihnen setzen aufgrund der begangenen Familienmorde die Rachegöttinnen zu.[48] Davon kann sie Julian zufolge auch Jesus nicht befreien, sondern nur Zeus allein. Der Göttervater gewährt Konstantin und seinen Söhnen zwar schließlich eine "Verschnaufpause" (ἀναπνεῦσαι), aber eben nicht aufgrund christlicher Rituale, sondern nur wegen ihrer kaiserlichen Abstammung. Diese Passage zeigt überdeutlich, was Julian über seine unmittelbaren Vorgänger, aber auch allgemein über die christliche Erlösungshoffnung dachte.[49]

4. Stichprobe 2: Apoll gegen Babylas oder Julian und die Gebeine der Märtyrer

Die zweite Probebohrung ist zeitlich einige Monate später anzusetzen, räumlich befinden wir uns damit weiter im Osten, nämlich in Antiochien. Julian traf Mitte Juli 362 in der Metropole am Orontes ein, er sollte dort bis Anfang März 363 bleiben, u.a. um den Perserfeldzug vorzubereiten. Der Kaiser kam mit großen Erwartungen in die syrische Hauptstadt. Er hatte dort Großes vor, die Forschung spricht z.T. sogar von einer Art

[47] Ebd. 38 (70f). Zu Konstantin vgl. auch ebd. 30 (61f).

[48] Zur julianischen Beurteilung der Taufe vgl. z.B. Ders., *Gal.* frg. 59 (Masaracchia 154f). G. Scrofani, *La religione impura. La riforma di Giuliano Imperatore*, StBi 163, Brescia 2010, 131-140. K. O. Sandnes, "Christian Baptism as Seen by Outsiders. Julian the Apostate as an Example", in: VigChr 66, 2012, 503-526. Bei den Worten, die Julian in der oben zitierten Passage Christus in den Mund legt, klingen Stellen wie Mt 11,28; Mk 16,16 oder Lk 18,13 an. Zu Julians soteriologischen Vorstellungen vgl. u.a. Stöcklin-Kaldewey, *Kaiser* (Anm. 26), 184-283.

[49] Vgl. hierzu u.a. J. Vogt, "Kaiser Julian über seinen Oheim Constantin den Großen", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 222-240. A. Amerise, "La figura di Costantino nei 'Caesares' di Giuliano l'Apostata", in: RSA 31, 2001, 211-219 u. 32, 2002, 141-149. Scrofani, *Religione* (Anm. 49), 43-54. Bei den in den *Caesares* erwähnten Morden hat Julian neben den dynastischen Säuberungen von 337 sicherlich auch die Familientragödie von 326 im Blick, als Konstantin seinen ältesten Sohn Crispus und seine Gattin Fausta umbringen ließ.

Antiocheia-Programm.[50] Julian wollte in dieser Stadt, die wie kaum eine andere im Orient von tiefem Stolz auf ihre hellenische Identität geprägt war, vor allem seine religiösen Ideen umsetzen. Doch als er Antiocheia, die "herrliche Krone des Ostens",[51] wie sie Ammian nannte, acht Monate später verließ, tat er dies im Groll. Auch die Bevölkerung der Stadt war letztlich froh, diesen Kaiser endlich wieder los zu sein, Julian soll sogar damit gedroht haben, Antiocheia nie wieder zu betreten. Es kam in der syrischen Metropole während des kaiserlichen Aufenthalts nämlich zu einer ganzen Reihe von Konflikten zwischen Imperator und Bevölkerung. Diese hatten teilweise wirtschaftliche Gründe. Eine Versorgungskrise bedrohte Antiochien, das Eingreifen des Kaisers löste nichts, sondern verschlimmerte die Lage sogar noch. Teilweise war die Ablehnung Julians aber auch durch dessen religiösen Eifer bedingt. Die pagane Restauration sorgte nicht für den gewünschten Erfolg, sondern zog bei den Bürgern der Stadt häufig nur Kopfschütteln nach sich.[52]

Als Julian etwa am Jahresfest Apolls in den antiochenischen Vorort Daphne kam, erhoffte er sich dort eine große Menschenmenge und zahlre-

[50] Zu Julians Aufenthalt in Antiocheia vgl. u.a. G. Downey, "Julian the Apostate at Antioch", in: ChH 8, 1939, 303-315. Pack, *Städte* (Anm. 27), 301-377. K. Rosen, "Julian in Antiochien oder: Wie eine Theorie in der Praxis scheitert", in: W. Schuller (Hg.), *Politische Theorie und Praxis im Altertum*, Darmstadt 1998, 217-230. Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 152-168. Elm, *Sons* (Anm. 21), 269-335. Bei Libanios finden sich Hinweise auf Julians weitreichende Pläne für Antiochien. Vgl. z.B. Lib, *or*. XV, 52 (LCL 451, 180).

[51] Amm. XXII, 9, 14 (SQAW 21/3, 36). Zu Antiocheia vgl. u.a. A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne. Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie*, BEFAR 194, Paris 1959. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest*, Princeton 1961. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch. City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire*, Oxford 1972. Ch. Kondoleon (Hg.), *Antioch. The Lost Ancient City*, Princeton 2000. G. Brands, *Antiochia in der Spätantike. Prolegomena zu einer archäologischen Stadtgeschichte*, Berlin 2016. Eine zeitgenössische Beschreibung der syrischen Hauptstadt findet sich übrigens im *Antiochikos* des Libanios. Vgl. hierzu G. Fatouros, T. Krischer (Hg.), *Libanios, Antiochikos (or. XI). Zur heidnischen Renaissance in der Spätantike*, Wien 1992.

[52] Neben der in Anm. 51 genannten Literatur vgl. u.a. auch A. Marcone, "Il conflitto fra l'imperatore Giuliano e gli Antiocheni", in: AeR NS 26, 1981, 142-152. Wiemer, *Libanios* (Anm. 28), 269-355. L. van Hoof, P. van Nuffelen, "Monarchy and Mass Communication. Antioch A.D. 362/363 Revisited", in: JRS 101, 2011, 166-184. C. Tiersch, "A Dispute – About Hellenism? Julian and the Citizens of Antioch", in: S. P. Bergjan, S. Elm (Hg.), *The Many Faces of Antioch. Intellectual Exchange and Religious Diversity, CE 350-450*, COMS 3, Tübingen 2018, 103-136. Über die oben genannten Ursachen hinaus waren die Schwierigkeiten in Antiocheia durch politische Unstimmigkeiten geprägt, u.a. durch die persönliche Rechtsprechung des Kaisers und die von ihm veranlasste Erweiterung des antiochenischen Stadtrates ausgelöst. Im Hintergrund standen daneben aber auch Ressentiments gegenüber Julians Herrschaftsstil, Spott zogen v.a. seine Bart- und Haartracht sowie seine asketische Lebensweise auf sich, die mit der Ablehnung von Unterhaltung im Theater und Hippodrom verbunden war.

iche Opfertiere, er fand allerdings nur einen einzigen Priester, der lediglich eine mickrige Gans als Opfergabe bei sich hatte. Der Kaiser war tief enttäuscht und machte dem Stadtrat daraufhin schwere Vorwürfe.[53] Die Konflikte in Antiochien verarbeitete Julian zu Neujahr 363 übrigens in einer Satire, die den Namen *Misopogon*, der "Barthasser", trug. Dieser Titel bezieht sich auf Julians Bart, der ihn als Philosophen, als wahren Griechen darstellen sollte. Die Antiochener verspotteten den in ihren Augen recht wunderlichen Kaiser hingegen als ungepflegten Ziegenbock.[54]

Für die hier zu verfolgende Fragestellung ist das gerade erwähne Apollon-Heiligtum in Daphne von besonderem Interesse. Dieser große und bedeutende Tempel lag in einem Außenbezirk von Antiocheia. Daphne war daneben aber auch wegen seiner Quellen, Haine, Bäder, Theater, Sportstätten und wegen seiner privaten Gebäulichkeiten mit ihren reichen Mosaiken berühmt. Bei diesem Vorort handelte es sich um das mondäne Villenviertel der Metropole, gleichzeitig aber auch um deren idyllisches Naherholungsgebiet. Der dortige Tempel Apolls war zu Julians Zeiten jedoch in keinem guten Zustand mehr, das mit ihm verbundene Quellorakel Kastalia soll sogar gänzlich verstummt sein.[55] Der Kaiser machte sich auf die Suche nach den Gründen. Dabei fiel ihm auf, dass es in der Nähe des Tem-

[53] Vgl. Iul., *mis*. 34f (Lacombrade 187-189). Julian referiert hier Teile seiner Rede an die Kurialen von Antiocheia, seine Vorhaltungen gipfeln dabei in folgendem Vorwurf: "Schrecklich ist, dass sich eine solche Stadt noch weniger um die Götter kümmert wie irgendein Dorf am äußersten Rand des Schwarzen Meeres". Ebd. 35 (188).

[54] Zu dieser Schrift vgl. z.B. J. M. Alosno-Nuñez, "The Emperor Julian's 'Misopogon' and the Conflict between Christianity and Paganism", in: AncSoc 10, 1979, 311-324. M. W. Gleason, "Festive Satire. Julian's 'Misopogon' and the New Year at Antioch", in: JRS 76, 1986, 106-119. Müller, *Satiren* (Anm. 16), 48-64. H.-U. Wiemer, "Ein Kaiser verspottet sich selbst. Literarische Form und historische Bedeutung von Kaiser Julians 'Misopogon'", in: P. Kneissl, V. Losemann (Hg.), *'Imperium Romanum'. Studien zu Geschichte und Rezeption*, FS K. Christ, Stuttgart 1998, 733-755. M. Janka, "'Quod philosophia fuit, satura facta est'. Julians 'Misopogon' zwischen Gattungskonvention und Sitz im Leben", in: Schäfer, *Kaiser* (Anm. 25), 177-206. Julian soll veranlasst haben, dass das Werk vor dem Kaiserpalast öffentlich angeschlagen wurde.

[55] Zum Heiligtum von Daphne vgl. u.a. B. Cabouret, "L'oracle de la source Castalie à Daphnè prés d'Antioche", in: M. C. Amouretti, P. Villard (Hg.), *'Eukrata'*, FS C. Vatin, Aix-en-Provence 1994, 95-104. J. Rist, "Das Orakel des Apollon in Daphne und das Christentum", in: StPatr 44, 2010, 57-62. Ch. R. Raschle, "Le temple d'Apollon à Daphné. Un lieu de mémoire au centre du conflit entre chrétiens et païêns", in: A. Gangloff (Hg.), *Lieux de mémoire en Orient grec à l'époque impériale*, Echo 9, Bern 2013, 215-238. J. R. Stenger, "Healing Place or Abode of the Demons. Libanius's and Chrysostom's Rewriting of the Apollo Sanctuary at Daphne", in: Bergjan, Elm, *Antioch* (Anm. 53), 193-220. Die Bedeutung Daphnes für Antiochien zeigt sich auch am Beinamen der Metropole: ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ. Strab. XVI, 2, 4 (LCL 241, 240). Im *Antiochikos* des Libanios findet sich eine zeitgenössische Beschreibung des Vorortes, diese mündet schließlich in folgender Aussage: "Wenn aber die Götter wirklich den Himmel verlassen, um auf Erden zu wandeln, dann kommen sie

pels und der Quelle christliche Gräber gab, u.a. auch eine Gedenkstätte für den Märtyrer Babylas.[56] Dieses *Martyrion* war erst einige Jahre zuvor von Julians Halbbruder Gallus, der als Caesar des Ostens zwischen 351 und 354 in Antiocheia residiert hatte, errichtet worden, und zwar sicherlich als antiheidnische Maßnahme. Es handelt sich hierbei um eine der frühesten, vielleicht sogar die erste Reliquien-Translation, von der wir wissen.[57] Julian ging nun aber seinerseits gegen die christlichen Bestattungen in Daphne vor, er ließ Babylas, vielleicht auch die übrigen Skelette exhumieren und auf den Friedhof von Antiochien bringen.[58] Die Christen der Metropole

meines Erachtens hier zusammen, um Gemeinschaft zu pflegen, denn es gibt keinen schöneren Aufenthaltsort". Lib., *or*. XI, 237 (Foerster 1/2, 520f).

[56] Historisch zuverlässige Nachrichten zu Babylas sind dürftig, wahrscheinlich erlitt der antiochenische Bischof, wie Euseb von Kaisareia berichtet, unter Kaiser Decius das Martyrium. Bei Chrysostomos finden sich allerdings konkurrierende Traditionen zu diesem Stadtheiligen von Antiochien. Vgl. u.a. Eus., *h. e*. VI, 29, 4 u. 39, 4 (GCS 9/2, 584 u. 594). Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab*. II, 23-63 (SC 362, 120-172). M. A. Schatkin u.a. (Hg.), *Jean Chrysostome, Discours sur Babylas*, SC 362, Paris 1990, 15-19 u. 49-60. D. Rohmann, "Das Martyrion des Babylas und die polemischen Schriften des Johannes Chrysostomos", in: VigChr 72, 2018, 206-224. Zur Babylas-Kapelle in Daphne vgl. z.B. W. Mayer, P. Allen, *The Churches of Syrian Antioch (300-638 CE)*, LAHR 5, Löwen 2012, 96f.

[57] Vgl. z.B. Soz., *h. e*. V, 19, 12f (FC 73/2, 648). Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab*. II, 67-75 (SC 362, 178-194). J. Hahn, *Gewalt und religiöser Konflikt. Studien zu den Auseinandersetzungen zwischen Christen, Heiden und Juden im Osten des Römischen Reiches (von Konstantin bis Theodosius II.)*, Klio.B NF 8, Berlin 2004, 161-163. Evtl. ging die Initiative zur Überführung des Babylas nach Daphne aber auch bereits von Konstantius II. aus. Vgl. D. Woods, "Malalas, 'Constantius', and a Church-Inscription from Antioch", in: VigChr 59, 2005, 54-62. Allgemein zu Gallus vgl. u.a. P. Barceló, "Caesar Gallus und Constantius II. Ein gescheitertes Experiment?", in: ACl 42, 1999, 23-34. B. Bleckmann, "Gallus, César de l'Orient?", in: F. Chausson, É. Wolff (Hg.), *'Consuetudinis amor'. Fragments d'histoire Romaine (IIe-VIe siècles)*, FS J.-P. Callu, Rom 2003, 45-56.

[58] Die Ereignisse vom Sommer bzw. Herbst 362 in Daphne haben sowohl in den antiken Quellen als auch in der modernen Forschung ein breites Echo gefunden. Vgl. u.a. Iul., *mis*. 33-36 (Lacombrade 186-190). Lib., *or*. LX (Foerster 4, 311-321). Amm. XXII, 12, 8-13, 3 (SQAW 21/3, 44-46). Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab*. II, 76-127 (SC 362, 194-274). Ruf., *h. e*. X, 36f (GCS 9/2, 996). Thdt., *h. e*. III, 10-12 (GCS NF 5, 186-189). Socr., *h. e*. III, 18f (GCS NF 1, 213-215). Soz., *h. e*. V, 19, 4-20, 6 (FC 73/2, 644-654). Philost., *h. e*. VII, 8 (GCS 21, 86-91). *Art. pass*. 51-57 (PTS 29, 231-243). Neben der in Anm. 56 genannten Literatur vgl. z.B. auch Lieu, *Emperor* (Anm. 17), 44-54. Hahn, *Gewalt* (Anm. 58), 168-173. E. Soler, *Le sacré et le salut à Antioche au IVe siècle apr. J.-C. Pratiques festives et comportements religieux dans le processus de christianisation de la cité*, BAH 176, Beirut 2006, 13-18 u. 33-64. J. Torres, "La ocupación de espacios sagrados como fuente de conflicto entre paganos y cristianos", in: J. Fernández Ubiña (Hg.), *Libertad e intolerancia religiosa en el imperio romano*, Madrid 2007, 85-98. Th. R. Karmann, *Meletius von Antiochien. Studien zur Geschichte des trinitätstheologischen Streits in den Jahren 360-364 n. Chr*., RSTh 68, Frankfurt a.M. 2009, 322-329. K.-P. Todt, "Phoibos Apollon oder Hl. Babylas? Zum Kampf zwischen griechischem und christlichem Kult im Antiocheia des 4. Jahrhunderts", in: D. Kreikenborn u.a. (Hg.), *Krise und Kult. Vorderer Orient und Nordafrika von Aurelian bis Justinian*, MillSt 28, Berlin 2010,

machten diese erzwungene Überführung der Gebeine ihres Stadtheiligen zu einer Demonstration gegen Julian und dessen Religionspolitik. Immer wieder sollen sie Ps 97,7 gesungen haben: "Alle, die den Bildern dienen, werden zuschanden".[59] Es kam zu ersten Zusammenstößen, die Lage eskalierte allerdings einige Tage später erneut. Am 22. Oktober brannte nämlich der Apoll-Tempel in Daphne nieder. Julian sah darin einen Terrorakt der Galiläer und ließ die Hauptkirche Antiocheias schließen. Von christlicher Seite betrachtete man die Zerstörung des Heiligtums hingegen als Eingreifen des Himmels, als Sieg des antiochenischen Märtyrers über den Dämon von Daphne.[60]

Die eben skizzierten Ereignisse stoßen in der Forschung auf ein sehr breites Interesse. Häufig werden die Konflikte um Daphne dabei als konkurrierende Versuche verstanden, diesen für die antiochenische Identität äußerst bedeutsamen Ort jeweils zugunsten der eigenen religiösen Gruppe in Besitz zu nehmen bzw. diese räumliche Herrschaft wiederzuerlangen.[61] Daneben scheint m.E. jedoch ein anderer Punkt ebenfalls von zentraler Relevanz zu sein: In der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Apoll und Babylas treten divergierende Reinheitsvorstellungen zutage. Aus mehreren antiken Texten wird deutlich, warum Julian die Gebeine des Märtyrers aus dem *Temenos* von Daphne entfernen ließ. Der Auftrag dazu soll direkt von Apollon gekommen sein. Johannes Chrysostomos legt dem Gott in einer

21-40. Ch. Shepardson, *Controlling Contested Places. Late Antique Antioch and the Spatial Politics of Religious Controversy*, Berkeley 2014, 58-91. H.-U. Wiemer, "Apollon, Babylas und Leontios. Der Kultraum Daphne zwischen Hellenismus und Spätantike", in: Ders. (Hg.), *Kulträume. Studien zum Verhältnis von Kult und Raum in alten Kulturen*, PAwB 60, Stuttgart 2017, 173-220.

[59] Vgl. z.B. Soz., *h. e.* V, 19, 17-19 (FC 73/2, 650). Babylas wurde auf dem sog. *Koimeterion*, dem christlichen Friedhof Antiocheias beim Daphne-Tor, beigesetzt. Von dort war er zuvor nach Daphne überführt worden. 379/80 wurden seine Gebeine erneut exhumiert und dann in der von Bischof Meletios eigens für den Märtyrer errichteten Kirche am anderen Ufer des Orontes bestattet. Zu diesen beiden Stätten vgl. u.a. Mayer, Allen, *Churches* (Anm. 57), 32-49 u. 85-89. Zum Vorgehen Julians gegen einzelne Christen der Stadt vgl. z.B. H. C. Teitler, "Ammianus, Libanius, Chrysostomus, and the Martyrs of Antioch", in: VigChr 67, 2013, 263-288.

[60] Vgl. u.a. Amm. XXII, 13, 1-3 (SQAW 21/3, 44-46). Soz., *h. e.* V, 20, 5f (FC 73/2, 650-652). Dem Feuer fielen das Dach und die Innenausstattung des Heiligtums mit der von Bryaxis gefertigten Statue des Apoll zum Opfer. Die Ursache des Brandes war heftig umstritten, Julian gab den Christen die Schuld daran. Vgl. z.B. Iul., *mis.* 15 u. 33 (Lacombrade 168 u. 187).

[61] Neben der in Anm. 59 genannten Literatur vgl. allgemein zum Hintergrund u.a. auch A. Merkt, "Die Stadt der Toten. Nekropolitik als Mittel religiöser Auseinandersetzung in urbanen und suburbanen Räumen der Spätantike", in: J. Oberste (Hg.), *Pluralität – Konkurrenz – Konflikt. Religiöse Spannungen im städtischen Raum der Vormoderne*, Regensburg 2013, 31-49.

Predigt auf den antiochenischen Heiligen Babylas z.B. folgende Anweisung an Julian in den Mund: "Leichen hindern mich am Sprechen [...]. Also brich die Gräber auf, hol die Knochen heraus, schaff die Leichen weg!"[62] Der hier erwähnte Grund für das Verstummen der Kastalischen Quelle findet sich allerdings nicht nur in christlichen Texten, sondern auch bei Ammianus Marcellinus. In dessen Werk wird Kaiser Julian nämlich ebenfalls aufgefordert, "die ringsum bestatteten Körper (*circumhumata corpora*) von dort wegbringen zu lassen".[63]

Im Hintergrund steht hier die in der antiken Welt weit verbreitete Vorstellung, dass Gräber im Umfeld eines Heiligtums eine Verunreinigung mit sich bringen, die mit der Verehrung der Götter unvereinbar ist. Tote Körper führen demnach zu einer Befleckung, die Opfer, aber auch Mantik unmöglich machen.[64] Um den heiligen Bezirk von Daphne wiederbeleben zu können, musste Julian diesen Ort also reinigen, d.h. er musste die strikte

[62] Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab.* I, 5 (SC 362, 304). Diese Homilie stammt wohl aus den späten 80er oder frühen 90er Jahren des 4. Jahrhunderts. Vgl. hierzu z.B. Schatkin, *Chrysostome* (Anm. 57), 279-281. Ähnliche Aussagen wie bei Chrysostomos finden sich aber auch in einer ganzen Reihe anderer Berichte, bei Sozomenos heißt es z.B.: "Er [= Apoll] aber machte nicht ganz deutlich, dass er wegen des Märtyrers Babylas, dessen Grab in seiner Nachbarschaft lag, nicht weissagen könne, sondern sagte: 'Der Ort ist voller Leichen'. Deswegen werde er gehindert, Weissagungen von sich zu geben". Soz., *h. e.* V, 19, 15 (FC 73/2, 650). Vgl. daneben u.a. auch Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab.* II, 81 (SC 362, 200). Ruf., *h. e.* X, 36 (GCS 9/2, 996). Thdt., *h. e.* III, 10, 1 (GCS NF 5, 186). Socr., *h. e.* III, 18, 2 (GCS NF 1, 213f). *Art. pass.* 53 (PTS 29, 232). Nach der *Artemii Passio* erhielt Julian durch den Theurgen Eusebios Auskunft über die Gründe für das Verstummen des Orakels.

[63] Amm. XXII, 12, 8 (SQAW 21/3, 44). Die Textüberlieferung ist an dieser Stelle problematisch. Es wird nicht ganz klar, ob Ammian ebenfalls eine Weissagung Apolls voraussetzt oder ob Julian aus eigenem Antrieb die Exhumierung und Translation der in Daphne begrabenen Toten vornimmt. Daneben findet sich bei ihm übrigens noch eine weitere Erklärung für das Verstummen des Orakels. Dieses soll bereits unter Hadrian zugeschüttet worden sein, und zwar um politisch brisante Prophezeiungen zu verhindern. Vgl. auch Soz., *h. e.* V, 19, 10f (FC 73/2, 646-648). Wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch, dass es unter Hadrian lediglich Bauarbeiten an der Quelle gab und dass das Orakel bis ins 4. Jahrhundert hinein aufgesucht wurde. Vgl. hierzu z.B. D. N. Wilbur, "The Plateau of Daphne, the Springs and the Water-System", in: R. Stillwell (Hg.), *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*. Bd. 2: *The Excavations 1933-1936*, Princeton 1938, 49-56. Neben Ammian gibt es aber übrigens noch eine weitere pagane Quelle, die das Verstummen des Orakels zumindest indirekt auf eine Bestattung im Umfeld zurückführt, nämlich Libanios. Babylas wird jedoch auch bei ihm nicht namentlich genannt. Vgl. Lib., *or.* LX, 5 (Foerster 4, 314f).

[64] Vgl. hierzu u.a. Th. Wächter, *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, RVV 9, Gießen 1910, 43-63. R. Parker, *'Miasma'. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion*, Oxford 1983, 32-73. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 65-68 u. 94f. J. J. Lennon, *Pollution and Religion in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 2014, 136-166. Die Inkompatibilität von Kult und Tod, aber auch Geburt bringt in geradezu paradigmatischer Weise eine auf der Akropolis in Athen gefundene Inschrift zum Ausdruck: "... in jedem Heiligtum ist es gegen althergebrachte Sitte, zu gebären oder zu sterben". IG II^2 1035, 10.

Trennung von Tod und Kult wiederherstellen.[65] Bestätigt wird dies durch eine Notiz bei Ammian, der Julians Vorgehen mit der Reinigung der Insel Delos, des Geburtsortes von Apoll und seiner Zwillingsschwester Artemis, vergleicht.[66] Diese *Katharsis* scheint zweimal durchgeführt worden zu sein: Das erste Mal unter dem athenischen Tyrannen Peisistratos. Nach Herodot wurden damals alle Gräber im Sichtfeld des Heiligtums entfernt. Nach Thukydides wurde 426/25 v.Chr., also während des Peloponnesischen Krieges, eine zweite Reinigung durchgeführt, dabei soll dann sogar die ganze Insel von der Sphäre des Todes befreit worden sein.[67]

Auf Seiten der antiochenischen Christen gab es hingegen eine hierzu völlig konträre Haltung. Um den Kultort Daphne christlich zu besetzen, wurden die Gebeine des Märtyrers Babylas dorthin verbracht und eine Kapelle über seinem Grab errichtet.[68] In der Folge kam es dann wohl zu

[65] In der Schrift *Misopogon* nennt Julian leider den Grund, warum er "die Leiche aus Daphne entfernen ließ", nicht direkt, er verweist allerdings darauf, dass das dortige Heiligtum bereits vor dem Brand seine einstige Bedeutung eingebüßt hatte: "Mir scheint der Gott jedoch schon vor dem Feuer sein Heiligtum verlassen zu haben, denn dies deutete mir das Bildnis bei meinem ersten Besuch an. Zum Zeugen dafür rufe ich den großen Helios gegen die Ungläubigen an". Iul., *mis*. 33f (Lacombrade 187). Welchen hohen Stellenwert Julian Daphne als Kultort beimisst, wird z.B. auch in einem Brief an Libanios deutlich. Vgl. Ders., *ep*. 98 (Bidez 181).

[66] Vgl. Amm. XXII, 12, 8 (SQAW 21/3, 44): "... er [= Julian] beschloss, die ringsum bestatteten Körper von dort wegbringen zu lassen in der Art (*eo ritu*), nach der die Athener die Insel Delos entsühnt hatten (*purgaverant*)". Vgl. hierzu auch J. den Boeft u.a., *Philological and Historical Commentary to Ammianus Marcellinus XXII*, Groningen 1995, 225-227.

[67] Vgl. Hdt. I, 64, 2 (Wilson 1, 36): "... er [= Peisistratos] reinigte die Insel Delos aufgrund von Orakelsprüchen, die Reinigung verlief folgendermaßen: Soweit man vom Tempel aus sehen konnte, aus diesem ganzen Bereich ließ er die Toten ausgraben und zu einem anderen Bereich der Insel bringen". Thuk. III, 104, 1f (LCL 109, 180-182): "Im selben Winter reinigten die Athener offenbar gemäß einer Weissagung wieder Delos. Der Tyrann Peisistratos hatte diese früher schon gereinigt, allerdings nicht ganz, sondern nur soweit man die Insel vom Tempel aus überblicken konnte. Diesmal wurde sie ganz gereinigt, und zwar auf folgende Weise: Alle Gräber, die sich auf Delos befanden, beseitigte man und verbot, dass künftig auf der Insel jemand sterben oder gebären dürfe, dafür solle man nach Rheneia [= Nachbarinsel] hinübergebracht werden". Vgl. auch Diod. XII, 58, 6f (Casevitz 62). Strab. X, 5, 5 (Lasserre 109).

[68] Vgl. z.B. Soz., *h. e*. V, 19, 12f (FC 73/2, 648): "Als Gallus, der Bruder Julians, von Konstantius [= II.] zum Caesar eingesetzt wurde, hielt er sich in Antiocheia auf. Da er Christ war und diejenigen, die für ihren Glauben das Martyrium erlitten hatten, sehr verehrte, beschloss er, diesen Ort [= Daphne] vom hellenischen Aberglauben und vom Frevel lasterhafter Menschen zu reinigen (ἐκκαθᾶραι). Er vermutete, dies leicht erreichen zu können, wenn er dort eine Gebetsstätte errichten ließ. Er ließ deshalb den Sarg des Märtyrers Babylas, der die antiochenische Kirche hervorragend geleitet und das Martyrium erlitten hatte, dorthin überführen".

weiteren Bestattungen im Umfeld des Heiligen.[69] Kult und Tod scheinen hier also keine Gegensätze zu sein, sondern geradezu zusammenzugehören. Chrysostomos stellt in der oben zitierten Homilie sogar explizit fest: "Leichen bedeuten keine Verunreinigung (μίασμα)".[70]

Wie Julian der Verehrung von Reliquien, also von toten Gebeinen gegenüberstand,[71] lässt sich aber auch noch an einer ganzen Reihe anderer Zeugnisse ablesen. Der Kirchenhistoriker Sozomenos erwähnt z.B. einen Brief des Kaisers an den Statthalter von Karien mit dem Auftrag, das Apoll-Heiligtum von Didyma in der Nähe von Milet von allen Spuren des Märtyrerkults zu reinigen.[72] In der eben erwähnten Kirchengeschichte fin-

[69] Ausdrücklich von mehreren Bestattungen im Kultbezirk Apolls spricht zwar nur Ammian, allerdings ist auch in anderen Quellen davon die Rede, dass der Gott Julian dazu aufforderte, mehrere Leichen aus Daphne zu entfernen. Vgl. u.a. Amm. XXII, 12, 8 (SQAW 21/3, 44). Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab*. I, 5 (SC 362, 304). Soz., *h. e*. V, 19, 15 (FC 73/2, 650). Seit der Translation des Babylas unter Gallus scheint in Daphne wohl ein christlicher Friedhof im Umfeld der Grabstätte des Märtyrers entstanden zu sein. Vgl. allgemein hierzu z.B. B. Kötting, *Der frühchristliche Reliquienkult und die Bestattung im Kirchengebäude*, Köln 1965. Y. Duval, *Auprès des saints corps et âme. L'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'Orient et d'Occident du IIIe au VIIe siècle*, Paris 1988. Zum Hintergrund vgl. insgesamt auch die neue, wichtige Studie von Hartl, *Leichen* (Anm. 7). Bei Theodoret findet sich übrigens eine andere Erklärung für die Rede von Leichen in der Mehrzahl, er verweist auf drei Knaben, die zusammen mit Babylas das Martyrium erlitten haben sollen. Vgl. Thdt., *h. e*. III, 10, 2 (GCS NF 5, 186f). Nach Chrysostomos sollte der Plural hingegen "die Niederlage" Apolls gegenüber Babylas "verschleiern". Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab*. II, 82 (SC 362, 202).

[70] Joh. Chrys., *pan. Bab*. I, 5 (SC 362, 304). Chrysostomos formuliert hier die Gegenposition zu Apoll, dem er die pagane Auffassung in den Mund legt, dass Tod Befleckung mit sich bringt. Er selbst deutet den Begriff Unreinheit in Abhebung dazu ethisch. Vor diesem Hintergrund steht der lebende Körper für ihn viel stärker unter der Gefahr der Verunreinigung als der tote. Insgesamt vgl. hierzu u.a. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 247-263.

[71] Vgl. allgemein hierzu J. Torres, "Emperor Julian and the Veneration of Relics", in: AnTar 17, 2009, 205-214. Scrofani, *Religione* (Anm. 49), 140-148. Zum Hintergrund vgl. z.B. auch J. Hahn, "Tempelzerstörung und Tempelreinigung", in: R. Albertz (Hg.), *Kult, Konflikt und Versöhnung. Beiträge zur kultischen Sühne in religiösen, sozialen und politischen Auseinandersetzungen des antiken Mittelmeerraumes*, AOAT 285, Münster 2001, 269-286. D. N. Greenwood, "Pollution Wars. Consecration and Desecration from Constantine to Julian", in: StPatr 62, 2013, 289-296.

[72] Vgl. Soz., *h. e*. V, 20, 7 (FC 73/2, 654): "Ich glaube, dass der Kaiser [= Julian] infolge der Ereignisse von Daphne um den Märtyrer Babylas, als er davon erfuhr, dass sich auch in der Nähe des Heiligtums des Apoll von Didyma, das bei Milet liegt, Gebetsstätten zu Ehren von Märtyrern befinden, an den Statthalter von Karien schrieb, diese niederbrennen zu lassen, falls sie schon ein Dach und einen Altar besäßen, sie aber von den Fundamenten her zu zerstören, falls die Bauten erst halbfertig seien". Auch bei Didyma handelte es sich um eine Orakelstätte Apolls, und zwar um die bedeutendste Kleinasiens. Julian stand zu diesem Heiligtum wohl ebenfalls in enger Beziehung. Vgl. Iul., *ep*. 88 (Bidez 151). Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. P. Athanassiadi, "The Fate of Oracles in Late Antiquity: Didyma and Delphi", in: DCAH 15, 1989/90, 271-278.

det sich daneben noch eine weitere Notiz, die für unseren Zusammenhang von Interesse sein könnte. Es wird darin nämlich berichtet, dass der nachmalige Kaiser als Heranwachsender in Kappadokien mit seinem Bruder Gallus ein *Martyrion* für einen dortigen Heiligen namens Mamas errichten wollte, dass der von Julian verantwortete Teil des Gebäudes jedoch einstürzte. Nach Sozomenos stellt bereits dieses Ereignis in Julians Jugend einen Hinweis auf dessen spätere Ablehnung dieser christlichen Frömmigkeitsform dar.[73]

Eindeutiger sind freilich Julians eigene Aussagen: Bereits in der Rede gegen den Kyniker Herakleios – dieser Text entstand wohl während des Aufenthalts in Konstantinopel – kritisiert der Kaiser seine Vorgänger wegen der Errichtung von Märtyrerkapellen scharf:

> Die Heiligtümer der Vorfahren wurden von den Söhnen [= Konstantius II. und Konstans I.] zerstört, die zuvor schon ihr Vater [Konstantin I.] missachtet und ihrer Weihegeschenke beraubt hatte, obwohl diese von vielen Verehrern, nicht zuletzt von den eigenen Ahnen [= Claudius II. und Konstantius I.] aufgestellt worden waren. Während sie die Heiligtümer niederrissen, erbauten sie auf den alten und neuen Plätzen Grabstätten in der ihnen von selbst und von der Tyche [= Zufall] eingegebenen Meinung, dass es nicht lange dauern sollte, bis sie selbst solche Grabstätten brauchten, weil sie sich so wenig um die Götter scherten.[74]

Im *Misopogon* hingegen lobt der Kaiser dann einige der Nachbarstädte Antiocheias, allen voran Emesa, weil dort nach seinem Herrschaftsantritt im Gegensatz zur syrischen Hauptstadt die Märtyrergedenkstätten zerstört

[73] Vgl. Soz., *h. e.* V, 2, 12-14 (FC 73/2, 566-568). Für den Kirchenhistoriker sind die erwähnten Ereignisse von Macellum ein Hinweis darauf, dass Julian bereits damals nur vorgab, Christ zu sein. Vgl. daneben auch Greg. Naz., *or.* IV, 24-29 (SC 309, 118-124). Gregor verweist hingegen ausdrücklich darauf, dass Julians damalige Bemühungen u.a. wegen seiner späteren "Entehrung der Märtyrer" scheiterten. Ebd. 26 (120). Vgl. insgesamt hierzu A. Kurmann, *Gregor von Nazianz, 'Oratio' 4 gegen Julian. Ein Kommentar*, SBA 19, Basel 1988, 94-106.

[74] Iul., *or.* VII, 22 (Rochefort 76). Vgl. daneben auch Ders., *or.* V, 13 (Bidez 235). Der oben angeführte Text gehört zu Julians Mustermythos. Vgl. hierzu u.a. G. Wojazek, "Die Heliosweihe des Kaisers Julian. Ein initiatorischer Text des Neuplatonismus", in: WJA NF 18, 1992, 207-235. R. von Haehling, "Mythos als Mittel der Legitimierung. Julian, Helios und der Auftrag zur Repaganisierung des römischen Reiches", in: J. Villers (Hg.), *Antike und Gegenwart*, FS M. Gatzemeier, Würzburg 2003, 95-106. Vielleicht hatte Julian bereits bei den zitierten Aussagen die Situation des Kultortes Daphne im Blick. Aus einem Schreiben des Kaisers an seinen gleichnamigen Onkel kann man jedenfalls entnehmen, dass er sich schon auf der Reise nach Antiocheia um das dortige Apoll-Heiligtum sorgte. Vgl. Ders., *ep.* 80 (Bidez 88). Zum Hintergrund der Rede gegen Herakleios vgl. z.B. K. Döring, "Kaiser Julians Plädoyer für den Kynismus", in: RhM 140, 1997, 386-400.

worden waren.[75] Am aussagekräftigsten für Julians diesbezügliche Position sind aber schließlich zwei Textfragmente aus seinem Werk *Contra Galilaeos*. Diese Kampfschrift gegen das Christentum entstand etwa zur selben Zeit wie die gerade angeführte Satire, nämlich im Winter 362/63 in Antiochien, sie blickt also bereits auf die Geschehnisse von Daphne zurück. Das erste Fragment lautet folgendermaßen:

> Dies eine Übel [= Jesus als Gott zu verehren] aber nahm mit Johannes [= Evangelist] seinen Anfang. Wie viele habt ihr [= Christen] nacheinander noch hinzuerfunden, indem ihr zu der alten Leiche [= Jesus] neue Leichen [= Märtyrer] in großer Anzahl hinzugefügt habt? Wer soll sich da nicht zu Recht ekeln? Alles habt ihr mit Grabmälern angefüllt, und doch findet sich nirgends bei euch ein Gebot, dass ihr euch zu den Gräbern wälzen und sie verehren sollt. Soweit seid ihr in eurer Verkommenheit gelangt, dass ihr sogar glaubt, hierbei nicht einmal auf die Worte Jesu von Nazaret hören zu müssen. Hört nun, was jener über die Grabstätten sagt: "Weh euch, ihr Schriftgelehrten und Pharisäer, ihr Heuchler! Ihr seid wie die Gräber, die außen weiß angestrichen sind und schön aussehen; innen aber sind sie angefüllt mit Knochen, Leichen und jeglicher Unreinheit" (Mt 23,27). Wenn also Jesus sagt, die Gräber seien voller Unreinheit (ἀκαθαρσίας), wie könnt ihr bei ihnen Gott anrufen?[76]

Julian wendet sich hier frontal gegen die christliche Märtyrerverehrung. Zunächst lässt er allerdings einen seiner zentralen Vorwürfe gegen das Christentum überhaupt anklingen, nämlich dass dort mit Jesus ein toter Mensch zu Gott gemacht wird.[77] Nach Ansicht des Kaisers haben sich

[75] Vgl. Iul., *mis*. 33 (Lacombrade 186): "... dies weiß ich [= Julian] genau, dass jene [= Nachbarstädte Antiocheias] mich mehr als ihre eigenen Kinder lieben, denn zum einen haben sie sofort die Heiligtümer der Götter wiedererrichtet, zum anderen die Gräber der Gottlosen umgestürzt, und zwar aufgrund des von mir zuvor gegebenen Signals, ...". Dass der Kaiser hierbei v.a. Emesa im Blick hat, wird aus einer anderen Stelle des *Antiochikos* deutlich: "Sehnten sich etwa die Emisener nach Christus, die doch die Gräber der Galiläer niederbrannten?" Ebd. 28 (182).

[76] Ders., *Gal*. frg. 81 (Masaracchia 174f). Zu *Contra Galilaeos* allgemein vgl. die in Anm. 36 angeführte Literatur. In Blick auf die christliche Märtyrerverehrung verwendet Julian hier und auch an anderen Stellen seines Œuvres das Verb προσκαλινδέομαι, das man mit "herumwälzen" übersetzen könnte. Vgl. ebd. frg. 82 (176). Ders., *mis*. 10 (Lacombrade 165). Im Hintergrund steht dabei sprachlich wohl eine Stelle im *Phaidon*, wo Platon von der körperlichen, also unphilosophischen Seele redet und in diesem Kontext die Wendung: "sich an Denkmälern und Gräbern herumwälzend" verwendet. Plat., *Phaid*. 81cd (Burnet 1). Vgl. insgesamt hierzu Malley, *Hellenism* (Anm. 36), 216-221.

[77] Vgl. z.B. Iul., *Gal*. frg. 43 (Masaracchia 138): "... sie [= Christen] haben die ewigen Götter verlassen und gingen zur Leiche der Juden [= Jesus] über". Julian wendet sich in *Contra Galilaeos* an mehreren Stellen gegen die johanneische Christologie. Diese steht seines Er-

die verhassten Galiläer damit aber nicht begnügt, sondern zu Jesus noch eine riesige Menge weiterer Toter hinzugefügt, denen sie ebenfalls kultische Verehrung erweisen. Für den Kaiser gibt es also eine enge Verbindung zwischen Christentum und Friedhof, diese versucht er mit Aussagen Jesu – neben Mt 23,37 wird auch Mt 8,21f angeführt[78] – zu desavouieren. Als Hintergrund erscheint hier wieder die Unvereinbarkeit von Kult und Grab bzw. die Unreinheit des Todes insgesamt. Julian zeigt im zitierten Fragment aber auch seine exzellente Kenntnis der Bibel. Er will mit der Hl. Schrift des Christentums gleichsam gegen dessen eigene Praxis argumentieren, er sucht die Anhänger Jesu also gegen ihren Meister auszuspielen.[79]

Im zweiten einschlägigen Fragment greift der Kaiser dann eine Stelle aus dem Alten Testament auf, nämlich Jes 65,4. Er unterstellt damit den Juden, die Gräber aufgrund von Zauberei und Mantik aufgesucht zu haben. Gleiches wirft er schließlich den Aposteln und ihnen nachfolgend allen Christen vor:

> Wenn dies also so ist, warum wälzt ihr euch dann zu den Grabstätten? Wollt ihr den Grund hören? Nicht ich will ihn nennen, sondern der Prophet Jesaja: "In den Grabstätten und Höhlen schlafen sie wegen der Traumgesichte" (Jes 65,4). Schaut nur, wie alt bei den Juden diese Tätigkeit der Zauberei ist, dass sie in den Grabstätten der Traumgesichte wegen ruhten. Wahrscheinlich haben auch eure Apostel nach dem Tod des Meisters dies betrieben, haben es von Anfang an euch, den ersten Gläubigen überliefert und selbst geschickter als ihr Zauberei betrieben. So haben sie aber den nachfolgenden Generationen offen die Stätten dieser Zauberei und Scheußlichkeit zugewiesen.[80]

achtens sowohl im Widerspruch zum atl. Monotheismus wie auch zu den Darstellungen Jesu in den anderen ntl. Schriften. Vgl. hierzu u.a. ebd. frg. 79f (172-174). Malley, *Hellenism* (Anm. 36), 178-210. J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the New Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, STAC 3, Tübingen 2000, 301-307.

[78] Im Anschluss an das obige Zitat referiert Kyrill von Alexandrien noch folgende Ausführungen Julians: "Als ein Jünger sagte: 'Herr, lass mich zuerst heimgehen und meinen Vater begraben', sagte er [= Jesus]: 'Folge mir nach, lass die Toten ihre Toten begraben' (Mt 8,21f)". Iul., *Gal.* frg. 81 (Masaracchia 175). Auch mit dieser Schriftstelle will Kaiser Julian belegen, dass die christliche Funeralkultur dem Willen Jesu entgegensteht.

[79] Vgl. u.a. Cook, *Interpretation* (Anm. 78), 294 u. 324-327. Nach Ansicht des Kaisers begann die christliche Nekrolatrie nicht mit Jesus selbst, sondern mit der Verehrung der Apostelgräber in der Stadt Rom. Dies wiederum soll laut Julian dann Johannes veranlasst haben, Jesus als Gott zu bezeichnen. Vgl. Iul., *Gal.* frg. 79 (Masaracchia 172).

[80] Ebd. frg. 82 (176). Vgl. hierzu u.a. J. G. Cook, *The Interpretation of the Old Testament in the Greco-Roman Paganism*, STAC 23, Tübingen 2004, 326. Julian scheint auch in diesem Fragment von einem Gegensatz zwischen Mose, den Propheten sowie Jesus auf der einen und der späteren christlichen Praxis auf der anderen Seite auszugehen. Neben Anm. 175 vgl. hierzu z.B. auch Iul., *Gal.* frg. 83 (Masaracchia 177).

Julian sieht in der Verbindung von Kult und Tod einen diametralen Gegensatz zwischen seinen eigenen religiösen Vorstellungen und der Praxis der Galiläer. In der nächsten Stichprobe soll nun untersucht werden, ob dieser Gegensatz auch legislative Konsequenzen nach sich zog.

5. Stichprobe 3: Julians Bestattungsgesetz oder der Kampf gegen die Unreinheit des Todes

Unter dem Namen Julians ist ein Gesetz zum Bestattungswesen überliefert. Dies ist auf den 12. Februar 363 datiert, es wurde also noch in Antiocheia erlassen. Das Edikt hat sich über die Kodifikation Theodosius' II. und Valentinians III. von 438 erhalten, fand in verkürzter Fassung dann aber etwa 100 Jahre später auch Eingang in den *Codex Iustinianus*.[81] Der Erlass Julians ist zweigeteilt. Mit dem ersten Abschnitt sucht der Kaiser die Unverletzlichkeit von Gräbern zu schützen:

> Dreistigkeit wagt sich an die Grabstätten der Hingeschiedenen und die ihnen geweihten Grabhügel heran, während es unsere Vorfahren doch stets gleich einem Frevel erachteten, einen Stein von dort zu entfernen, die Erde zu bewegen und den Rasen aufzureißen. Jetzt aber entfernen manche von den Grabdenkmälern sogar Schmuckstücke zur Ausstattung ihrer Speisesäle oder Säulenhallen. Ihnen gilt unsere erste Vorsorge, damit sie nicht durch Entweihung der Heiligkeit der Grabstätten in Schuld verfallen. Deshalb untersagen wir solche Handlungen und gebieten ihnen durch Strafe zur Vergeltung für die Manen [= Totengeister] Einhalt.[82]

Dieser erste Teil des julianischen Gesetzes ist ganz im Rahmen des traditionellen römischen Grabrechts zu sehen. Der Kaiser fühlte sich als *pontifex maximus* besonders für den Bereich des göttlichen Rechts zuständig, dazu

[81] Vgl. *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). *Cod. Iust.* IX, 19, 5 (Krüger 839). Das Gesetz des "Kaisers Iulianus Augustus" richtet sich ganz allgemein "an das Volk". Hiermit sind aber wahrscheinlich in erster Linie die Antiochener gemeint. Das Edikt hat folgende Datierung: "Gegeben am Tag vor den Iden des Februar zu Antiochien unter dem vierten Konsulat des Iulianus Augustus und dem des Sallustius". Das Gesetz wurde damit in unmittelbarer zeitlicher Nähe zu den *Parentalia* bzw. *Feralia* erlassen. Im Unterschied zu anderen Maßnahmen Julians hat diese Bestimmung in der Forschung bislang relativ wenig Aufmerksamkeit gefunden. Vgl. neben der in Anm. 94 genannten Literatur z.B. Ch. de Filippis Cappai, "Sulla statuizione di Giuliano Augusto in materia di sepolcri ed esequie (Cod. Theod. 9,17,5)", in: Quaderni del Dipartimento di filologia, linguistica e tradizione classica 14, 2000, 235-239.

[82] *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Zum *Codex Theodosianus* allgemein vgl. z.B. J. F. Matthews, *Laying Down the Law. A Study of the Theodosian Code*, New Haven 2000. A. J. B. Sirks, *The Theodosian Code. A Study*, SALS 39, Friedrichsdorf 2007.

gehörte freilich auch der Schutz der Gräber als *loci religiosi*.[83] In diesem Gesetz findet sich zunächst nichts, was auf eine spezifisch pagane Stoßrichtung hinweisen würde. Auch sein christlicher Vorgänger Konstantius II. hatte ganz ähnliche Gesetze erlassen.[84] Die einzige Formulierung, die auf heidnisches Gedankengut schließen lassen könnte, ist die Erwähnung der Manen. Allerdings kann dies auch einer archaisierenden Rechtssprache geschuldet sein, in einem Edikt, das Konstantius wohl 357 zusammen mit Julian erließ, werden die Gräber ebenfalls als "Gebäude der Totengeister"[85] bezeichnet. Interessant ist freilich, dass sich diese Formulierung in der justinianischen Fassung von Julians Gesetz nicht mehr findet.[86] Deutlicher scheint die Zielsetzung einer heidnischen Restauration der Funeralkultur dann aber im zweiten Abschnitt des Erlasses zu werden:

[83] Julian verweist in diesem Gesetz auf die "Ahnen" (*maiores*) und will sich damit in eine uralte Tradition römischen Grabschutzes stellen. Allerdings ist in der Forschung umstritten, ob die spätantike Gesetzgebung im Sepulkralwesen einfach als Fortführung früherer Bestimmungen anzusehen ist. In mancherlei Hinsicht ist hier eine deutliche Verschärfung festzustellen. Zum Grab als *locus religiosus* vgl. z.B. M. Ducos, "Le tombeau, 'locus religiosus'", in: F. Hinard (Hg.), *La mort au quotidien dans le monde romain*, Paris 1995, 135-144. Zu Julian als *pontifex maximus* vgl. R. Stepper, *'Augustus et sacerdos'. Untersuchungen zum römischen Kaiser als Priester*, PAwB 9, Stuttgart 2003, 201-207. Zum Hintergrund vgl. allgemein u.a. F. de Visscher, *Le droit des tombeaux romain*, Mailand 1963. O. Behrens, "Grabraub und Grabfrevel im römischen Recht", in: H. Jankuhn u.a. (Hg.), *Zum Grabfrevel in vor- und frühgeschichtlicher Zeit. Untersuchungen zu Grabraub und 'haugbrot' in Mittel- und Nordeuropa*, AAWG.PH 113, Göttingen 1978, 85-106. G. Klingenberg, "Grabrecht", in: RAC 12, 1983, 590-637.

[84] Vgl. *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 1-4 (Mommsen 1/2, 463-465). Neben dem Edikt Julians enthält der Abschnitt: *De sepulchri violati* im *Codex Theodosianus* u.a. vier Gesetze des Konstantius, zwei davon sind zusammen mit Julian als seinem Mitregenten erlassen. All diese Edikte stellen Schutzbestimmungen für Grabstätten dar. Vgl. insgesamt hierzu z.B. Rebillard, *Care* (Anm. 9), 57-88, v.a. 63-67.

[85] *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 4 (Mommsen 1/2, 464): *aedificia manium*. Wenn in diesem Gesetz von Manen die Rede ist, könnte dies ein Hinweis darauf sein, dass dieser Begriff in der Spätantike einfach für Verstorbene benutzt wurde. Auf der anderen Seite ist aber auch nicht gänzlich auszuschließen, dass bereits in diesem Edikt ein spezifischer Einfluss Julians spürbar ist. Zum Begriff Manen vgl. u.a. W. Schmitz, "Manes", in: RAC 23, 2010, 1266-1274. Zum Hintergrund insgesamt vgl. K. L. Noethlichs, "Spätantike Jenseitsvorstellungen im Spiegel des staatlichen Gräberschutzes. Zur Novelle 23 Kaiser Valentinians III.", in: Th. Klauser u.a. (Hg.), *Jenseitsvorstellungen in Antike und Christentum*, FS A. Stuiber, JAC.E 9, Münster 1982, 47-54.

[86] Vgl. *Cod. Iust*. IX, 19, 5 (Krüger 839). Im *Codex Iustinianus* wird die Wendung: *poena manium vindice* durch *poena sacrilegii* ersetzt. Dies könnte ein Indiz dafür sein, dass man zur Zeit Justinians die Erwähnung der Manen bewusst vermeiden wollte. Vgl. z.B. auch *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 4 (Mommsen 1/2, 464): *aedificia manium*. *Cod. Iust*. IX, 19, 4 (Krüger 838): *sepulchra*.

> Das zweite Anliegen ist, dass uns zur Kenntnis gekommen ist, dass die Leichen Verstorbener durch das dichte Gewühl des Volkes und das äußerst lebhafte Treiben der Umstehenden zur Bestattung hinausgetragen werden. Dies befleckt freilich die Augen der Menschen durch unheilverkündende Eindrücke. Denn wie kann ein Tag nach einer Bestattung noch unter guten Vorzeichen stehen oder wie soll man sich danach noch den Göttern und ihren Tempeln nahen? Und weil der Schmerz bei den Beisetzungen die Zurückgezogenheit liebt und weil die Tageszeit für die Hingeschiedenen keinen Unterschied macht, ob sie nun bei Nacht oder bei Tage hinausgetragen werden, ist es angebracht, das Volk vor ihrem Anblick überhaupt zu befreien, damit bei Bestattungen Raum für Schmerz sei, nicht aber ein prunkvoller Leichenzug und öffentliche Zurschaustellung vorherrschen.[87]

Julian kommt hier auf die Verunreinigung durch Bestattungen zu sprechen, die das urbane Alltagsleben, vor allem aber pagane Kulthandlungen beeinträchtigen. Vor diesem Hintergrund ordnet der Kaiser an, dass Leichenzüge künftig nur mehr während der Nacht stattfinden sollen.[88] Daneben wendet sich Julian auch gegen zu großen Prunk bei Bestattungen. Dabei handelt es sich um einen Bereich, den man bereits seit Solon und den *Zwölf Tafeln* gesetzlich einzuschränken suchte.[89]

Ist dieser zweite Teil des Edikts nun gegen die Galiläer gerichtet? Zunächst sollte man diesen Text ganz traditionell vor dem Hintergrund der Unreinheit des Todes interpretieren.[90] Andererseits ist dieses Gesetz nach den Vorfällen von Daphne erlassen worden. Ist dieser Rechtstext dadurch motiviert? Wollte Julian damit den Christen ein für alle Mal die Gelegenheit nehmen, bei Prozessionen Märtyrergebeine mit sich zu führen?

[87] *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465).

[88] Die Annahme einer Verunreinigung durch die Berührung mit der Sphäre des Todes ist nicht exklusiv heidnisch bzw. julianisch, sie findet sich z.B. auch in einem Gesetz Konstantius' II.: "Diejenigen, die die Gebäude der Totengeister verletzten – ich könnte auch von den Häusern der Toten sprechen –, scheinen ein doppeltes Verbrechen zu begehen, denn sie berauben die Bestatteten durch ihre Zerstörungen und besudeln gleichzeitig die Lebenden durch ihre Bauten". Ebd. 4 (464). Vgl. hierzu auch Anm. 176. In Julians Erlass klingt dieser Aspekt im ersten Abschnitt ebenfalls an: *contaminata religione*. Allerdings bezieht er die Verunreinigung im zweiten Teil direkt auf den paganen Kult: *ad deos et templa*. Ebd. 5 (465).

[89] Vgl. hierzu z.B. J. Engels, *'Funerum sepulcrorumque magnificentia'. Begräbnis- und Grabluxusgesetze in der griechisch-römischen Welt mit einigen Ausblicken auf Einschränkungen des funeralen und sepulkralen Luxus im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit*, Hermes.E 78, Stuttgart 1998. Die Beschränkung von Luxus bei der Bestattung steht in Julians Gesetz nicht im Vordergrund. Dies wird hier vielmehr als ein weiteres Argument dafür angeführt, dass Beisetzungen nachts durchgeführt werden sollen.

[90] Vgl. *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465): *infaustis incestat aspectibus*. Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. die in Anm. 65 genannte Literatur.

Wollte der Kaiser die Christen mit diesem Gesetz der Möglichkeit berauben, ihren Glauben bei Bestattungen öffentlichkeitswirksam zum Ausdruck zu bringen? Wollte er die christliche Sorge um die Toten, die seiner Meinung nach ja zum Erfolg der verhassten Galiläer beigetragen hatte,[91] dadurch einschränken? Dafür könnte sprechen, dass die gerade angeführte Passage des julianischen Gesetzes keinen Eingang in den *Codex Iustinianus* fand. Die genauen Hintergründe hierfür sind freilich unbekannt. Es ist aber zumindest denkbar, dass den Juristen zur Zeit Justinians dieser Abschnitt des Edikts als nicht mehr zeitgemäß erschien. Vielleicht erkannten die Kompilatoren um den *quaestor sacri palatii* Tribonian sogar eine antichristliche Stoßrichtung in Julians Erlass und ließen den zweiten Teil deshalb beiseite.[92]

Letztlich fällt eine Bewertung dieser Passage des julianischen Gesetzes allerdings schwer. Dies hängt u.a. damit zusammen, dass sich in den Quellen zu Kaiser Julian m.W. kein Reflex darauf findet, auch nicht in der christlichen Polemik. In der modernen Forschung ist dieses Edikt erstaunlicher Weise ebenfalls relativ unbeachtet geblieben.[93] Hilfreich für die Interpretation ist allerdings ein anonymer Text aus dem *Codex Marcianus* 366. Diesen Brief entdeckte der Altphilologe Friedrich Karl Hertlein in der Markusbibliothek zu Venedig und edierte ihn erstmals 1874. Aufgrund der handschriftlichen Überlieferung, stilistischer Ähnlichkeiten, vor allem aber der inhaltlicher Übereinstimmungen zum Edikt vom 12. Februar 363 wurde der Text völlig zu Recht Julian zugeschrieben. Damit besitzen wir eine ausführliche griechische Parallele zu dem kurzen zweiten Abschnitt des lateinischen Erlasses.[94] Die Überlieferungssituation von Julians Bestat-

[91] Julian führt im Brief an den Oberpriester Arsakios die christliche "Vorsorge für die Bestattung der Toten" als einen der Faktoren an, die seines Erachtens "die Gottlosigkeit am meisten gefördert haben". Iul., *ep*. 84 (Bidez 144). Vgl. hierzu Anm. 13.

[92] Vgl. *Cod. Iust*. IX, 19, 5 (Krüger 839). Allgemein zum *Codex Iustinianus* vgl. z.B. H. Leppin, "Die Gesetzgebung Iustinians. Der Kaiser und sein Recht", in: E. Stein-Hölkeskamp, K.-J. Hölkeskamp (Hg.), *Erinnerungsorte der Antike. Die römische Welt*, München 2006, 457-466. K. Piepenbrink, "Christliche Explikationen in der Gesetzgebung Justinians I.", in: ZAC 21, 2017, 361-382.

[93] Neben dem in Anm. 82 genannten Aufsatz vgl. z.B. J. Bidez, *L'empereur Julien*, *Œuvres complètes*. Bd. 1/2: *Lettres et fragments*, Paris 1924, 129-132. Weis, *Briefe* (Anm. 16), 330-332. M. Caltabiano, *L'epistolario di Giuliano imperatore*, Neapel 1991, 275f. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 254f. Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 139f. Scrofani, *Religione* (Anm. 49), 149-154. Nesselrath, *Kaiser* (Anm. 28), 146. Brendel, *Kaiser* (Anm. 27), 365-372.

[94] Vgl. Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 198-200). F. K. Hertlein, "Ein Edict des Kaisers Julianus", in: Hermes 8, 1874, 167-172. Der von Hertlein publizierte Brief enthält weder eine Verfasser-, noch eine Adressatenangabe. Da diesem Schriftstück fünf Texte vorausgehen, die eindeutig Julian zugeschrieben werden können, ist es jedoch durchaus wahrscheinlich, dass auch das vorliegende Textstück Julian gehört. Die unmittelbar vorausgehende Schrift enthält im Un-

tungsgesetz ähnelt somit übrigens in gewisser Weise der des berühmten Rhetorenedikts.[95] Das von Hertlein aufgefundene Schreiben des Kaisers soll nun detalliert vorgestellt werden, es beginnt folgendermaßen:

> Ich musste aufgrund meiner persönlichen Überlegungen den alten Brauch wiederaufnehmen, den durch Gesetz zu bekräftigen ich mich jetzt entschlossen habe. Durch diese Überlegungen gelangten die trefflichen Gesetzgeber der Vergangenheit ebenfalls zu der Auffassung, dass Leben und Tod durch die weiteste Kluft getrennt seien, und sie nahmen daher an, dass jedem der beiden getrennt die ihnen gemäßen Tätigkeiten zukommen. Denn der Tod sei, wie sie meinten, eine immerwährende Ruhe – und das ist eben jener eherne Schlaf, von dem die Dichter singen –, das Leben hingegen bringe abwechselnd viel Schmerzliches und viel Angenehmes, und bald eine widrige, bald auch wieder eine bessere Lage. Aufgrund eben dieser Überlegungen bestimmten sie, dass die Zeremonien für die Hingeschiedenen zeitlich getrennt zu vollziehen seien und dementsprechend die Geschäfte des Alltagslebens ebenfalls zeitlich getrennt verrichtet werden sollen.[96]

Wie im Edikt vom 12. Februar 363 ordnet Julian auch hier an, dass Bestattungen fortan grundsätzlich nachts, also vor Sonnenaufgang oder nach Sonnenuntergang zu erfolgen haben. Anders als in der lateinischen Fassung führt er in dem von Hertlein entdeckten Schreiben dazu jedoch eine ganze Reihe umfangreicher Begründungen an.[97] Der Kaiser versteht seine legislatorische Bestimmung dabei als Rückkehr zu den überkommenen Sitten der Vorväter, er scheint sie als Bestandteil einer großangelegten paganen

terschied zu den anderen übrigens ebenfalls keine Verfasserangabe. Hertlein stützte seine Zuschreibung überdies durch eine Reihe sprachlicher Beobachtungen ab. Theodor Mommsen wies daneben als erster auch auf die inhaltlichen Parallelen zu *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 5 hin. Vgl. Th. Mommsen, "Ein Edict des Kaisers Julianus", in: ebd. 172.

[95] Vgl. *Cod. Theod.* XIII, 3, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 741). *Cod. Iust.* X, 53, 7 (Krüger 936). Iul., *ep.* 61c (Bidez 73-75). Der genaue Zusammenhang zwischen dem Schulgesetz vom 17. Juni 362 und dem ohne Adressaten überlieferten Schreiben Julians ist in der Forschung umstritten. Neben der in Anm. 34 genannten Literatur vgl. zum Rhetorenedikt z.B. auch N. McLynn, "Julian and the Christian Professors", in: C. Harrison u.a. (Hg.), *Being Christian in Late Antiquity*, FS G. Clark, Oxford 2014, 120-136. G. A. Cecconi, "Giuliano, la scuola, i cristiani. Note sul dibattito recente", in: A. Marcone (Hg.), *L'imperatore Giuliano. Realtà storica e rappresentazione,* STUMSA 3, Florenz 2015, 204-222.

[96] Iul., *ep.* 136b (Bidez 198). Die obige Übersetzung orientiert sich wie auch bei anderen Briefen Julians an der Übertragung ins Deutsche von Berthold K. Weis. Zu *ep.* 136b vgl. Weis, *Briefe* (Anm. 16), 196-201.

[97] Evtl. stellt die Formulierung: κρατῦναι τῷ νόμῳ sogar einen expliziten Verweis auf den lat. Gesetzestext dar. Iul., *ep.* 136b (Bidez 198).

Restauration zu betrachten. Er will damit gleichsam einen "alten Brauch wiederaufnehmen".[98]

Julian beruft sich zu Beginn des Textes zwar auch auf "persönliche Überlegungen",[99] sieht diese gleichzeitig aber in völliger Übereinstimmung mit früheren Gesetzgebern. Leider führt er seine Gewährsmänner nicht namentlich an, so dass über seine diesbezüglichen Quellen lediglich Vermutungen möglich sind: Aus Hinweisen in einer Demosthenes zugeschriebenen Rede kann man z.B. entnehmen, dass der athenische Staatsmann Solon als Zeit für Bestattungen die Morgendämmerung festsetzte.[100] Ähnliche zeitliche Bestimmungen finden sich in Platons *Gesetzen*[101] und sind durch ein Zeugnis Ciceros auch für Demetrios von Phaleron überliefert.[102] Es ist allerdings mehr als fraglich, ob man daraus grundsätzlich für die antike griechische Welt folgern kann, dass Beisetzungen dort in den frühen Mor-

[98] Ebd. (198): τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος ἀναλαβεῖν. Julian bezieht sich übrigens in der lat. Fassung ebenfalls auf die Anschauungen der Vorfahren, dort allerdings im ersten Abschnitt, der im vorliegenden Schreiben keine Parallele besitzt: *sacrilegio maiores semper habuerint*. *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Julian beschreibt seine (religions-)politischen Maßnahmen auch an anderer Stelle als Wiederherstellung traditioneller Bräuche. Vgl. z.B. Iul., *ep.* 89a (Bidez 153): "... ich meide Neuerungen sozusagen in jeder Hinsicht, besonders aber in dem, was die Götter angeht, weil ich der Meinung bin, dass man die Gesetze, die bei unseren Vorfahren von Anfang an galten, bewahren muss". Vgl. hierzu z.B. Bregman, Elements (Anm. 26), 338-342. Allerdings wäre es problematisch, Julians religiöses Programm einfachhin als pagane Restauration zu beschreiben, trotz seiner konservativen Zielsetzung war dies in mancherlei Hinsicht nämlich stattdessen äußerst innovativ. Vgl. hierzu Anm. 173.

[99] Iul., *ep.* 136b (Bidez 198): οἴκοθεν διανοηθέντας – ὃ διανοούμενοι – Ὃ δὴ διανοηθέντες.

[100] Vgl. Ps.-Demosth., *or.* XLIII, 62 (Blass 40f): "Der Verstorbene ist am Folgetag nach der Aufbahrung hinauszutragen, bevor die Sonne aufgeht". Vgl. daneben auch E. Ruschenbusch, K. Bringmann, *Solon, Das Gesetzeswerk – Fragmente. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Hist.E 215, Stuttgart 2010, 139f. Die solonische Bestimmung, dass ein Leichenzug, also die *ekphora* vor Aufgang der Sonne stattzufinden habe, ist wohl in Zusammenhang mit der Beschränkung des Grabluxus und somit als antiaristokratische Maßnahme zu sehen. Vgl. allgemein hierzu z.B. Engels, *Funerum* (Anm. 90), 77-96. Die Einschränkung des funeralen Aufwands klingt übrigens auch in der lat. Fassung des julianischen Gesetzes an, findet sich aber im dazugehörigen griech. Schreiben selbst nicht. Vgl. *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465).

[101] Vgl. Plat., *leg.* XII, 960a (Burnet 5/2): "... es ist zu verhindern, dass man den Leichnam in aller Öffentlichkeit durch die Straßen trägt und beim Gang durch die Straßen laut schreit; und vor Tagesanbruch soll man vor der Stadt sein". Insgesamt vgl. hierzu z.B. K. Schöpsdau, *Platon, Nomoi (Gesetze): Buch VIII-XII. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, PWÜK 9/2-3, Göttingen 2011, 571-575. Zu Platon im Denken Julians vgl. u.a. J. Bouffartigue, *L'empereur Julien et la culture de son temps*, CEAug.SA 133, Paris 1992, 52-60 u. 170-197.

[102] Vgl. Cic., *leg.* II, 26, 66 (SQAW 31, 294): "Er [= Demetrios] befahl nämlich, dass sie [= die Verstorbenen] vor Tagesanbruch hinausgetragen werden sollen". Nach Cicero ist diese Bestimmung ebenfalls im Kontext der Beschränkung des Grabluxus zu sehen. Insgesamt vgl. hierzu u.a. Engels, *Funerum* (Anm. 90), 121-154.

genstunden oder nach Einbruch der Dunkelheit zu erfolgen hatten.[103] Für den römischen Bereich ist die Quellenlage noch viel schmaler: Im *Aeneiskommentar* des Grammatikers Servius findet sich zwar eine entsprechende Notiz. Es ist jedoch sehr zweifelhaft, ob man daraus weitergehende Schlussfolgerungen ableiten kann.[104] Julian sah sich mit seinem Bestattungsgesetz allerdings in einer altehrwürdigen gesetzgeberischen Tradition stehend. Er beruft sich in seinem Schreiben darüber hinaus übrigens auch auf die antike Dichtung. Wahrscheinlich hat Julian dabei Homer im Blick, den er gleichsam als eine Art paganen Schriftbeleg für die von ihm geforderte Praxis anführt.[105] Im Anschluss argumentiert der Kaiser dann auf einer eher theologischen Ebene:

[103] Es finden sich etwa in der *Ilias* Hinweise darauf, dass Feuerbestattungen am Abend vollzogen wurden. Vgl. z.B. Hom., *Il.* XXIII, 154. 217 u. 226 (Allen 2). Eine durchgängige Bestattungspraxis vor Sonnenaufgang bzw. nach Sonnenuntergang, wie sie Julian im Blick hat, ist jedoch nicht zu belegen. Euripides erwähnt etwa, dass eine Beisetzung in dunkler Nacht als schimpflich galt. Vgl. Eur., *Tro.* 446 (Biehl 27). Für Sparta berichtet Plutarch sogar von einer völlig konträren Praxis, dort sollen Bestattungen grundsätzlich bei Tageslicht durchgeführt worden sein. Vgl. Plut., *Lyk.* 27, 1 (Ziegler 3/2, 44). Für den griech. Osten in der Kaiserzeit und Spätantike lässt sich aufgrund der Quellenlage kein einheitliches Bild zur zeitlichen Ansetzung von Bestattungen gewinnen. Allgemein zur Bestattungspraxis im antiken Griechenland vgl. z.B. A. Mau, "Bestattung", in: PRE 3/1, 1897, 331-359. D. C. Kurtz, J. Boardman, *Thanatos. Tod und Jenseits bei den Griechen*, Mainz 1985. R. Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*, Ithaca 1988.

[104] Vgl. Serv., *Aen.* XI, 143 (Thilo 2, 493): "Aber bei den Römern war es Sitte, dass sie [= die Leichen] zur Nachtzeit mit Fackeln hinausgetragen wurden, ...". Es handelt sich hierbei jedoch um ein vereinzeltes Zeugnis aus der Spätantike, möglicherweise ist die zeitliche Bestimmung durch die Erwähnung der Fackeln bestimmt und hat keinen historischen Hintergrund. In Rom fand ein Leichenzug, also die *pompa funebris,* üblicherweise bei Tage statt, sie diente gerade der Nobilität auch zur familiären Repräsentation. Bestattungen bei Nacht sind deshalb nur für sehr Arme und Kinder bezeugt. Vgl. z.B. ebd. VI, 224 (41). Allgemein vgl. hierzu u.a. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*, Baltimore 1996. St. Schrumpf, *Bestattung und Bestattungswesen im Römischen Reich. Ablauf, soziale Dimension und ökonomische Bedeutung der Totenfürsorge im lateinischen Westen*, Göttingen 2006. Fraglich ist allerdings, inwieweit Julian hier überhaupt westlich-lateinische Gegebenheiten im Blick hatte. Vgl. zu diesem Problem grundsätzlich z.B. Ch. Lacombrade, "Kaiser Julian und die römische Tradition", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 285-297.

[105] Vgl. Iul., *ep.* 136b (Bidez 198). Um die Dunkelheit als Zeit der Bestattung zu erweisen, definiert Julian den Tod als "immerwährende Ruhe". Um wiederum dies abzusichern, verweist er auf die Dichter, die den Tod als "ehernen Schlaf" (ὁ χαλκοῦς ὕπνος) bezeichnen. Diese Formulierung findet sich z.B. in der *Ilias*. Vgl. Hom., *Il.* XI, 241 (Allen 1). Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. M. B. Ogle, "The Sleep of Death", in: MAAR 11, 1933, 81-117. Rush, *Death* (Anm. 8), 1-22. Allgemein zu Homer im Œuvre Julians vgl. z.B. Bouffartigue, *Julien* (Anm. 102), 143-155. Im Brief an den galatischen Oberpriester Arsakios sucht der Kaiser Werke der Wohltätigkeit etwa mit Versen aus der *Odyssee* als genuin heidnische Praxis herauszustellen. Vgl. Iul., *ep.* 84 (Bidez 146). Hom., *Od.* XIV, 56-58 (Allen 4).

> Überdies gingen sie [= die Gesetzgeber der Vergangenheit] davon aus, dass Ursprung und Ziel aller Dinge die Götter seien, dass wir während unseres Lebens dem Walten der Götter unterworfen ‹sind› und bei unserem Hinscheiden wieder zu den Göttern heimkehren. Über die Frage, ob beide Bereiche denselben Göttern zugehören oder ob die einen über die Lebenden, die anderen über die Toten walten, öffentlich zu diskutieren, ist vielleicht nicht angemessen. Wenn in derselben Weise, wie Helios [= Sonne] mit seinem Kommen und Gehen der Urheber von Tag und Nacht, von Sommer ‹und Winter› ist, so auch der altehrwürdigste unter den Göttern selbst, zu dem alles hinstrebt und aus dem alles hervorströmt, den Lebenden ihre Herrscher und den Toten ihre Gebieter zugewiesen hat, so muss man jedem dieser beiden Bereiche Zug um Zug den ihnen angemessenen Anteil lassen und im Tagesablauf unseres Lebens die von den Göttern geschaffene Daseinsordnung nachahmen. Ruhe also bedeutet der Tod, zur Ruhe aber passt die Nacht. Darum bin ich der Meinung, dass man die Zeremonien zur Beisetzung der Verstorbenen während der Nacht vollziehen soll, da man sich aus vielerlei Gründen gegen die Ausübung derartiger Zeremonien am Tage wenden muss.[106]

Julian betont hier nochmals die strikte Trennung der Bereiche von Leben und Tod. Beide Sphären unterscheiden sich voneinander wie Tag und Nacht, wie Sommer und Winter. Diese Grundgegebenheit ist seiner Ansicht nach deshalb auch bei den Beisetzungsriten zu beachten. Der Kaiser begnügt sich aber nicht mit dem Verweis auf die natürliche Lebensordnung, sondern legitimiert diese wiederum als von den Göttern geschaffen.[107] Er scheint davon auszugehen, dass beide Bereiche in der Zuständigkeit unterschiedlicher Gottheiten liegen. Diese göttliche Ressortverteilung muss seiner Meinung nach jedoch auch ganz praktisch Konsequenzen bei der Bestattung nach sich ziehen.[108] Selbst wenn Julian eine Vielzahl von Göttern mit klar abgegrenzten Kompetenzen annimmt, so findet sich in

[106] Iul., *ep.* 136b (Bidez 198f).

[107] Als zentraler Begriff findet sich hier: *ἡ ἐν τοῖς οὖσι διακόσμησις*. Nach Julian muss sich diese kosmische, auf die Götter zurückgehende Ordnung im menschlichen Leben widerspiegeln. Vor diesem Hintergrund verbindet er *ἡσυχία* und *θάνατος* miteinander. Dies hat zur Folge, dass nun die Nacht als einzig mögliche Tageszeit für Bestattungen erscheint: *νύξ – τὰ περὶ τὰς ταφάς*. Ebd. (199). Der Kaiser geht davon aus, dass frühere Staatsmänner diese Gegebenheiten ebenfalls im Blick hatten und bei der Gesetzgebung berücksichtigten.

[108] Julian spricht hier, wenn auch mit einer gewissen Zurückhaltung, von unterschiedlichen Göttern für den Bereich des Lebens und für die Sphäre des Todes: *ἕτεροι μὲν ἐπιτροπεύουσι τοὺς ζῶντας, ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς τεθνεῶτας – ζῶσί τε ἔταξεν ἄρχοντας καὶ τελευτήσασιν ἀπεκλήρωσε κυρίους*. Ebd. (198f). Etwas später differenziert Kaiser Julian in diesem Schreiben dann ausdrücklich zwischen olympischen und chtonischen Gottheiten. Vgl. ebd. (200). Zum Hintergrund vgl. z.B. S. Scullion, "Olympian and Chtonian", in: ClA 13, 1994, 75-

dieser Passage doch daneben zugleich die Vorstellung einer übergeordneten Zentralgottheit. Als "altehrwürdigster unter den Göttern selbst, zu dem alles hinstrebt und aus dem alles hervorströmt",[109] wird hier Helios herausgestellt. Ende 362, nur wenige Wochen vor dem Bestattungsgesetz hatte der Herrscher eine große Rede auf den Sonnengott verfasst. König Helios wird darin nicht nur als persönlicher Schutzherr des Kaisers gepriesen, sondern vor allem als Mittelpunkt des ganzen Kosmos gefeiert.[110] Nach diesen eher grundsätzlichen Überlegungen rekurriert Julian im folgenden Abschnitt seines Schreibens dann auf das städtische Alltagsleben:

> Da [= am Tage] strebt jedermann in der Stadt zu diesem und zu jenem Geschäft, alles ist erfüllt von Menschen, die teils zu den Gerichtsgebäuden, teils zum Markt eilen oder von dort kommen, die bei ihren

119. W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassichen Epoche*, RM 15, Stuttgart ²2011, 305-310.

[109] Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 199): αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ὁ πρεσβύτατος, εἰς ὂν πάντα καὶ ἐξ οὗ πάντα. In Anknüpfung an neuplatonische Konzeptionen, v.a. an diejenige Jamblichs, nimmt Julian eine dreigegliederte Welt an. Helios steht dabei im Zentrum. Als Himmelskörper regiert er die sichtbare Welt, u.a. bestimmt er die Tages- und die Jahreszeiten. Formulierungen, die gewisse Parallelen zum vorliegenden Schreiben aufweisen, finden sich z.B. im *Brief an die Alexandriner*. Vgl. Ders., *ep*. 111 (Bidez 190). Helios ist nach Julian zugleich auch der Herrscher der noerischen Welt. Er ist der erste unter den intellektuellen Göttern und gleichzeitig eins mit ihnen allen. Die schöpferische und vollendende Kraft des Sonnengottes wird ähnlich wie hier im *Hymnos auf König Helios* betont. Daneben hat Helios aber auch im intelligiblen Kosmos seine Entsprechung, nämlich im höchsten Prinzip, also im Einen bzw. Guten. Für Julian steht der Sonnengott also sowohl horizontal wie auch vertikal im Mittelpunkt. Helios bildet das Zentrum jeder der drei Welten, er ist das Abbild des Königs der noetischen Gottheiten und zugleich das Urbild der sichtbaren Sonne. Vgl. Ders., *or*. XI, 9f (Lacombrade 106-108). Neben der in Anm. 111 genannten Literatur vgl. hierzu z.B. J. Dillon, "The Theology of Julian's 'Hymn to King Helios'", in: Ítaca 14, 1998, 103-115. S. Stöcklin-Kaldewey, "Göttliche Hierarchie und Aufgabenteilung bei Kaiser Julian", in: A. Fürst u.a. (Hg.), *Monotheistische Denkfiguren in der Spätantike*, STAC 81, Tübingen 2013, 142-158.

[110] Vgl. Iul., *or*. XI (Lacombrade 100-138). Der *Hymnos auf König Helios* wurde im Winter 362/63 verfasst, wahrscheinlich anlässlich des Festes für *Sol Invictus* am 25. Dezember. Julian widmete diese Rede seinem Vertrauten Salutios. Insgesamt vgl. hierzu z.B. G. Mau, *Die Religionsphilosophie Kaiser Julians in seinen Reden auf König Helios und die Göttermutter*, Leipzig 1907, 3-89. Smith, *Gods* (Anm. 26), 139-178. M. C. De Vita, *Giuliano Imperatore filosofo neoplatonico*, CTMF 121, Mailand 2011, v.a. 139-152. Nesselrath, *Kaiser* (Anm. 28), 65-71. Stöcklin-Kaldewey, *Kaiser* (Anm. 26), 75-78, 96-100 u. 245-249. Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. auch G. H. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus*, EPRO 23, Leiden 1972. W. Fauth, *Helios megistos. Zur synkretistischen Theologie der Spätantike*, RGRW 125, Leiden 1995. St. Berrens, *Sonnenkult und Kaisertum von den Severern bis Constantin I. (193-337 n. Chr.)*, Hist.E 185, Stuttgart 2004. Dass der Gott Helios in dem von Hertlein entdeckten Brief eine solch zentrale Stellung innerhalb des Pantheons einnimmt, stützt die Zuschreibung des Textes an Julian. Der Kaiser stellt den Sonnengott in seinen Schriften immer wieder als seinen persönlichen Beschützer heraus, den er am meisten unter allen Göttern verehrt. Vgl. z.B. Iul., *ep*. 28 (Bidez 55); *or*. VII, 22 (Rochefort 76-84).

> handwerklichen Arbeiten sitzen oder auf dem Weg zu den Tempeln sind, um dort ihre frohe Zuversicht, die sie von den Göttern empfangen haben, zu bekräftigen. Und da laden dann irgendwelche Leute – ich weiß nicht was für welche – einen Leichnam auf eine Bahre und drängen sich mitten durch die so beschäftigte Menge. Dieser Zustand ist in jeder Hinsicht untragbar. Vielfach werden Menschen nämlich bei einer solchen Begegnung von Unbehagen erfüllt, denn die einen halten es für ein schlechtes Vorzeichen, die anderen, die unterwegs zu den Heiligtümern sind, dürfen nicht dorthin gehen, ehe sie die rituelle Waschung vorgenommen haben. Den Göttern nämlich, die die Urheber des Lebens sind und dessen Zerstörung mit allertiefster Abneigung gegenüberstehen, darf man sich nach einem solchen Anblick nicht nahen. Und dabei habe ich noch nicht einmal angeprangert, was schlimmer als solch ein Vorkommnis ist. Was aber ist das? Heilige Umfriedungen und Tempel der Götter sind geöffnet, und vielfach opfert drinnen gerade jemand, bringt ein Trankopfer dar und betet; da kommt ein Leichenzug an dem Heiligtum selbst vorbei, das laute und düstere Wehklagen dringt bis zu den Altären. Wisst ihr nicht, dass vor allen anderen Dingen, so wie die Aufgaben des Tages und die der Nacht voneinander geschieden sind, so ganz zu Recht auch ‹die Beisetzungszeremonien› dem einen entzogen und dem anderen vorbehalten sind?[111]

Die gerade zitierte Passage zeigt deutliche inhaltliche Übereinstimmungen mit dem Edikt vom 12. Februar 363.[112] Julian begründet seine Forderung, Bestattungen fortan nur mehr nachts durchführen zu lassen, mit der Unreinheit des Todes. Während des Tages ist die durch Leichen hervorgerufene Kontamination nach Ansicht des Kaisers nicht hinnehmbar, sie verstößt für ihn letztlich sogar gegen göttliche Ordnung.[113] Nach Julian stören Beisetzungen zum einen das ganz normale urbane Treiben, der Anblick

[111] Ders., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 199f).

[112] In der lat. Fassung des Edikts erwähnt Julian z.B., "dass die Leichen Verstorbener durch das dichte Gewühl des Volkes und das äußerst lebhafte Treiben der Umstehenden zur Bestattung hinausgetragen werden". *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Im von Hertlein aufgefundenen Schreiben finden sich hierzu vergleichbare Formulierungen: μεστὰ πάντα ἐστὶ [...] ἀναθέντες ἐν κλίνῃ νεκρὸν διὰ μέσων ὠθοῦνται – οἱ δὲ παρέρχονται [...] νεκρὸν κομίζοντες. Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 199).

[113] Für Julian ist die Praxis, mitten am Tag Leichen durch die Straßen der Städte zu tragen, nicht nur οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, sondern οὐ θέμις. Ebd. (199). Letzteres hängt mit der in der vorherigen Passage erwähnten Vorstellung zusammen, dass es unterschiedliche Gottheiten für Tag und Nacht bzw. Leben und Tod gibt. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist eine Bestattung am Tage nicht möglich, da sie den Bereich der Götter des Lebens berührt. Vgl. hierzu z.B. Hom., *Il*. XXII, 208-213 (Allen 2). Eur., *Hipp*. 1437-1439 (SQAW 30/2, 190); *Alk*. 22f (22). Daneben vgl. auch Anm. 109 u. 125.

toter Körper wird als äußerst negatives Omen betrachtet.[114] Weitaus problematischer erscheint es dem Augustus zum anderen jedoch, dass eine derartige Berührung mit der Sphäre des Todes zu einer Befleckung führt, die eine Teilnahme an paganen Kulthandlungen letztlich verunmöglicht.[115] Hier greift Julian uralte Vorstellungen der antiken Mittelmeerwelt auf, die bereits bei den Ereignissen in Daphne eine zentrale Rolle gespielt hatten.[116] Daneben scheint der Kaiser aber auch dezidiert an neuplatonische Auffassungen anzuknüpfen, wie sie etwa Jamblich von Chalkis vertrat.[117] Nach

[114] Vgl. Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 199): πονηρὸν τὸ οἰώνισμα. Hier findet sich eine klare Berührung mit dem lat. Edikt: *quod quidem oculos hominum infaustis incestat aspectibus. Qui enim dies est bene auspicatus a funere ...? Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Dass eine Begegnung mit dem Bereich des Todes unheilverkündend ist, ist in der Antike gängige Vorstellung. Dies findet sich z.B. schon bei Hesiod. Vgl. Hes., *op*. 735 (Solmsen 81). In Hinblick auf Julian selbst vgl. Amm. XXIII, 1, 5f (SQAW 21/3, 68).

[115] Die Erwähnung der Götter und Tempel im vorliegenden Schreiben hat eine deutliche, wenn auch knappe Parallele in der lat. Fassung: *quomodo ad deos et templa venietur*? *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Vgl. Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 199): ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ [...] εἰς ἱερὰ [...] Ἱεροὶ περίβολοι καὶ θεῶν ναοὶ. Über das Edikt im *Codex Theodosianus* hinausgehend werden hier aber explizit Opferhandlungen erwähnt: θύει τις ἔνδον καὶ σπένδει καὶ εὔχεται [...] ἄχρι τῶν βωμῶν. Ebd. (199f). Dies stützt ebenfalls eine Zuschreibung des Briefes an Julian. Für den Kaiser waren Opfer ein integraler Bestandteil der Verehrung der alten Gottheiten. Vgl. z.B. Ders., *ep*. 26 (Bidez 54); 98 (182); *mis*. 15 (Lacombrade 168). Amm. XXII, 14, 3 (SQAW 21/3, 48). Lib., *or*. XVIII, 127 (LCL 451, 360). Vgl. hierzu neben der in Anm. 29 genannten Literatur u.a. N. Belayche, "Partager la table des dieux. L'empereur Julien et les sacrifices", in: RHR 218, 2001, 457-486. Nesselrath, *Kaiser* (Anm. 28), 136-143. Stöcklin-Kaldewey, *Kaiser* (Anm. 26), 337-346.

[116] Zur Unvereinbarkeit von Kult und Tod vgl. ganz allgemein die in Anm. 65 genannte Literatur. Für den röm. Bereich vgl. darüber hinaus z.B. Liv. II, 8, 7f (Mueller 1, 78f). Sen., *dial*. VI, 15, 3 (LCL 254, 46). Serv., *Aen*. XI, 2 (Thilo 2, 476). H. Lindsay, "Death-Pollution and Funerals in the City of Rome", in: V. M. Hope, E. Marshall (Hg.), *Death and Desease in the Ancient City*, London 2000, 152-173. Julian erwähnt im vorliegenden Schreiben, dass nach der Begegnung mit einer Leiche ein Reinigungsritus notwendig ist, bevor man sich den Göttern erneut zuwenden kann: πρὶν ἀπολούσασθαι. Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 199). Kultische Reinheit spielte für den Kaiser eine große Rolle, in einem Brief an Maximos von Ephesos betont er z.B.: "Mir gebieten die Götter, alles nach Kräften rein zu halten". Ebd. 26 (54). Vgl. daneben ebd. 89b (168): "Rein halten müssen sich aber die Priester nicht nur von unreinen Werken ...". Insgesamt vgl. hierzu u.a. Scrofani, *Religione* (Anm. 49), 76-99. Nesselrath, *Kaiser* (Anm. 28), 106-109. Stöcklin-Kaldewey, *Kaiser* (Anm. 26), 224-236.

[117] Vgl. z.B. Iambl., *myst*. VI, 1 (Parthey 241): "Folglich ist es in religiöser Hinsicht nicht erlaubt, menschliche Körper zu berühren, sobald die Seele selbst ihn verlassen hat". Zu Jamblich allgemein vgl. z.B. B. Nasemann, *Theurgie und Philosophie in Jamblichs 'De mysteriis'*, BzA 11, Stuttgart 1991. Th. Stäcker, *Die Stellung der Theurgie in der Lehre Jamblichs*, SKPh 92, Frankfurt a.M. 1995. C. Addey, *Divination and Theurgy in Neoplatonism. Oracles of the Gods*, Farnham 2014. Julian war über seinen Lehrer Maximos von Ephesos durch den orientalisch gefärbten Neuplatonismus Jamblichs geprägt. Der Kaiser betrachtete Jamblich als den dritten großen Philosophen nach Pythagoras und Platon. Vgl. u.a. Iul., *ep*. 12 (Bidez 19); *or*. XI, 26 (Lacombrade 121). R. E. Witt, "Iamblichus as a Forerunner of Julian", in: B. D.

Eunapios von Sardes soll dieser nach einer Opferhandlung auf dem Lande sogar einen anderen Rückweg genommen haben, weil er durch Hellseherei bemerkt haben will, dass die von ihm eingeschlagene Route kurz zuvor von einem Leichenzug benutzt worden war.[118] Leider geht aus dem julianischen Schreiben nicht hervor, wer darin eigentlich als Störenfried in den Blick genommen wird. Es ist jedoch gut vorstellbar, dass der Herrscher hierbei Christen im Visier hatte, die ihre Verstorbenen während des Tages mitten über die dicht bevölkerten Straßen und Plätze der Städte zur Bestattung transportierten.[119] Im folgenden Abschnitt führt Julian seine Argumentation dann auf kultisch-ritueller Ebene fort:

> Denn wie es nicht einmal in Ordnung ist, für Trauerfälle weiße Kleidung zu erlauben, so erst recht nicht, Verstorbene bei Tageslicht zu bestatten. Das eine ‹ginge› noch eher an, wenn man sich damit gegen keinen der Götter verfehlte, das andere aber führt unvermeidlich zu einem Frevel gegen alle Götter insgesamt. Denn damit weist man diesen Bereich unerlaubt den olympischen Göttern zu und entzieht ihn wider Gebühr den unterirdischen, oder wie die Gebieter und Herren der Seelen sich sonst gerne nennen lassen. Ich aber weiß, dass auch die in rituellen Fragen subtil und exakt Verfahrenden fordern, den Kult der Unterweltsgottheiten nur bei Nacht oder frühestens nach der zehnten Tagesstunde zu vollziehen. Wenn aber dieser Zeitraum für ihren Kult der bessere ist, so wollen wir doch auch dem Dienst an den Toten durchaus keinen anderen widmen.[120]

Larsen, H. Dörrie (Hg.), *De Jamblique à Proclus*, EnAC 21, Genf 1975, 35-67. Insgesamt vgl. hierzu z.B. auch C. Moreschini, "Alcuni aspetti della teologia di Giuliano l'Apostata", in: Prato, Ugenti, *Giuliano* (Anm. 37), 147-159.

[118] Vgl. Eun., *vit*. V, 1, 12-15 (Giangrande 12f). Nach Eunapios soll Jamblich seine Schüler aufgefordert haben: "Lasst uns einen anderen Weg nehmen! Denn hier ist vor kurzem eine Leiche vorbeigetragen worden". Ebd. 13 (12). Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. M. Becker, *Eunapios aus Sardes, Biographien über Philosophen und Sophisten. Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, RoAe 1, Stuttgart 2013, 223-228. Evtl. stellt diese Episode sogar den Anlass für Julians Forderung gegenüber den Priestern dar, dass "sich für die Geweihten nicht jeder Weg schickt" und ihre Routen deshalb "festgelegt werden müssen". Iul., *ep*. 89b (Bidez 169). Dass hinter den Bestattungsanordnungen Julians neuplatonische Vorstellungen in der Tradition Jamblichs stehen, betont z.B. Glen Bowersock, er kommt dabei zu dem Schluss: "He [= Julian] had become obsessed by purificatory rites". Bowersock, *Julian* (Anm. 19), 93.

[119] Julian spricht hier etwas enigmatisch lediglich von: οὐκ οἶδα οἵτινες. Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 199). Eine dezidiert antichristliche Stoßrichtung des Schreibens vermuten u.a. Bidez, *Vie* (Anm. 19) 297f. Weis, *Briefe* (Anm. 16), 332. Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 139f. Für eine solche Deutung spricht aber auch der Umstand, dass das lat. Edikt vom 12. Februar 363 in Antiocheia erlassen wurde, wo es während des Aufenthalts Julians ja immer wieder zu Zusammenstößen mit Christen gekommen war. Vgl. *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. Karmann, *Meletius* (Anm. 59), 322-329.

[120] Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 200).

Zunächst rekurriert der Kaiser zur Begründung der von ihm geforderten Praxis auf die Färbung der Trauerkleidung. Die Farbe Weiß erscheint ihm bei Bestattungen grundsätzlich als unangemessen. Vor diesem Hintergrund betrachtet Julian dann den hellen Sonnenschein ebenfalls als völlig inakzeptable Tageszeit für Beisetzungen.[121] Es ist nicht ganz auszuschließen, dass sich Julian auch mit diesem Punkt gegen christliche Praktiken wenden wollte. Allerdings ist die Quellenbasis dafür äußerst schmal. Lediglich Gregor von Nazianz berichtet ausdrücklich, dass seine Mutter Nonna beim Begräbnis ihres Sohnes Kaisarios helle Kleidung trug, und zwar als Ausdruck ihres christlichen Glaubens.[122] Viel wahrscheinlicher ist jedoch, dass der Herrscher in seinem Schreiben von der Farbe Schwarz einfach auf die dunklen Stunden des Tages als passenden Zeitraum dafür schloß, den Verstorbenen das letzte Geleit zu geben.[123]

Im Anschluss greift Julian dann erneut auf die Unterscheidung zwischen olympischen und chtonischen Gottheiten zurück, welche für seine Argumentation insgesamt eine zentrale Rolle spielt.[124] Den Ausgangspunkt bilden hier nun Grundgegebenheiten des paganen Kults. Nach Ansicht des

[121] Dunkle bzw. schwarze Kleidung scheint in der antiken Mittelmeerwelt bei Trauerfällen bis auf wenige Ausnahmen allgemein üblich gewesen zu sein. Vgl. z.B. Hom., *Il*. XXIV, 93f (Allen 2). Lys., *or*. XIII, 40f (Hude 133). Eur., *Alk*. 425-427 (SQAW 30/2, 46). Prop. IV, 7, 27f (Fedeli 254). Tac., *ann*. III, 2, 2 (Koestermann 1, 87). Insgesamt vgl. hierzu u.a. G. Herzog-Hauser, "Trauerkleidung", in: PRE II/6, 1973, 2225-2231. Rush, *Death* (Anm. 8), 208-220. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 126-136.

[122] Vgl. Greg. Naz., *or.* VII, 15 (SC 405, 218). Gregors Bericht über die Beisetzung seines Bruders im Jahr 369 stellt in gewisser Weise ein Idealbild spätantiker christlicher Bestattung dar: Kaisarios wird *ad sanctos* beerdigt, während der Beisetzung werden Psalmen gesungen. Die Eltern berühren den Versorbenen, ihre Hände werden dadurch aber nicht unrein, sondern Gregor bezeichnet sie stattdessen ausdrücklich als ὅσιος. Schließlich trägt seine Mutter bei der Beerdigung sogar "helle Kleidung" und "stellt so anstelle des Schmerzes ihre Frömmigkeit heraus". Vgl. auch Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 131f. Kaisarios war übrigens zeitweise Arzt, Gelehrter und Beamter am Hof Julians, verließ diesen dann aber aus Glaubensgründen. Vgl. hierzu z.B. Rosen, *Julian* (Anm. 19), 255f.

[123] Julian argumentiert hier nach Art eines Schlusses *a minori ad maius*. Demnach wäre helle Trauerkleidung hinnehmbar, wenn man sich dadurch gegen keinen der Götter verfehlte. Bestattungen bei Tageslicht sind hingegen völlig indiskutabel, sie stellen eine δυσσέβεια dar, und zwar εἰς ἅπαντας τοὺς θεούς. Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 200).

[124] Julian unterscheidet in dieser Passage zwischen Ὀλύμπιοι und Χθόνιοι, letztere bezeichnet er auch als οἱ τῶν ψυχῶν ἐπίτροποι καὶ κύριοι. Ebd. (200). In einem vorausgehenden Abschnitt sprach er von den "Herrschern der Lebenden" und den "Gebietern der Toten". Ebd. (199). In der lat. Kurzfassung des Edikts findet sich für diese Differenzierung keine direkte Parallele, evtl. entsprechen die dort im ersten Teil erwähnten *Manes* jedoch den chtonischen Wesen. Vgl. *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Dass der Kaiser die beiden Göttergruppen hier so stark voneinander abhebt, überrascht ein wenig. In seinem *Hymnos auf Helios* identifiziert er in Rückgriff auf Platons *Phaidon* Hades nämlich geradezu mit dem Sonnengott. Vgl. Iul., *or*. XI, 10 (Lacombrade 107f). Plat., *Phaid*. 80d (Burnet 1).

Kaisers weichen die rituellen Handlungen für die Götter der Unterwelt in einigen Punkten ganz entscheidend von denen für die des Olymps ab. Dabei hat er natürlich vor allem deren zeitliche Ansetzung im Blick, nach Julian finden diese nämlich stets bei Nacht oder zumindest am frühen Abend statt.[125] Daraus zieht der Augustus den Schluss, dass Bestattungen ebenfalls in diesem Zeitraum zu erfolgen haben. Er stellt also eine Analogie zwischen der Verehrung der chtonischen Götter und "dem Dienst an den Toten"[126] her. Kaiser Julian knüpft damit an uralte kultische Vorstellungen an, leider nennt er seine diesbezüglichen Quellen aber nicht namentlich. Denkbar ist jedoch, dass er sich hier an entsprechenden Differenzierungen in Platons *Nomoi* orientiert.[127] Eine weitere Quelle könnte daneben die Lebensbeschreibung des Pythagoras von Porphyrios aus Tyros darstellen.[128] Julian will

[125] Neben der in Anm. 109 genannten Literatur vgl. u.a. auch W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and Their Gods*, London 1950, 205-227. R. Schlesier, "Olympische Religion und chtonische Religion", in: U. Bianchi (Hg.), *The Notion of 'Religion' in Comparative Research*, StorRel(R) 6, Rom 1994, 301-310. R. Parker, *On Greek Religion*, CSCP 60, Ithaca 2011, 80-84, 144-150 u. 283-286. Traditionell ging man in der Forschung davon aus, dass sich die antiken griechischen Kultrituale für die Olympier und die Chtonier grundlegend voneinander unterschieden: Opfer für erstere wurden demnach am hellen Tage auf einem Altar vollzogen, begleitet wurden diese von einem Festmahl der Opfernden. Der Kult der Unterweltsgottheiten soll hingegen bei Nacht an einer Grube mit einem schwarzen Opfertier und ohne Opfermahl vollzogen worden sein. Diese Differenzen sollen selbst bis in die Terminologie hinein sichtbar sein, z.B. θύειν für die himmlischen Götter und ἐναγίζειν für die chtonischen Wesen. Kaiser Julian scheint ebenfalls eine derartige Grunddifferenz vorauszusetzen. Bei eingehender Untersuchung lässt sich eine solche jedoch nur bedingt nachweisen, die antike Kultpraxis war viel komplexer und entzieht sich daher einer eindeutigen Schematisierung. Zu den unterschiedlichen Tageszeiten der jeweiligen Kulthandlungen vgl. z.B. Hom., *Od.* III, 335f (Allen 3); *Il.* XXIII, 218-221 (2). Aisch., *Eum.* 108f (West 348). Apoll. Rhod. III, 1029-1036 (Fränkel 153).

[126] Iul., *ep.* 136b (Bidez 200): τῇ θεραπείᾳ [...] τῶν τεθνεώτων. Dass der Kaiser die Bestattung der Verstorbenen mit dem Kult der Unterweltsgötter (θεοί οἱ κάτω) parallelisiert, zeigt sich auch an den ähnlichen Formulierungen: τῆς ἐκείνων θεραπείας. Laut Julian muss folglich auch der καιρός beider übereinstimmen.

[127] Bei Platon heißt es z.B.: "Außerdem darf man den Kult der Unterirdischen nicht mit dem der Götter, die als himmlische zu bezeichnen sind, und der diesen folgenden Wesen vermischen, sondern man muss ihn davon trennen ...". Plat., *leg.* VIII, 828cd (Burnet 5/1). Vgl. auch ebd. IV, 717ab (5/1). Anders als Julian geht es Platon aber hier nicht um unterschiedliche Tageszeiten, sondern er weist Pluton und den anderen chtonischen Gottheiten einen eigenen Monat zu, und zwar den letzten im Jahr. Vgl. hierzu z.B. Schöpsdau, *Platon* (Anm. 102), 169-172. Ders., *Platon, Nomoi (Gesetze): Buch IV-VII. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, PWÜK 9/2-2, Göttingen 2003, 212-215.

[128] Vgl. Porph., *v. Pyth.* 38 (Nauck 36f): "Er [= Pythagoras] empfahl aber, [...] den himmlischen Göttern Ungerades zu opfern, den unterirdischen jedoch Gerades. Denn er nannte von den einander entgegengesetzten Mächten, die bessere Einheit, Licht, Rechtes, Gleiches, Bleibendes und Geradliniges, die schechtere aber Zweiheit, Dunkel, Linkes, Ungleiches, Unbeständiges und Bewegtes". Nach Porphyrios ordnete Pythagoras den Gottheiten des Him-

mit dieser Bestimmung jedenfalls die von den Göttern bestimmte Ordnung durchsetzen. Dies hat zur Folge, dass seiner Ansicht nach "in rituellen Fragen subtil und exakt"[129] verfahren werden muss. Beisetzungen während des Tages stellen einen Verstoß gegen die Götter des Himmels dar, denen der Bereich des hellen Lichts untersteht. Die Nacht gehört hingegen zur Sphäre des Todes, welche die Unterweltsgottheiten regieren.[130] Die Schlusspassage des kaiserlichen Schreibens lautet schließlich folgendermaßen:

> Für die, die sich freiwillig fügen, genügen freilich diese Ausführungen. Nachdem sie ihren Fehler erkannt haben, sollen sie den Wandel zum Besseren vollziehen. Wenn jemand aber ein Charakter ist, der Drohung und Züchtigung nötig hat, so mag er wissen, dass er die schwerste Strafe zu erwarten hat, sollte er wagen, vor der zehnten Tagesstunde den Leichnam irgendeines Verstorbenen zu bestatten und durch die Stadt zu tragen. Vielmehr sollen diese Zeremonien nach Sonnenuntergang oder wieder vor ihrem Aufgang geschehen, der reine Tag aber soll den reinen Verrichtungen und den reinen olympischen Göttern vorbehalten sein.[131]

Am Ende des Erlasses schärft Julian die von ihm geforderte Praxis noch einmal mit allem Nachdruck ein. In diesem Zusammenhang verweist er auch erneut auf die antiken Reinheitsvorstellungen.[132] Auffällig ist, dass der Augustus in dem von Hertlein entdeckten Text anders als im lateinischen Edikt, das im *Codex Theodosianus* überliefert wurde, bei Zuwiderhandlung

mels also u.a. das Licht, denen der Unterwelt die Dunkelheit zu. Zum Hintergrund vgl. allgemein z.B. auch G. Staab, *Pythagoras in der Spätantike. Studien zu 'De vita Pythagorica' des Iamblichos von Chalkis*, BzA 156, Berlin 2002.

[129] Iul., *ep*. 136b (Bidez 200): τοὺς περιττοὺς καὶ ἀκριβεῖς τὰ θεῖα. Julian beruft sich für seine Anordnung auf Experten im kultischen Bereich, diese werden aber nicht mit Namen angeführt. Dass der Augustus großen Wert darauf legt, die überkommenen Riten in genauester Weise zu vollziehen, wird z.B. auch im Schreiben an den Oberpriester Theodoros sichtbar: "... weil ich der Meinung bin, dass man die Gesetze, die bei unseren Vorfahren von Anfang an galten, bewahren muss. Denn es ist offenkundig, dass die Götter sie gegeben haben. Sie wären nämlich nicht so vollkommen, wenn sie nur von Menschen stammen würden". Ebd. 89a (153f).

[130] Für Julian stellen Bestattungen bei Tage also eine doppelte Missachtung der Götter dar: οὐ δέον – παρὰ τὸ δέον. Ebd. 136b (200).

[131] Ebd. (200).

[132] Vgl. u.a. Anm. 117. Nach Ansicht des Kaisers ist der Tag rein: ἡ ἡμέρα καθαρὰ, er muss deshalb für Aufgaben reserviert werden, die keine Befleckung mit sich bringen: καθαροῖς τοῖς ἔργοις. Außerdem ist er dem Kult der olympischen Gottheiten vorbehalten: τοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις θεοῖς. Der Funeralbereich wie auch der Kult der chtonischen Götter bringt im Umkehrschluss Unreinheit mit sich und ist daher während der Nacht zu vollziehen. Julian macht hier jedoch gewisse Zugeständisse: Ideal ist für ihn zwar die Zeit nach Sonnenuntergang oder vor ihrem Aufgang, allerdings hält er auch den späten Nachmittag für möglich: νύκτωρ ἢ πάντως μετὰ δεκάτην ἡμέρας ὥραν. Ebd. (200).

mit "schwerster Strafe"[133] droht. Dies belegt jedoch, wie wichtig es Julian war, die strikte Trennung zwischen den Bereichen von Leben und Tod, von Unreinheit und Befleckung, von Kult und Bestattung wiederaufzurichten. Er sah sich damit in einer jahrhundertealten Tradition stehend, die nun durch das Christentum gefährdet war.[134] Aus den spätantiken Quellen lässt sich nicht entnehmen, ob und welche Auswirkungen Julians Bestattungsgesetz nach sich zog. Dies hängt sicherlich damit zusammen, dass der Kaiser nur wenige Monate später auf dem Feldzug gegen die Sassaniden fiel.[135] An diesem Punkt soll im Folgenden die letzte Probebohrung ansetzen.

6. Stichprobe 4: Der Tod Julians oder das Sterben eines wahren Hellenen

Am 5. März 363 verließ Kaiser Julian Antiocheia Richtung Osten, um in Mesopotamien Krieg gegen die Perser zu führen. Der Imperator stieß unter schweren Strapazen für die Armee bis zur persischen Residenzstadt Ktesiphon am Tigris vor, hierauf wandte er sich dann nach Norden.[136] Am

[133] Ebd. (200): μεγίστην δίκην. Juana Torres geht davon aus, dass Julian hiermit bei einem Verstoß gegen seinen Erlass die Todesstrafe in Aussicht stellt. Vgl. Torres, Emperor (Anm. 72), 207. Dies überrascht aus zwei Gründen: Zum einen findet sich im zweiten Teil des lat. Edikts überhaupt keine Strafandrohung. Und auch im ersten Teil, in dem es um Grabverletzungen geht, überlässt der Kaiser die Bestrafung den beleidigten Totengeistern: *poena Manium vindice*. *Cod. Theod*. IX, 17, 5 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Im Gegensatz dazu nennen die entsprechenden Gesetze, die Konstantius II. z.T. auch gemeinsam mit Julian erließ, konkrete Strafen. Vgl. ebd. 1-4 (463-465). Zum anderen findet sich bei Julian in religiöser Hinsicht kaum Gewaltanwendung, er will "die Menschen" stattdessen "mit Vernunft überzeugen und belehren", jedoch "nicht mit Schlägen, nicht mit Kränkungen, nicht mit körperlicher Misshandlung". Iul., *ep*. 114 (Bidez 195). Zum Hintergrund vgl. z.B. M. Marcos, "'He Forced with Gentleness'. Emperor Julian's Attitude to Religious Coercion", in: AnTar 17, 2009, 191-204.

[134] Nach Bidez ist Julians Bewertung des Sepulkralbereichs als unrein stark von seinen neuplatonischen Lehrern geprägt und verstärkte sich während seiner Regierungszeit zunehmend. Er versucht dies u.a. dadurch zu belegen, dass sich der Kaiser bei der Bestattung Konstantius' II. in dieser Hinsicht noch recht unbefangen verhielt und keinerlei Scheu zeigte, den Leichnam seines Vetters zu berühren. Vgl. Bidez, *Lettres* (Anm. 94), 129f. Letzteres darf m.E. jedoch nicht überbewertet werden, Julians Verhalten gegenüber seinem Vorgänger war in diesem Fall wohl v.a. politisch motiviert. Vgl. hierzu Anm. 44.

[135] Aus einem Bericht des Sozomenos kann man entnehmen, dass bei der Überführung des Leichnams des 381 verstorbenen Meletios von Konstantinopel nach Antiochien eine kaiserliche Erlaubnis nötig war, um den toten Bischof überhaupt in die jeweiligen auf der Route liegenden Städte bringen zu können. Der Kirchenhistoriker erwähnt dabei ausdrücklich, dass dies eigentlich "gegen römischen Brauch" verstieß. Soz., *h. e*. VII, 10, 5 (FC 73/3, 864). Vielleicht haben wir hier einen gewissen Nachhall des julianischen Edikts vor uns.

[136] Zum Perserfeldzug vgl. z.B. W. R. Chalmers, "Julians Perserzug bei Eunapius, Ammianus Marcellinus und Zosimus", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 270-284. G. Wirth, "Julians Perserkrieg. Kriterien einer Katastrophe", in: ebd. 455-507. T. Gnoli, *Le guerre di Giuliano*

26. Juni – das römische Heer befand sich also bereits auf dem Rückzug – wurde Julian bei einem Scharmützel in der Nähe von Maranga schwer verletzt, er starb noch in derselben Nacht. Über das Ende Julians und die damit verbundene Schuldfrage gab es bereits in den spätantiken Quellen eine äußerst kontroverse Diskussion, einerseits verbunden mit Apologetik für den letzten heidnischen Kaiser, andererseits durchtränkt von scharfer Polemik gegen diesen. Die moderne Forschung hat der Tod des Herrschers ebenfalls intensiv beschäftigt.[137] Dies kann hier jedoch weitgehend beiseite bleiben. Im Folgenden soll lediglich der Frage nachgegangen werden, ob auch beim Sterben Julians selbst Hinweise auf eine Repaganisierung des Todes sichtbar werden. Als erstes soll hierzu der Bericht des Libanios in seinem *Epitaphios* auf den Kaiser in den Blick genommen werden:

> Die Tugend jenes Mannes [= Julian] kann man wohl auch seinen letzten Worten entnehmen. Denn während alle Umstehenden in Wehklagen ausbrachen und nicht einmal die Philosophen unter ihnen [= Maximos und Priskos] sich selbst in der Gewalt hatten, tadelte er alle und besonders die letzteren, weil diese Menschen ihn beweinten, als ob er ein Leben geführt hätte, das des Tartaros wert sei, während die Leistungen seines Lebens ihn doch zu den Inseln der Seligen führen werden. Sein Zelt war mit der Gefängniszelle des Sokrates zu vergleichen, die hier Anwesenden mit jenen dort, die Wunde mit dem Schierling, seine Worte mit dessen Worten, schließlich Sokrates selbst mit Julian, weil nur diese beiden ihren Tränen keinen freien Lauf ließen.[138]

Der antiochenische Rhetor stellt die letzten Momente des Kaisers als geradezu ideal heraus. Im Unterschied zu seinem Gefolge reagiert Julian gefasst auf sein Ende.[139] Er soll sogar seine Hoffnung auf eine postmortale Fortexistenz in Glückseligkeit zum Ausdruck gebracht haben, und zwar

imperatore, Bologna 2015, 75-146. Zum Hintergrund vgl. daneben auch K. Mosig-Walburg, *Römer und Perser. Vom 3. Jahrhundert bis zum Jahr 363 n. Chr*, Gutenberg 2009. J. S. Harrel, *The Nisibis War. The Defence of the Roman East AD 337-363*, Barnsley 2016.

[137] Vgl. u.a. N. H. Baynes, "The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend", in: JRS 27, 1937, 22-29. I. Hahn, "Der ideologische Kampf um den Tod Julians des Abtrünnigen", in: Klio 38, 1960, 225-232. Th. Büttner-Wobst, "Der Tod des Kaisers Julian. Eine Quellenstudie", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 24-47. M. Azarnoush, "Le mort de Julien l'Apostat selon les sources iraniennes", in: Byz. 61, 1991, 322-329. Allein Gregor von Nazianz referiert z.B. vier verschiedene Überlieferungen zum Schuldigen an Julians tödlicher Verletzung. Vgl. Greg. Naz., *or*. V, 13 (SC 309, 316-318). Zum Hintergrund vgl. auch N. Baumann, *'Götter in Gottes Hand'. Die Darstellung zeitgenössischer Kaiser bei Gregor von Nazianz*, JAC.E.KR 15, Münster 2018, 103-208.

[138] Lib, *or*. XVIII, 272 (LCL 451, 462).

[139] Insgesamt vgl. hierzu Bliembach, *Libanius* (Anm. 40), 214f. G. Scheda, "Die Todesstunde Kaiser Julians", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 381-386. Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Konversion* (Anm. 21), 150-152. Bei Ammianus Marcellinus wird erwähnt, dass in der Sterbestunde

in typisch paganer Manier.[140] Libanios begnügt sich aber nicht damit, den Herrscher in seiner Todestunde als echten Hellenen zu zeichnen, durch die Parallelisierung mit Sokrates wird Julian gleichsam zum wahren Philosophen. Im Hintergrund der Darstellung steht Platons *Phaidon*, das Sterben Julians wird dadurch gewissermaßen als mustergültig stilisiert.[141] Durch diese literarische Abhängigkeit ist die Historizität der ganzen Szene natürlich erheblichen Zweifeln ausgesetzt, allerdings weist der Bericht Ammians durchaus gewisse Berührungen hiermit auf. Dieser schildert das Ende des Kaisers folgendermaßen:

> Nach diesen freundlich gesprochenen Worten verteilte er [= Julian] seinen persönlichen Besitz mit einer letzten Verfügung unter seinen Vertrauten. Dabei fragte er auch nach dem Oberhofmeister Anatolios. Als ihm der Präfekt Salutios antwortete, dass dieser selig geworden sei, verstand er, dass er gefallen war, und betrauerte heftig den Tod des Freundes, wobei er ‹in erhabener Weise kurz zuvor› noch seinen eigenen verachtet hatte. Während alle Anwesenden darüber in Tränen ausbrachen, ermahnte er sie mit noch unverminderter Würde und bezeichnete es als kläglich, über einen Kaiser zu trauern, der mit dem Himmel und den Gestirnen vereint sei. Als sie nun daraufhin verstummten, begann er mit den Philosophen Maximos und Priskos ein umso eindringlicheres Gespräch über die Erhabenheit der Seelen. Als sich dann die Wunde an der durchbohrten Seite weit öffnete und der Blutverlust seinen Atem

Julians der Präfekt Salutios sowie die Philosophen Maximos und Priskos anwesend waren. Vgl. Amm. XXV, 3, 21 u. 23 (SQAW 21/3, 166).

[140] Vgl. Lib, *or*. XVIII, 272 (LCL 451, 462). Libanios legt Julian hier eine Jenseitshoffnung in den Mund, die sich auch in dessen eigenen Schriften immer wieder findet. In einem fragmentarisch erhaltenen Brief an einen Priester formuliert der Kaiser diese z.B. ebenfalls in mythischen Bildern: "Beachte aber die Menschenliebe des Gottes [= Apoll bzw. Helios], der erklärt, er erfreue sich an der Verständigkeit frommer Männer wie an der hohen Klarheit des Olymp. Wird er nicht gewiß auch unsere Seelen aus der Finsternis und dem Tartaros hinaufführen, wenn wir uns ihm in Ehrfurcht nahen? Denn er kennt auch die im Tartaros Eingekerkerten – selbst jener Ort entzieht sich ja nicht der Macht der Götter –, er verheißt jedoch den Frommen den Olymp anstelle des Tartaros". Iul., *ep*. 89b (Bidez 167f). Vgl. daneben u.a. Ders., *or*. XI, 10 (Lacombrade 108); 44 (138). Allgemein hierzu vgl. Stöcklin-Kaldewey, *Kaiser* (Anm. 26), 215-221. Auf christlicher Seite sah man Julian hingegen dem Teufel ausgeliefert in der Hölle schmoren, wie etwa Ephraems *Hymnen gegen Julian* zeigen. Vgl. z.B. Ephr., *hym. Iul*. III, 16 u. IV, 9 (CSCO 174, 84 u. 87).

[141] Vgl. v.a. Plat., *Phaid*. 117c-118a (Burnet 1). Libanios geht es hier um einen detallierten Vergleich zwischen dem Sterben des Sokrates und dem Julians, nämlich in Hinlick auf den Todesort, die Trauer der Anwesenden, die Todesart, die Gefasstheit der Sterbenden und ihre letzten Worte. Trotz der angestrebten Parallelisierung zeigen sich jedoch deutliche Unterschiede. Letztlich ähnelt der römische Kaiser dem athenischen Philosophen lediglich darin, dass beide angesichts ihres bevorstehenden Todes keine Trauer zeigen, sondern stattdessen ihre anwesenden Freunde zu trösten versuchen. Vgl. Lib, *or*. XVIII, 272 (LCL 451, 462).

> stocken ließ, bat er um die Schreckensstunde der Mitternacht um einen Becher kalten Wassers, trank ihn aus und verschied sanft im 32. Lebensjahr.[142]

Wie bei Libanios so finden sich auch bei Ammianus Marcellinus Hinweise, welche die letzten Stunden Julians mit denen des Sokrates in Beziehung setzen. In den *Res gestae* geschieht dies allerdings viel zurückhaltender als im *Epitaphios* auf den Kaiser.[143] Am auffälligsten ist dabei der Umstand, dass der aus Antiocheia stammende Historiker Julian in seiner Todesstunde mit den anwesenden Philosophen "über die Erhabenheit der Seelen"[144] diskutieren lässt. Dies erinnert stark an Platons *Phaidon*, wo berichtet wird, dass Sokrates unmittelbar vor der Hinrichtung mit seinen Freunden über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele debattierte. Daneben finden sich aber noch weitere Verweise auf den athenischen Philosophen: Wie dieser sieht auch Kaiser Julian seinem Ende gefasst entgegen, während seine Begleiter ihre Trauer offen zum Ausdruck bringen. Genau wie Sokrates mahnt auch

[142] Amm. XXV, 3, 21-23 (SQAW 21/3, 166). Ammianus Marcellinus war selbst Teilnehmer des Perserfeldzuges. Allgemein vgl. hierzu z.B. J. Fontaine, "Le Julien d'Ammien", in: R. Braun, J. Richer (Hg.), *L'empereur Julien.* Bd. 1: *De l'histoire à la légende (331-1715)*, CEA 63, Paris 1978, 31-65. J. F. Matthews, *The Roman Empire of Ammianus*, Ann Arbor 2007. A. J. Ross, *Ammian's Julian. Narrative and Genre in the 'Res Gestae'*, Oxford 2016.

[143] Insgesamt vgl. hierzu u.a. D. Conduché, "Ammianus Marcellinus und der Tod Julians", in: Klein, *Julian* (Anm. 23), 355-380. Scheda, Todesstunde (Anm. 140), 381-386. H. Gärtner, "Kaiser Julians letzter Tag. Anmerkungen zur Darstellung Ammians ('Res gestae' 25,3)", in: P. Neukam (Hg.), *Neue Perspektiven*, KSL 23, München 1989, 65-95. H. C. Teitler, "Julian's Death-Bed and Literary Convention", in: C. Kroon (Hg.), *'Ultima aetas'. Time, Tense and Transience in Ancient World*, FS. J. den Boeft, Amsterdam 2000, 71-80. J. den Boeft u.a., *Philological and Historical Commentary on Ammianus Marcellinus XXV*, Leiden 2005, 102-108. Neben Sokrates werden auch Cato Minor, Seneca und Thrasea Paetus als mögliche literarische Vorbilder für die Todesszene Julians bei Ammian diskutiert.

[144] Amm. XXV, 3, 23 (SQAW 21/3, 166): *super animorum sublimitate*. Vgl. v.a. Plat., *Phaid*. 69c-84b (Burnet 1). Da Sokrates bei Ammianus nicht namentlich erwähnt wird, ist nicht auszuschließen, dass der Historiker hier darüber hinaus auch noch andere Vorbilder im Blick hatte. Gewisse Ähnlichkeiten sind z.B. zum Bericht des Tacitus über das Ende des unter Nero zum Selbstmord gezwungenen Senators Thrasea Paetus feststellbar. Vgl. Tac., *ann*. XVI, 34, 1f (Koestermann 1, 378). Aber auch in Julians Werk findet sich eine ganze Reihe von Anhaltspunkten, die ein solches Gespräch als durchaus plausibel erscheinen lassen. In seinem Brief an den Oberpriester Theodoros schreibt er etwa: "Denn wir gehören gewiss nicht zu denen, die der Überzeugung sind, dass die Seelen vor oder zur gleichen Zeit mit den Körpern zugrunde gehen, ...". Iul., *ep*. 89a (Bidez 152). Vgl. daneben z.B. auch ebd. 89b (166f). Julians Glaube an die Unsterblichkeit der Seele lässt Ammianus Marcellinus übrigens auch in der letzten Rede des Kaisers anklingen. Vgl. Amm. XXV, 3, 15 u. 17 (SQAW 21/3, 164). Ammian verweist hier z.B. auf Julians Überzeugung, dass seine "Seele aus der Verwandtschaft mit dem Himmlischen herabglitt". Insgesamt vgl. hierzu u.a. den Boeft, *Commentary* (Anm. 144), 105.

Julian die um ihn Versammelten, Haltung zu bewahren.[145] Vielleicht ist sogar die Bemerkung Ammians, dass der Herrscher nach einem Schluck kalten Wassers verstarb, als Parallelisierung zum Schierlingsbecher des Sokrates zu verstehen.[146] Darüber hinaus ist hervorzuheben, dass wie bei Libanios auch im Bericht der *Res gestae* von Julians Jenseitshoffnung die Rede ist. Nach Ammian ist der Kaiser davon überzeugt, nach dem Tod unter die Sterne versetzt zu werden.[147]

Der Historiker lässt Julian also ebenfalls in geradezu mustergültiger Weise sterben. Der letzte pagane Herrscher erweist sich auch bei Ammian als Philosoph. Allerdings findet sich bei ihm anders als bei Libanios daneben auch ein dezidiert römisches Element. Er lässt den Kaiser unmittelbar vor seinem Tod eine letzte große Rede halten.[148] Zwar finden sich auch

[145] Vgl. Amm. XXV, 3, 21f (SQAW 21/3, 166). Plat., *Phaid*. 117cd (Burnet 1). Lib, *or*. XVIII, 272 (LCL 451, 462). Julians Haltung zu seinem eigenen Sterben steht in den *Res gestae* seine Trauer über den Tod des Anatolios gegenüber. Die Gelassenheit des Kaisers im Angesicht des nahen Endes stellt Ammian übrigens bereits kurz zuvor in der letzten großen Rede Julians heraus. Vgl. Amm. XXV, 3, 15 (SQAW 21/3, 164): "Die Zeit, um aus dem Leben zu scheiden, ist da, Gefährten, freilich außerordentlich früh, aber wie ein treuer Schuldner freue ich mich, da ich es nun der Natur, die es zurückfordert, wiedergeben kann. Ich bin nicht mutlos und traurig, wie man meinen könnte, weil ich durch die einhellige Meinung der Philosophen unterrichtet wurde, um wie viel seliger als der Körper die Seele ist. Ich bin mir sicher, dass man sich eher darüber freuen als es bedauern soll, wenn der bessere vom schlechteren Teil getrennt wird. Außerdem erkenne ich, dass die himmlischen Götter für einige der Frömmsten den Tod gleichsam als höchste Belohnung bereithalten". Vgl. daneben auch ebd. 19 (164).

[146] Vgl. ebd. 23 (166). Plat., *Phaid*. 117c (Burnet 1). Scheda, Todesstunde (Anm. 139), 381. Hier einen Hinweis auf Sokrates zu sehen, ist allerdings nicht unproblematisch. Kaiser Julian starb im Unterschied zum Philosophen aus Athen ja an einer Kriegsverletzung, nicht durch Gift. Teitler hat vor diesem Hintergrund deshalb auf mögliche andere literarische Vorbilder aufmerksam gemacht, etwa das Sterben des persischen Großkönigs Kyros II. oder das des römischen Kaisers Otho. Vgl. Teitler, Death-Bed (Anm. 144), 76-78.

[147] Vgl. Amm. XXV, 3, 22 (SQAW 21/3, 166). Lib, *or*. XVIII, 272 (LCL 451, 462). Anders als bei Ammian ist bei Libanios allerdings nicht von den Sternen, sondern von "den Inseln der Seligen" die Rede. Aus Zeugnissen von Porphyrios, Jamblich und Servius ist allerdings zu entnehmen, dass es sich hierbei letztlich nur um zwei verschiedene Bezeichnungen für einen einzigen jenseitigen Ort der Glückseligkeit handelt. Vgl. z.B. Stob. I, 49, 61 (Wachsmuth 1, 448). Iambl., *v. Pyth*. 18, 82 (GRRS 11, 106). Serv., *Aen*. V, 735 (Thilo 1, 644f). Im Hintergrund könnte hier außerdem eine Stelle bei Platon stehen. Vgl. Plat., *Tim*. 41de (Burnet 4). Insgesamt vgl. hierzu den Boeft, *Commentary* (Anm. 144), 104f. Allgemein vgl. daneben z.B. F. Cumont, *Lux perpetua*, Paris 1949, 142-188. M. P. Nilsson, "Die astrale Unsterblichkeit und die kosmische Mystik", in: Numen 1, 1954, 106-119. Ch. Bechtold, *Gott und Gestirn als Präsenzformen des toten Kaisers. Apotheose und Katasterismos in der politischen Kommunikation der römischen Kaiserzeit und ihre Anknüpfungspunkte im Hellenismus*, SPK 9, Göttingen 2011.

[148] Vgl. Amm. XXV, 3, 15-20 (SQAW 21/3, 164-166). Insgesamt zur Rede Julians vgl. u.a. den Boeft, *Commentary* (Anm. 143), 86-102. Allgemein zur röm. Tradition bei Julian

in dieser Hinweise auf philosophische Traditionen, manche Stellen erinnern z.B. an Platons *Kriton*.[149] Ammianus Marcellinus zeichnet Julian aber darüber hinaus in erster Linie als verantwortungsbewussten Staatsmann und Feldherrn.[150] Die historische Glaubwürdigkeit der beiden vorgestellten Berichte über den Tod Julians ist aufgrund der zahlreichen literarischen Anspielungen natürlich immer wieder angezweifelt worden.[151] Allerdings wäre es durchaus denkbar, dass Julian selbst sein Sterben in Anlehnung an das des Sokrates inszenieren wollte, er wäre sich damit auch im Tode treu geblieben.[152] Die zwei angeführten Texte wollen den Kaiser jedenfalls als echten Hellenen und wahren Philosophen zeichnen.[153] Der Kontrast zum

vgl. z.B. C. J. Classen, "Julian und die Römer", in: WJA NF 26, 2002, 151-170.

[149] Vgl. Scheda, Todesstunde (Anm. 140), 381f. Ammian lässt Julian u.a. sagen: "Freudig gehe ich in dem Bewusstsein dahin, überall fest gestanden zu haben, wo mich der Staat wie ein herrischer Vater mit Überlegung Gefahren entgegengeworfen hat, ...". Amm. XXV, 3, 18 (SQAW 21/3, 164). Scheda sieht hier eine gewisse Verbindung zum *Kriton*, wo Sokrates unbedingten Gehorsam gegenüber den Gesetzen wie gegenüber väterlichen Entscheidungen verlangt. Vgl. Plat., *Krit*. 51ab (Burnet 1). Auch in der Selbstbezeichnung Julians als "tüchtiger Zögling des Staates" will Gunther Scheda einen Hinweis auf diesen platonischen Dialog erkennen, An einigen Stellen spricht Sokrates darin nämlich von den Gesetzen als seinen Ernährern und Erziehern. Amm. XXV, 3, 20 (SQAW 21/3, 166). Vgl. Plat., *Krit*. 50e; 51c u. 54b (Burnet 1).

[150] Vgl. Amm. XXV, 3, 16-20 (SQAW 21/3, 164-166).

[151] Vgl. z.B. Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 182. Rosen, *Julian* (Anm. 19), 365f. Zur literarischen Tradition im Hintergrund der Sterbeszene Julians vgl. u.a. P. Schunck, *Römisches Sterben. Studien zu Sterbeszenen in der kaiserzeitlichen Literatur, insbesondere bei Tacitus*, Heidelberg 1955. A. Ronconi, "Exitus illustrium virorum", in: RAC 6, 1966, 1258-1268.

[152] Vgl. z.B. Teitler, Death-Bed (Anm. 144), 75. Tanaseanu-Döbler, *Konversion* (Anm. 21), 151f. Zu Sokrates im Werk Julians vgl. C. J. Classen, "Julian's Portrait of Socrates", in: K. I. Budures (Hg.), *The Philosophy of Socrates*, Athen 1991, 91-97. Zum Hintergrund vgl. allgemein u.a. auch K. Döring, *'Exemplum Socratis'. Studien zur Sokratesnachwirkung in der kynisch-stoischen Popularphilosophie der frühen Kaiserzeit und im frühen Christentum*, Hermes.E 42, Wiesbaden 1979. Die Bedeutung, die Julian Sokrates beimisst, wird z.B. an einer Stelle im Schreiben an Themistios deutlich: "Ich behaupte also, dass der Sohn des Sophroniskos [= Sokrates] Größeres geleistet hat als Alexander. Denn ich führe auf ihn die Weisheit Platons, die Feldherrnkunst des Xenophon, die Mannhaftigkeit des Antisthenes, die eretrische Philosophie, die megarische, den Kebes, den Simmias, den Phaidon und unzählige andere zurück. Dabei will ich noch nicht einmal von den daraus entstandenen Pflanzstätten, dem Lykeion, der Stoa und den Akademien sprechen. Wer wurde nun durch den Sieg Alexanders errettet? Welche Stadt wurde dadurch besser regiert? Welcher Privatmann besserte sich dadurch? Freilich könnte man viele finden, die dadurch reicher wurden, aber niemanden, der dadurch weiser und besonnener wurde. Vielmehr wurde mancher dadurch nur noch prahlerischer und hochmütiger. Wie viele aber auch jetzt aufgrund der Philosophie errettet werden, sie werden durch Sokrates errettet". Iul., *or*. VI, 10 (Rochefort 26).

[153] Julian "empfand sich selbst, obgleich von thrakischer Herkunft, aufgrund seiner Lebensgewohnheiten als Hellenen". Ders., *mis*. 40 (Lacombrade 194). Theodor Mommsen hat ihn z.B. ausdrücklich als "griechische Natur", als "den ersten Griechen auf dem Kaiserthron" bezeichnet. Th. Mommsen, *Römische Kaisergeschichte. Nach den Vorlesungs-Mitschrif-*

Sterben seiner beiden Vorgänger wird damit überdeutlich. Eusebios von Kaisareia beschreibt ausführlich das Ende Konstantins. Dieser stirbt dem Bericht des palästinischen Bischofs zufolge ganz anders, nämlich als frommer Christ nach Empfang der Taufe.[154]

Anders als Konstantin und Konstantius wollte Julian keinesfalls in oder bei der Apostelkirche in Byzanz beigesetzt werden. Er bestimmte laut Ammianus Marcellinus stattdessen Tarsos in Kilikien als seine letzte Ruhestätte.[155] Die Gründe hierfür werden aus den Quellen allerdings nicht ganz deutlich: Diese Stadt sollte nach den Erfahrungen des Kaisers in Antiochien wohl seine neue Residenzstadt im Osten werden.[156] Vielleicht hatte Julian daneben aber auch Maximinus Daia im Blick, den letzten entschiedenen Christengegner unter seinen Vorgängern. Dieser war ebenfalls bei Tarsos begraben worden.[157] Jedenfalls scheint Julian für seine Bestattung ein christliches Umfeld, wie es seine Geburtsstadt Konstanti-

ten von Sebastian und Paul Hensel 1882/86, München 1992, 544. Zum Begriff Ἑλληνισμός im Denken Julians vgl. z.B. P. Huart, "Julien et l'hellénisme. Idées morales et politiques", in: Braun, Richer, *Empereur* (Anm. 143), 99-123. U. Criscuolo, "Giuliano e l'ellenismo. Conservazione e riforma", in: Orph. NS 7, 1986, 272-292. J. Bouffartigue, "Julien ou l'hellénisme décomposé", in: S. Saïd (Hg.), *'Hellenismos'. Quelques jalons pour une histoire de l'identité grecque*, Leiden 1991, 214-254. F. Curta, "Language, 'Ethne', and National Gods. A Note on Julian's Concept of Hellenism", in: AncW 33, 2002, 3-19. Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. A. Kaldellis, *Hellenism in Byzantium. The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge 2007. J. Stenger, *Hellenische Identität in der Spätantike. Pagane Autoren und ihr Unbehagen an der eigenen Zeit*, UALG 97, Berlin 2009. Julians Selbstdarstellung als Philosoph auf dem Kaiserthron spiegelt sich übrigens auch im epigraphischen Befund wider. Vgl. CIII 26f (AwK 10, 77f): *philosophiae princeps*. Ebd. 28 u. 30 (79f): *filosofiae magister*. Ebd. 34 (83): ὁ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας βασιλεύων.

[154] Vgl. Eus., *v. Const*. IV, 60, 5-64, 2 (FC 83, 482-488). Zu Taufe und Tod Konstantins vgl. z.B. G. Fowden, "The Last Days of Constantine. Oppositional Versions and Their Influence", in: JRS 84, 1994, 146-170. M. Amerise, *Il battesimo di Costantino il Grande. Storia di una scomoda eredità*, Hermes.E, Stuttgart 2004. Auch Konstantius II. empfing kurz vor seinem Tod die Taufe. Vgl. u.a. Philost., *h. e*. VI, 5 (GCS 21, 73f).

[155] Vgl. Amm. XXIII, 2, 5 u. XXV, 9, 12 (SQAW 21/3, 70 u. 192). Ammian erwähnt an beiden Stellen den ausdrücklichen Wunsch Julians, in Tarsos begraben zu werden. Zu möglichen Gründen vgl. z.B. den Boeft, *Commentary* (Anm. 144), 319f. Evtl. hängt Julians Entscheidung für Tarsos auch mit dem Umstand zusammen, dass Konstantius in der Nähe dieser Stadt gestorben und Julian dort somit zum Alleinherrscher aufgestiegen war.

[156] Vgl. u.a. Iul., *mis*. 37 (Lacombrade 190f). Amm. XXIII, 2, 3-5 (SQAW 21/3, 70). Lib, *or*. XV, 55 (LCL 451, 182-184). Lieu, *Emperor* (Anm. 17), 54. Das Verhältnis zwischen Julian und den Antiochenern war so zerrüttet, dass man dort auf die Nachricht seines Todes hin in Jubel ausbrach. Vgl. Thdt., *h. e*. III, 28, 1f (GCS NF 5, 206).

[157] Vgl. Philost., *h. e*. VIII, 1 (GCS 21, 104). K. Ehling, "Der Tetrarch Maximinus Daia, sein Grab bei Tarsos und Kaiser Julian", in: Hist. 59, 2010, 252-255. Immer wieder wurde in der Forschung der Versuch unternommen, zwischen der Religionspolitik Julians und der des Maximinus Daia Parallelen zu ziehen. Vgl. z.B. O. Nicholson, "The 'Pagan Churches' of Maximinus Daia and Julian the Apostate", in: JEH 45, 1994, 1-10. Nesselrath, *Kaiser*

nopel bot, nachdrücklich vermieden zu haben.[158] Der Leichnam des Kaisers wurde deshalb unter Führung seines Verwandten Prokop in die kilikische Metropole überführt und dort vor den Toren der Stadt beigesetzt.[159] Einige Jahre danach wurde Julians Grab wohl zu einer Art Erinnerungs- bzw. Kultstätte ausgebaut.[160] Spätere Historiker wie Zosimos und Johannes Zonaras haben sogar den Text der Inschrift überliefert, die dort angebracht worden sein soll.[161]

Man kann es wohl Ironie des Schicksals nennen, später wurden die Gebeine Julians dann aber doch in die Stadt am Bosporus transferiert. Er wurde

(Anm. 28), 91 u. 122f. Zu diesem Kaiser vgl. u.a. W. Kuhoff, K. Ehling, "Maximinus Daia", in: RAC 24, 2012, 495-504.

[158] In dem Kaiser gegenüber wohlgesonnenen Kreisen scheint man allerdings mit Tarsos als Bestattungsort Julians nicht recht zufrieden gewesen zu sein. Libanios schlägt stattdessen als passendere Ruhestätte ein Grab neben Platon in der Akademie zu Athen vor. Vgl. Lib, *or*. XVIII, 306 (LCL 451, 484). Nach Ammian hätte sich hingegen wegen der Nähe zu den Bauwerken früherer Kaiser bzw. den Tempeln der alten Götter Rom selbst viel besser als Begräbnisplatz für Julian geeignet. Vgl. Amm. XXV, 10, 5 (SQAW 21/3, 192-194).

[159] Vgl. ebd. 9, 12f (192): "... Prokop wurde mit den Überresten Julians ausgesandt, um ihn in einem Vorort von Tarsos zu bestatten, wie jener dies noch zu Lebzeiten angeordnet hatte. Er brach auf, um den Befehl auszuführen, verschwand aber sofort, nachdem er den Leichnam bestattet hatte, ...". Im Unterschied dazu erwähnt Philostorgios einen gewissen Merobaudes als Anführer des zur Bestattung Julians abgeordneten Truppenkontingents. Vgl. Philost., *h. e*. VIII, 1 (GCS 21, 104). Zu Prokop, der 365 gegen Valens usurpierte, vgl. u.a. K. Ehling, "Procopius (Gegenkaiser)", in: RAC 28, 2017, 186-198. In den Quellen wird übereinstimmend betont, dass sich Julians Grab außerhalb der Stadt befand, und zwar nach Ammian an der Straße in Richtung der Taurus-Pässe. Vgl. Lib, *or*. XVIII, 306 (LCL 451, 484). Amm. XXV, 10, 5 (SQAW 21/3, 192). Zos., *hist*. III, 34, 3f (Mendelssohn 156f). Zonar. XIII, 13, 23 (CSHB 3, 68). Vgl. insgesamt hierzu J. Arce, "La tumba del emperador Juliano", in: Lucentum 3, 1984, 181-191. Johnson, *Mausoleum* (Anm. 42), 103f. Zum Hintergrund vgl. auch N. Belayche, "'Accompagner le cortège jusqu'au tombeau'. Les funérailles impériales au IVe siècle de notre ère", in: O. Dumoulin (Hg.), *Autour des morts. Mémoire et identité*, Rouen 2001, 141-153.

[160] Nach Ammian ließ Jovian das Grab seines Vorgängers Julian auf der Durchreise in Richtung Konstantinopel ausschmücken. Vgl. Amm. XXV, 10, 5 (SQAW 21/3, 192). Libanios erwähnt außerdem, dass sich auch die beiden nachfolgenden Kaiser Valentinian I. und Valens nachdrücklich für die Ausgestaltung des julianischen Grabmals engagierten. Vgl. Lib, *or*. XXIV, 10f (LCL 451, 498). Gregor von Nazianz spricht in Blick auf das Grab Julians übrigens von τέμενος und ναός, dies lässt auf eine Art Kultstätte für den Kaiser schließen. Vgl. Greg. Naz., *or*. V, 18 (SC 309, 328).

[161] Zosimos überliefert ein zweizeiliges Grabepigramm. Dies findet sich auch in der *Anthologia Graeca*, wo es jedoch fälschlich Libanios zugeschrieben wird. Vgl. Zos., *hist*. III, 34, 4 (Mendelssohn 157). *Anth. Pal*. VII, 747 (Stadtmüller 2/1, 522). Eine vierzeilige Version überliefern hingegen Zonaras und Georgios Kedrenos. Vgl. Zonar. XIII, 13, 24 (CSHB 3, 68). Cedren. 308a (CSHB 1, 539). Die letzte Zeile ist übrigens in allen Fassungen identisch, sie entstammt der *Ilias*: "Er war beides: Zugleich ein trefflicher König und ein tapferer Streiter". Hom., *Il*. III, 179 (Allen 1).

neben seinen Vorgängern in der Apostelkirche beigesetzt.[162] Wann genau dies geschah, bleibt jedoch unsicher, manches könnte für die Endphase der Herrschaft Theodosius' I. sprechen. Der letzte Heide auf dem Thron der Caesaren wurde damit jedenfalls in die christliche Erinnerungskultur der östlichen Reichshauptstadt integriert.[163] Freilich bewahrte man Julian vor allem in paganen Kreisen der spätantiken Welt ein ehrendes Gedächtnis. Nach Libanios stellte man sein Bildnis in Tempeln auf und verehrte ihn gleichsam wie einen Gott.[164] Eutropius zufolge soll er auch ganz offiziell

[162] Das früheste Zeugnis, dass die Anwesenheit von Julians Überresten in Konstantinopel bezeugt, findet sich erst in einem Anhang zu der Schrift *De caeremoniis* des Kaisers Konstantin VII. Porphyrogennetos, es stammt also aus der Zeit um 969. Vgl. Const. Porph., *caer*. II, 42 (CSHB 1, 646). Auch spätere byzantinische Autoren belegen eine Translation Julians von Tarsos nach Konstantinopel. Kedrenos scheint sogar anzunehmen, dass der Kaiser unmittelbar nach seinem Tod in der Apostelkirche beigesetzt worden war. Vgl. u.a. Leo Gram. (CSHB 93f). Zonar. XIII, 13, 25 (CSHB 3, 68). Cedren. 308a (CSHB 1, 539). Aus Notizen bei Libanios und Ammian kann man folgern, dass Julian Ende des 4. Jahrhunderts noch in Tarsos begraben war. Evtl. lassen die entsprechenden Bemerkungen bei Philostorgios und Zosimos dieselbe Schlußfolgerung auch für das 5. Jahrhundert zu. Vgl. Lib, *or*. XXIV, 10f (LCL 451, 498). Amm. XXV, 10, 5 (SQAW 21/3, 192-194). Philost., *h. e*. VIII, 1 (GCS 21, 104). Zos., *hist*. III, 34, 4 (Mendelssohn 156f). Insgesamt vgl. hierzu auch Rosen, *Julian* (Anm. 19), 394f.

[163] Vgl. u.a. Grierson, Tombs (Anm. 42), 40f. M. Di Maio, "The Transfer of the Remains of the Emperor Julian from Tarsus to Constantinople", in: Byz. 48, 1978, 43-50. D. Woods, "On the Alleged Reburial of Julian the Apostate in Constantinople", in: ebd. 76, 2006, 364-371. M. J. Johnson, "Observations on the Burial of the Emperor Julian in Constantinople", in: ebd. 78, 2008, 254-260. Zum *Apostoleion* vgl. daneben auch die in Anm. 42 genannte Literatur. Julians Grab befand sich in einer Säulenhalle, die sich nördlich an die Apostelkirche anschloss. Er wurde dort neben seinem Nachfolger Jovian in einem zylindrischen Porphyrsarkophag bestattet. Nach Leon Grammatikos enthielt dieses *Heroon* auch das Grab seiner Gattin Helena, einer Tochter Konstantins. Diese war urspr. in Rom bestattet worden, muss dann aber ebenfalls nach Byzanz überführt worden sein. Vgl. z.B. Const. Porph., *caer*. II, 42 (CSHB 1, 646). Leo Gram. (CSHB 93f). Asutay-Effenberger, Effenberger, *Porphyrsarkophage* (Anm. 42), 59-61.

[164] Vgl. Lib, *or*. XVIII, 304 (LCL 451, 482-484): "Da ich nun seine [= Julians] Bilder erwähnt habe, es gibt zahlreiche Städte, die es neben den Götterbildern aufgestellt haben und es wie die Götter selbst verehren. Und es gibt sogar Leute, die im Gebet von ihm Wohltaten erfleht haben und damit nicht gescheitert sind. So unmittelbar ist er also zu ihnen hinaufgestiegen und hat Anteil an der Macht der Höheren durch diese selbst". Vgl. hierzu z.B. A. D. Nock, "Deification and Julian", in: JRS 47, 1957, 115-123. Bliembach, *Libanius* (Anm. 40), 246-148. G. Fatouros, "Julian und Christus. Gegenapologetik bei Libanios?", in: Hist. 45, 1996, 114-122. Am Ende des *Epitaphios* bezeichnet Libanios den verstorbenen Kaiser als "Zögling der Gottheiten", als deren "Schüler" und "Tischengenossen" bzw. als "Verbündeten der Götter" und deren "Vertrauten". Lib, *or*. XVIII, 308 (LCL 451, 484-486). Vgl. daneben auch Ders., *or*. XV, 36 (170); XXIV, 40 (520). Socr., *h. e*. III, 23, 40-42 (GCS NF 1, 223). Zum Hintergrund vgl. auch St. Conti, "Da eroe a dio. La concezione teocratica del potere in Giuliano", in: AnTar 17, 2009, 119-126.

divinisiert worden sein.[165] Vielleicht bezieht sich sogar die Darstellung einer kaiserlichen Apotheose auf einem Elfenbein-Diptychon des British Museum, das wohl dem Umfeld der heidnisch gebliebenen Senatorenfamilie der Symmachi entstammt, auf die Himmelfahrt Julians.[166] Allerdings entbehrt auch dies nicht einer gewissen Ironie: Julian hatte seinen Vorgänger Augustus ja wegen der Schaffung neuer Götter verhöhnt, nun war der Kaiser nach seinem Tod selbst unter diese aufgenommen worden.[167]

7. Ausblick: "Du hast gesiegt, Galiläer!"[168] oder die spätantike Metamorphose des Todes

"Es ist nur ein Wölkchen und schnell zieht es vorüber".[169] Nach Rufin von Aquileja soll dies Athanasios, der Bischof von Alexandrien, über Kaiser

[165] Vgl. Eutr. X, 16, 2 (MGH.AA 2, 180): "... und er [= Julian] wurde unter die Staatsgötter gerechnet, ...". Vgl. hierzu u.a. J. Straub, "Die Himmelfahrt des Iulianus Apostata", in: Wlosok, *Kaiserkult* (Anm. 46), 528-554. Clauss, *Kaiser* (Anm. 46), 208f. Amici, Divinizzazione (Anm. 43), 29-51. Eutrop war wie Ammianus Marcellinus ebenfalls Teilnehmer des Perserfeldzugs. Zum Hintergrund vgl. auch G. Bonamente, *Giuliano l'Apostata e il 'Breviario' di Eutropio*, Rom 1986. Ob man aus der knappen Notiz im *Breviarium* eine offizielle Konsekration Julians durch den Senat ableiten kann, ist fraglich. Ein Hinweis auf die Divinisierung des Kaisers findet sich allerdings auch bei Ammian: "Er [= Julian] war in der Tat ein Mann, den man aufgrund seines Genies zu den Heroen zählen muss, ...". Amm. XXV, 4, 1 (SQAW 21/3, 166). Vgl. auch ebd. XXVI, 10, 8 (SQAW 21/4, 46). Insgesamt vgl. hierzu den Boeft, *Commentary* (Anm. 144), 113-116.

[166] Vgl. z.B. L. Cracco Ruggini, "Apoteosi e politica senatoria nel IV s. d. C. Il dittico dei Symmachi al British Museum", in: RSI 89, 1977, 425-489. Straub, Himmelfahrt (Anm. 166), 545-548 (Nr. 1a). Fleck, *Portraits* (Anm. 18), 114-123 (Nr. 58). Dass es sich bei dem auf der Londoner Tafel dargestellten Kaiser um Julian handelt, ist in der Forschung stark umstritten. Daneben wurde auch Konstantius Chlorus diskutiert, eine gewisse Plausibilität kann jedoch v.a. die Identifizierung mit Antoninus Pius für sich in Anspruch nehmen. Nach Eunapios soll Julian übrigens vor dem Perserkrieg ein Orakel erhalten haben, das ihm u.a. verhieß, "ein feurig glänzender Wagen" werde ihn "zum Olymp bringen", und zwar zur "väterlichen Halle des himmlischen Lichts". Eun., *hist*. frg. 26 (FHG 4, 25).

[167] Vgl. Iul., *Caes*. 33 (Lacombrade 66). Insgesamt vgl. hierzu auch Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 185f. Vor diesem Hintergrund überrascht es doch, dass Gregor von Nazianz Julian unterstellt, er wollte seine eigene Konsekration geradezu erzwingen. Nach Gregor soll der schwer verletzte Kaiser nämlich versucht haben, sich in den Tigris zu stürzen, um so seine Entrückung vorzutäuschen. Allerdings soll dies entdeckt und so ein "neuer Gott für die Dummen" verhindert worden sein. Greg. Naz., *or*. V, 14 (SC 309, 320). Ähnliches wurde übrigens bereits über Alexander d.Gr. erzählt. Vgl. u.a. Arr., *exped. Alex*. VII, 27, 3 (Roos 330).

[168] Thdt., *h. e*. III, 25, 7 (GCS NF 5, 205).

[169] Ruf., *h. e*. X, 35 (GCS 9/2, 995). Athanasios konnte 362 zunächst wie andere Bischöfe aufgrund des julianischen Amnestieerlasses aus seinem dritten Exil zurückkehren. Allerdings musste er Ende Dezember wiederum aus Alexandreia weichen. Das Wirken des Bischofs war nämlich so erfolgreich, dass er sogar einige Damen aus der paganen Oberschicht für das Christentum gewinnen konnte. Dies veranlasste Julian, Athanasios erneut in die Verbannung zu schicken. Mit den oben zitierten Worten soll der Alexandriner seine Anhänger kurz vor

Julian und dessen Versuch einer heidnischen Restauration gesagt haben. Die Herrschaft Julians war tatsächlich zu kurz, um die mit Konstantin begonnene Christianisierung des *Imperium Romanum* dauerhaft aufhalten oder gar rückgängig machen zu können. Seine Nachfolger setzen den Prozess einer Synthese von Reich und Christentum fort.[170] In der Forschung wird zwar immer wieder die Vermutung geäußert, dass Julian erfolgreich hätte sein können, wenn er ähnlich lang wie etwa sein Onkel Konstantin oder sein Vetter Konstantius regiert hätte. Dies bleibt freilich hoch spekulativ. Der Versuch einer kontrafaktischen Geschichtsschreibung läuft ja stets Gefahr, mehr mit dem Abfassen phantastischer Literatur gemein zu haben als mit dem Alltagsgeschäft des Historikers.[171]

Der vorliegende Beitrag setzte sich mit der Frage auseinander, ob Julians Unterfangen einer paganen Restauration bzw. Reform des Reiches, das mit der Zurückdrängung des Christentums aus der Öffentlichkeit verbunden war, Auswirkungen auf den Funeralbereich hatte: Seit dem Aufenthalt des Kaisers in Antiocheia scheint die Wiederherstellung einer dezidiert heidnischen Bestattungskultur in dessen Blickfeld getreten zu sein. Julian ging dabei von einer strikten Trennung zwischen Leben und Tod, Kult und Grab, Reinheit und Befleckung aus und suchte diese erneut durchzusetzen, wie die Ereignisse in Daphne sowie das Edikt vom 12. Februar 363 und das damit verbundene Schreiben aus der Bibliothek von San Marco belegen.

der Abreise in sein viertes Exil getröstet haben. Vgl. hierzu u.a. Iul., *ep*. 110 u. 112 (Bidez 187f u. 192). O. Seel, "Die Verbannung des Athanasius durch Julian", in: Klio 32, 1939, 175-188.

[170] Nach Julians Tod wurde mit Jovian ein Christ zu seinem Nachfolger gewählt. Obwohl dieser neue Kaiser nur wenige Monate regierte, leitete bereits er eine Kurskorrektur in der Religionspolitik ein. Eine Generation nach Julian war das Christentum unter Theodosius I. dann bereits auf dem Weg zur Staatsreligion des Reiches zu werden. Zu Jovian vgl. u.a. G. Wirth, "Jovian. Kaiser und Karikatur", in: E. Dassmann, K. Thraede (Hg.), *'Vivarium'*, FS Th. Klauser, JAC.E 11, Münster 1984, 353-384. M. Clauss, "Iovianus", in: RAC 18, 1998, 811-820. N. E. Lenski, "The Election of Jovian and the Role of the Late Imperial Guards", in: Klio 82, 2000, 492-515.

[171] Kaum eine größere Julian-Darstellung kommt völlig ohne die Frage: "Was wäre geschehen, wenn ...?" aus. Als Beispiel sei hier auf drei deutschsprachige Biographien aus dem ersten Jahrzehnt dieses Jahrhunderts verwiesen. Vgl. M. Giebel, *Kaiser Julian Apostata. Die Wiederkehr der alten Götter*, Düsseldorf 2002, 200f. Bringmann, *Kaiser* (Anm. 15), 190f. Rosen, *Julian* (Anm. 19), 8. Daneben finden sich zu Julian freilich auch ausführlichere Versuche einer virtuellen Geschichtsschreibung. Vgl. z.B. G. Gottlieb, *Von Homer bis Theodosius dem Großen. Sechzehn historische Fiktionen mit Themen der griechischen und römischen Geschichte*, BBKG 6, Frankfurt a.M. 2016, 143-156. Derartige Gedankenexperimente sind gerade in Blick auf Kaiser Julian äußerst faszinierend, letztlich sind sie methodisch allerdings kaum kontrollierbar. Vgl. allgemein hierzu u.a. K. Brodersen (Hg.), *Virtuelle Antike. Wendepunkte der Alten Geschichte*, Darmstadt 2000. A. Demandt, *Ungeschehene Geschichte. Ein Traktat über die Frage: Was wäre geschehen, wenn ...?*, Göttingen 2011.

Vielleicht ist diese Zielsetzung einer Repaganisierung des Todes darüber hinaus sogar bei Julians eigenem Sterben und seiner Bestattung in Tarsos spürbar, Julians Ende wird in den Quellen jedenfalls anders als das seiner beiden unmittelbaren Vorgänger geschildert.[172]

Als *ultima vox* Julians überliefert der Kirchenhistoriker Theodoret von Kyrrhos den Ausspruch: "Du hast gesiegt, Galiläer!"[173] Dies ist historisch betrachtet natürlich nicht zutreffend. Doch der frühe Tod Julians bedeutete tatsächlich, dass sich das Christentum nun dauerhaft als die Religion der antiken Mittelmeerwelt etablieren konnte. Damit einher ging zugleich ein langfristiger Transformationsprozess der Sepulkralkultur. Dies soll abschließend an einem zentralen Punkt noch einmal verdeutlicht werden: Die Unreinheit des Todes war nicht nur für Kaiser Julian, sondern ganz allgemein für antike Menschen – gleich ob Griechen, Römer oder Juden[174] – eine völlig selbstverständliche Annahme. Auch Christen der Spätantike scheinen dabei zunächst kaum eine Ausnahme dargestellt zu haben.[175]

[172] Hans-Ulrich Wiemer hat unlängst mit guten Argumenten Bedenken gegen die in der Forschung fast allgemein üblich gewordene Beschreibung der julianischen Religionspolitik als heidnische Restauration angemeldet. Der Althistoriker betont stattdessen das "reformatorische" Element im Vorgehen des Kaisers. Vgl. Wiemer, Priester (Anm. 37), 530-537 u. 553-558. Gerade Julians Bestattungsgesetz zeigt, dass sich durchaus Hinweise für beide Sichtweisen finden lassen. Kaiser Julian betrachtete sich selbst jedoch als Wiederhersteller der alten Ordnung. Dies spiegelt sich übrigens auch im epigraphischen Befund wider. Vgl. u.a. CIII 54 (AwK 10, 96): ἀνανεωτὴς τῶν ἱερῶν. Ebd. 167 (171): *restitutor Romanae religionis*. Ebd. 176 (177): *restitutor sacrorum*.

[173] Thdt., *h. e.* III, 25, 7 (GCS NF 5, 205). Vgl. hierzu z.B. Büttner-Wobst, Tod (Anm. 138), 32-37. Zum Hintergrund vgl. u.a. H.-G. Nesselrath, "Kaiserlicher Held und Christenfeind. Julian Apostata im Urteil des späten 4. und des 5. Jahrhunderts n.Chr.", in: H.-G. Nesselrath, B. Bäbler (Hg.), *Die Welt des Sokrates von Konstantinopel. Studien zu Politik, Religion und Kultur im späten 4. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert n.Chr.*, FS Ch. Schäublin, München 2001, 15-43. Der oben zitierte angebliche Ausspruch Julians fand dann u.a. auch Aufnahme in die *Kirchengeschichte* Cassiodors. Vgl. Cassiod., *h. e.* VI, 47, 3 (CSEL 71, 372).

[174] Vgl. zur Unreinheit des Todes im antiken Judentum z.B. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 39-41. Th. Hieke, "Die Unreinheit der Leiche nach der Tora", in: T. Nicklas u.a. (Hg.), *The Human Body in Death and Resurrection*, Göttingen 2009, 43-65. Im Unterschied zum Christentum bewertete Kaiser Julian das Judentum z.T. durchaus als positiv. Dies war u.a. darin begründet, dass die Juden nach Ansicht Julians anders als die von ihnen abgefallenen Galiläer strikten Reinheitsgeboten folgten. Den Christen warf er eine doppelte Apostasie vor, nämlich zum einen vom Judentum sowie zum anderen von ihren hellenischen Vorfahren. Das Christentum war in den Augen des Kaisers eine Religion der Unreinheit, dies zeigt sich für ihn auch an dessen Nähe zur Sphäre des Todes. Vgl. hierzu z.B. Iul., *Gal.* frg. 47 (Masaracchia 141); frg. 58 (152f); frg. 72 (166f). G. Scrofani, "'Like Green Herb'. Julian's Understanding of Purity and His Attitude towards Judaism in His 'Contra Galilaeos'", in: JLARC 2, 2008, 1-16.

[175] Kyrill von Alexandreia bemerkt z.B. in direkter Erwiderung auf Julian: "Wir behaupten also nicht, dass die Gräber der Körper frei sind von Unreinheit". Cyr. Alex., *Iul.* X, 335 (PG 76, 1017A). Zu Kyrill vgl. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 256-258. Dass spätantike Christen von einer

Nach und nach kam es genau in diesem Bereich dann aber zu einer Neubewertung, die schließlich kulturell prägend werden sollte.[176] Als Beispiel, an dem diese Metamorphose deutlich wird, soll hier abschließend eine Passage aus den *Apostolischen Konstitutionen* vorgestellt werden. Diese Kirchenordnung stammt aus dem späten 4. Jahrhundert, wahrscheinlich sogar aus Antiocheia, zumindest jedoch aus dem Umfeld der syrischen Metropole.[177] Darin werden gängige antike Vorstellungen zu Reinheit und Befleckung in den Blick genommen und entschieden zurückgewiesen:

> Achtet also nicht auf die gesetzlichen und natürlichen Dinge, glaubt nicht, dadurch verunreinigt (μολύνεσθαι) zu werden! Verlangt auch nicht nach jüdischen Absonderungen oder fortwährenden Waschungen und Reinigungen in Folge der Berührung eines Toten! Versammelt euch vielmehr ohne Scheu auf den Friedhöfen (ἐν τοῖς κοιμητηρίοις) zur Lesung der Heiligen Schriften, singt Psalmen für die entschlafenen Märtyrer, für alle Heiligen von Anbeginn an und für eure im Herrn entschlafenen Brüder, und bringt das Abbild des königlichen Leibes Christi, die wohlgefällige Eucharistie, als Opfer dar in euren Kirchen und auf den Friedhöfen, und begleitet die Leichenzüge der Entschlafenen mit Psalmengesang, wenn sie gläubig im Herrn gewesen sind! Denn

gewissen Unreinheit des Todes und der Bestattung ausgingen, belegt auch die Grabgesetzgebung christlicher Kaiser aus der Zeit nach Julian. In einem Gesetz Gratians, Valentinians II. und Theodosius' I. vom 30. Juli 381 werden Urnen- und Sarkophagbestattungen innerhalb der Stadtmauern untersagt, und zwar um auf diese Weise "für die Behausungen der Einwohner die Reinheit zu erhalten". *Cod. Theod.* IX, 17, 6 (Mommsen 1/2, 465). Aufschlußreich ist in diesem Kontext auch ein Edikt vom 13. März 447, das Valentinian III. zusammen mit Theodosius II. erließ. Darin wird das Verbot von Grabschändungen eingeschärft, "damit nicht länger unser Zeitalter besudelt werde". Der Kaiser des Westens hatte hierbei besonders Kleriker im Blick, die wohl auf der Suche nach Reliquien waren. Valentinian befürchtete nämlich, dass diese "am heiligen Altar das Opfer darbringen mit Händen, die durch die Berührung mit Aschenhaufen verunreinigt sind". *Nov. Valent.* 23 (Mommsen 2, 115). Vgl. hierzu Noethlichs, Jenseitsvorstellungen (Anm. 86), 53f. Rebillard, *Care* (Anm. 9), 65-68.

[176] Vgl. hierzu u.a. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 247-263. Ulrich Volp konnte überzeugend aufzeigen, dass körperlich-kultische Reinheitsvorstellungen im antiken Christentum zunehmend durch Ethisierung bzw. Theologisierung überwunden wurden. Allerdings sind vergleichbare Tendenzen auch unabhängig vom Christentum feststellbar. Vgl. z.B. A. Chaniotis, "Reinheit des Körpers – Reinheit des Sinnes in den griechischen Kultgesetzen", in: J. Assmann, Th. Sundermeier, *Schuld, Gewissen und Person. Studien zur Geschichte des inneren Menschen*, Gütersloh 1997, 142-179.

[177] Zu den Einleitungsfragen vgl. u.a. M. Metzger, "Konstitutionen, (Pseud-)Apostolische", in: TRE 19, 1990, 540-544. B. Steimer, *'Vertex traditionis'. Die Gattung der altchristlichen Kirchenordnungen*, BZNW 63, Berlin 1992, 114-133. J. G. Mueller, *L'ancien testament dans l'ecclésiologie des pères. Une lecture des 'Constitutions apostoliques'*, IPM 41, Turnhout 2004, 36-125. In den *Constitutiones apostolicae* wird neben anderen Materialien eine Reihe älterer Kirchenordnungen verarbeitet, v.a. die *Didascalia*, daneben aber auch die *Didache* und die *Traditio apostolica*.

> "kostbar ist in den Augen des Herrn das Sterben seiner Heiligen" (Ps 116,15). Und wiederum: "Komm wieder zur Ruhe, meine Seele! Denn der Herr hat dir Gutes getan" (Ps 116,7). Und an einer andern Stelle: "Das Andenken der Gerechten ist gesegnet" (Spr 10,7) sowie: "Die Seelen der Gerechten sind in Gottes Hand" (Weish 3,1). Denn die an Gott geglaubt haben, sind, auch wenn sie entschlafen sind, keine Toten. Der Erlöser sagt nämlich zu den Sadduzäern: "Habt ihr nicht gelesen, was über die Auferstehung der Toten geschrieben steht: Ich bin der Gott Abrahams, der Gott Isaaks und der Gott Jakobs? Er ist doch nicht der Gott der Toten, sondern der Gott der Lebenden". (Mt 22,31f; Ex 3,6); "denn für ihn sind alle lebendig" (Lk 20,38).
>
> Folglich sollen auch die Überreste der bei Gott Lebenden nicht ohne Ehre gelassen werden. Denn auch Elischa, der Prophet, hat nach seiner Entschlafung einen Toten erweckt, der von Räubern aus Syrien ermordet worden war. Sein Leichnam berührte nämlich die Gebeine des Elischa, da wurde er wieder lebendig und richtete sich auf (vgl. 2Kön 13,20f). Dies hätte sich aber nicht zugetragen, wenn der Leichnam des Elischa nicht heilig gewesen wäre. Und Josef, der Keusche, umfasste Jakob, der nach seinem Tod auf dem Bett lag (vgl. Gen 50,1). Auch Mose und Josua, der Sohn des Nun, brachten die Überreste des Josef mit, ohne dies für eine Verunreinigung zu halten (vgl. Ex 13,19; Jos 24,32). Berührt daher, ihr Bischöfe und ihr übrigen, die Entschlafenen ohne Scheu. glaubt nicht, euch zu verunreinigen (μιαίνεσθαι), empfindet kein Grauen vor ihren Überresten und vermeidet solche Scheu, sie ist töricht! Schmückt euch vielmehr mit Heiligkeit und Keuschheit, damit ihr Teilhaber der Unsterblichkeit und Gefährten des Reiches Gottes werdet und die Verheißung Gottes erhaltet, durch Jesus Christus, den Erlöser, ewige Ruhe zu erlangen.[178]

Dieser kirchenrechtliche Text vertritt nachdrücklich die Auffassung, dass dem Bereich des Todes keine Unreinheit anhaftet. Die Friedhöfe sind für die *Apostolischen Konstitutionen* stattdessen bevorzugter Ort, um Liturgie zu feiern, also christliche Kulthandlungen zu vollziehen.[179] Anders als

[178] *Const. apost.* VI, 30, 1-7 (SC 329, 388-392). Der oben zitierte Abschnitt fusst auf entsprechenden Passagen der *Didascalia apostolorum*. Die Anweisungen zum Funeralbereich gehen also im Kern bereits auf die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts zurück. Vgl. *Didasc.* lat. 61f (TU 75, 97-99); syr. 26 (CSCO 407, 260-262).

[179] Hier wird zweimal der Begriff κοιμητήριον verwendet. Vgl. *Const. apost.* VI, 30, 2 (SC 329, 388-390). Zu diesem Lexem vgl. u.a. É. Rebillard, "'Κοιμητήριον' et 'coemeterium'. Tombe, tombe sainte, nécropole", in: MEFRA 105, 1993, 975-1001. Brandenburg, Coemeterium (Anm. 8), 208-217. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 151-156. Mit diesem Terminus scheint ein dezidiert christliches Todesverständnis verbunden gewesen zu sein. Vgl. z.B. Joh. Chrys., *coem.* 1 (PG 49, 393): "Deshalb wird der Ort selbst auch Ruhestätte genannt, weil diejenigen, die vollendet sind und darin liegen, nicht tot sind, sondern nur ruhen und schlafen". Vor

pagane Priester wird der christliche Klerus hier sogar dezidiert dazu aufgefordert, an Bestattungen teilzunehmen. Die Bereiche von Leben und Tod gehören für diese Kirchenordnung also auf das Engste zusammen. In gewisser Weise stellt dieser Text damit geradezu eine Art Gegenentwurf zu Julians Anschaungen dar.[180]

Diese Neubewertung hat natürlich vielfältige theologische Gründe, man könnte hier auf zwischen dem antiken Christentum und seinem paganen Umfeld differierende anthropologische, schöpfungstheologische und eschatologische Vorstellungen verweisen. Letztlich hängt dieser Transformationsprozess aber m.E. in erster Linie mit der Christologie zusammen. Besonders deutlich wird dies an einem Text aus dem dogmatischen Hauptwerk des Johannes von Damaskus.[181] Mit der *Quelle der Erkenntis* befinden wir uns zwar ganz am Ende dessen, was noch als spätantikes Christentum bezeichnet werden kann. Der Damaszener nennt in dieser Schrift jedoch den nach christlicher Auffassung zentralen Grund, warum der Sphäre des Todes keine Unreinheit mehr anhaftet:

> Im Gesetz galt jeder, der einen Toten berührte, als unrein (vgl. Num 19,11). Aber diese sind keine Toten. Denn seitdem er [= Christus], der selbst das Leben, der Grund des Lebens ist, zu den Toten gezählt wurde, nennen wir die, die in der Hoffnung auf Auferstehung und im Glauben an ihn entschlafen sind, nicht mehr Tote. Wie kann nämlich ein toter Leib Wunder wirken? Wie also werden durch sie Dämonen ausgetrieben, Krankheiten verscheucht, Kranke geheilt, Blinde sehend, Aussätzige rein, Versuchungen und Notlagen aufgelöst, wie kommt

diesem Hintergrund sind Begräbnisstätten für die *Constitutiones apostolicae* keine Orte des Grauens mehr, sondern wie innerstädtische Kirchengebäude Orte der Versammlung und des Gottesdienstes.

[180] Vgl. hierzu auch Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 250-252. Auch die *Apostolischen Konstitutionen* scheinen zunächst von einer grundsätzlichen Unreinheit der Sphäre des Todes auszugehen, in Blick darauf wird sogar von "den gesetzlichen und natürlichen Dingen" gesprochen. *Const. apost*. VI, 30, 1 (SC 329, 388). Mit Rückgriff auf verschiedene Schriftstellen sucht die Kirchenordnung allerdings zu belegen, dass "diejenigen, die an Gott geglaubt haben, auch wenn sie entschlafen sind, keine Toten sind", sondern Lebende. Ebd. 4 (390). Somit gibt es keinen Grund mehr, "Grauen vor ihren Überresten zu empfinden". Ebd. 7 (392). Dass der Text hier so nachdrücklich gegen jegliche Furcht vor Befleckung Stellung bezieht, könnte freilich dafür sprechen, dass in der Gemeinde hinter dieser Kirchenordnung derartige Berührungsängste noch weit verbreitet waren.

[181] Zu Johannes vgl. allgemein z.B. B. Studer, *Die theologische Arbeitsweise des Johannes von Damaskus*, SPB 2, Ettal 1956. A. Louth, *St John Damascene. Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, Oxford 2004. Die hier angeführte Passage stammt aus dem dritten Teil des Hauptwerkes, der sog. *Expositio fidei*. In 100 Kapiteln wird darin der rechte Glaube dargelegt. Der zitierte Text ist Teil des Abschnitts über die Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung. Vgl. Joh. Dam., *f. o*. IV, 15 bzw. 88 (PTS 12, 202-205).

> durch sie jede gute Gabe vom Vater der Lichter auf die herab, die in zuversichtlichem Glauben bitten?[182]

Für Julian ist Jesus von Nazaret nichts anderes als ein "jüdischer Leichnam".[183] Sein "schmähliches Sterben und Begräbnis"[184] belegen nach Ansicht des Kaisers eindeutig, dass Christus nicht Gott sein kann. Der Augustus unterstellt den verhassten Galiläern stattdessen Nekrolatrie. Nach Julian beten die Christen in Jesus aber nicht nur einen toten Menschen an, sondern fügen zu diesem noch viele weitere Tote hinzu.[185] Es ist für Kaiser Julian völlig unverständlich, wie die Anhänger Christi anstelle der ewigen Götter Leichenteile verehren und im Umfeld des Todes kultische Handlungen vollziehen können.[186] Die Nähe des Christentums zu den Friedhöfen empfand er, aber auch andere Heiden der Spätantike als abstoßend. Julian warf den Galiläern vor, "alles mit Grabmälern angefüllt zu haben".[187]

[182] Ebd. (204).

[183] Iul., *Gal*. frg. 43 (Masaracchia 138): τοὺς αἰωνίους ἀφέντες θεοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μεταβῆναι νεκρόν. Vgl. daneben u.a. ebd. frg. 48 (142); 81 (175). Cook, *Interpretation* (Anm. 78), 324-326. Mit dem Vorwurf an die Galiläer, in Jesus lediglich einen toten Menschen, also eine Leiche zu verehren, steht Julian in einer langen antichristlichen Tradition. Dieser findet sich bereits bei Kelsos, der die Christen als "Verehrer eines Toten" (νεκρὸν σέβοντες) bezeichnet. Orig., *Cels*. VII, 68 (GCS 3, 217). Vgl. auch ebd. 36 (186).

[184] Iul., *ep*. 90 (Bidez 174): *indigna morte et sepultura denudatum confictae* [...] *deitatis*. Die zitierte Formulierung stammt aus einem bei Facundus von Hermiane überlieferten Brief an den wegen seiner adoptianistischen Christologie unter Konstantius exilierten Bischof Photinus von Sirmium. Julian wendet sich hier mit Verweis auf das schändliche Ende Jesu gegen die Gottheit Christi. Als Vertreter dieser Lehre wird Diodor, damals Presbyter in Antiocheia und später Bischof von Tarsos, angegriffen. Zu diesem Schreiben aus dem Winter 362/63 vgl. z.B. Caltabiano, *Epistolario* (Anm. 94), 267f. Insgesamt vgl. hierzu auch Anm. 78.

[185] Vgl. Iul., *Gal*. frg. 81 (Masaracchia 175): "Wie viele habt ihr nacheinander noch hinzuerfunden, indem ihr zu der alten Leiche (τῷ πάλαι νεκρῷ) neue Leichen in großer Anzahl (πολλοὺς ... τοὺς προσφάτους νεκρούς) hinzugefügt habt?" Kaiser Julian wirft den Christen Abfall sowohl vom jüdischen Monotheismus wie auch von der althergebrachten paganen Tradition vor: "Anstelle der vielen Götter" verehren sie nun "einen einzigen Menschen oder vielmehr viele elende Menschen". Ebd. frg. 47 (141). Vgl. auch Ders., *ep*. 114 (Bidez 195): "Das höchste Gut ist nämlich in Wahrheit die Götterverehrung und im Gegensatz dazu das größte Übel die Abkehr davon. Es ergibt sich aber, dass sich die von den Göttern Abgefallenen den Toten und ihren Überresten (ἐπὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ λείψανα) zugewandt haben ...". Vgl. insgesamt hierzu u.a. Malley, *Hellenism* (Anm. 36), 216-221. Cook, *Interpretation* (Anm. 78), 326f.

[186] Vgl. z.B. Iul., *Gal*. frg. 81 (Masaracchia 175): "... wie könnt ihr [= Christen] bei ihnen [= den Gräbern] Gott anrufen?" Für Julian ist der Bereich des Todes unrein, Kult ist dort nicht möglich. Vor diesem Hintergrund fragt er die Galiläer: "Wenn dies also so ist, warum wälzt ihr euch dann zu den Grabstätten?" Ebd. frg. 82 (176).

[187] Ebd. frg. 81 (175): πάντα ἐπληρώσατε τάφων καὶ μνημάτων. Diese christliche Praxis rief bei Julian Abscheu hervor: "Wer soll sich da nicht zu Recht ekeln?" Neben Julian stieß die Märtyrer- und Reliquienverehrung auch bei anderen paganen Autoren auf Ablehnung.

Für Johannes von Damaskus sind verstorbene Christen, vor allem die Heiligen unter ihnen hingegen keine Toten im eigentlichen Sinne, sondern sie leben.[188] Als Argument für seine Sichtweise führt er die Wunderkraft der Reliquien an. Die Gebeine der Toten rufen keine Abscheu hervor, stattdessen erhofft man sich Segen von ihnen. Daneben verweist Johannes aber auf einen noch viel grundlegenderen Sachverhalt: In Christus ist für ihn die Schranke zwischen Leben und Tod aufgehoben, beide Bereiche sind nun zutiefst miteinander verbunden. Der Mönch aus Mar Saba lehnt die Kategorie Unreinheit in diesem Kontext zwar nicht völlig ab, im Licht des Osterglaubens ist sie für ihn aber letztlich obsolet geworden.[189] Auf Dauer führte die christliche Auferstehungshoffnung also zu einer Neubewertung des Todes, genau diese veränderte dann nach und nach die Friedhöfe der spätantiken Welt.[190]

Eunapios von Sardes berichtet z.B., dass unter Theodosius I. in Kanobos im Nildelta der Götterkult durch diese Frömmigkeitsform ersetzt wurde. Seiner Darstellung ist der Ekel darüber deutlich anzumerken, er spricht dabei ebenfalls explizit von Verunreinigung. Vgl. Eun., *vit*. VI, 11, 8-10 (Giangrande 39f). Becker, *Eunapios* (Anm. 119), 344-350. Interessant ist überdies eine Stelle bei Libanios, an der die große Nähe des Christentums zum Funeralbereich deutlich wird. Der Rhetor bezeichnet Christen, v.a. Mönche zur Zeit Konstantius' II. nämlich nicht nur als "Feinde der Götter", sondern einfach als "die bei den Gräbern" (τοὺς περὶ τοὺς τάφους). Lib., *or*. LXII, 10 (Foerster 4, 351). Zu dieser Rede vgl. z.B. A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*, TTH 34, Liverpool 2000, 87-89.

[188] Vgl. Joh. Dam., *f. o*. IV, 15 bzw. 88 (PTS 12, 204): ἀλλ' οὐχ οὗτοι νεκροί. Um zu belegen, dass verstorbene Christen bei Gott leben, führt Johannes 2Kor 6,16; Weish 3, 1; Ps 49,10 und 116,15 an. Daraus zieht er folgenden Schluss: "Denn Leben und Licht ist Gott und diejenigen, die in der Hand Gottes sind, befinden sich im Leben und im Licht".

[189] Vgl. ebd. (204). Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 259f. Johannes verweist hier zunächst auf die Verunreinigung durch den Kontakt mit Toten, er hat dabei atl. Stellen wie Num 19,11 im Blick. Da Christus, "der selbst das Leben" (ἡ αὐτοζωή) ist, den Tod auf sich nahm, sind die an seine Auferstehung Glaubenden jedoch keine Toten mehr. Die Kategorie Unreinheit trifft auf sie also gar nicht mehr zu. Aufgrund von Schriftstellen wie 1Kor 6,19 hat dies nach Johannes direkte Folgen für die Bewertung des toten Körpers. Zur spätantiken Reliquienverehrung vgl. u.a. Hartl, *Leichen* (Anm. 7).

[190] Vgl. hierzu Merkt, Gräbern (Anm. 4), 134-143. Andreas Merkt spricht in Anknüpfung an Guy Stroumsa und Peter Brown von einer "religiösen Revolution" in der Spätantike. Dabei stellt er völlig zu Recht heraus, dass sich diese u.a. "auf den Friedhöfen" vollzog. Ebd. 134. Anders als in der älteren Forschung z.T. angenommen, darf dies für das 4. Jahrhundert freilich noch nicht überbetont werden. Vgl. z.B. M. J. Johnson, "Pagan-Christian Burial Practices of the Fourth Century. Shared Tombs?", in: JECS 5, 1997, 37-59. Neben Anm. 5 vgl. zum Auferstehungsglauben als Spezifikum des Christentums und damit als Motor dieses Transformationsprozesses auch Aug., *serm*. CCXV, 6 (RBén 68, 24): "Allein dieser Glaube ist es, der die Christen von allen Menschen unterscheidet und abhebt: [...] die Auferstehung der Toten". Vgl. hierzu u.a. Volp, *Tod* (Anm. 4), 260.

Summary

Mediterranean funeral culture underwent a fundamental metamorphosis in late antiquity. Despite a few scholarly objections it appears that this transformation can be explained by the gradual rise of Christianity. This article provides a sort of test of this theory by asking whether the attempt to restore pagan culture under Emperor Julian (361-363) had any effect on practices concerning death and burial. Of utmost interest are, on the one hand, Julian's objections to the Christian martyr cults which led among other things to the removal of the Babylas relics from the Temple of Apollo in Daphne, and, on the other hand, his Burial Law with a particular interest in the often-overlooked *Letter* 136b. Also to be considered are the burial of Constantius II, the death of Julian himself, and various associated eschatological conceptions. One notices a culture-defining difference in the way in which late antique pagans such as Julian, Libanius, and Eunapius of Sardes assume a strict division between life and death, cult and burial, purity and impurity. With late antique Christianity this could slowly be overturned through faith in the resurrection.

Zusammenfassung

Die Sepulkralkultur der Mittelmeerwelt erlebte in der Spätantike eine grundlegende Metamorphose. Auch wenn es hierzu in der Forschung gewichtige Gegenstimmen gibt, so ist dieser Wandel doch mit dem sukzessiven Aufstieg des Christentums zu erklären. Der Beitrag führt hierzu eine Art Gegenprobe durch und setzt sich deshalb mit der Frage auseinander, ob der pagane Restaurationsversuch unter Kaiser Julian (361-363) Auswirkungen auf die Bereiche von Tod und Bestattung hatte. Im Mittelpunkt des Interesses stehen dabei zum einen Julians massive Vorbehalte gegen den christlichen Märtyrerkult, die u.a. in der Entfernung der Babylas-Reliquien aus dem Apoll-Heiligtum von Daphne sichtbar wurden. Zum anderen wird Julians Bestattungsgesetz in den Blick genommen, der Aufsatz kommentiert dazu ausführlich die bislang weitgehend vernachlässigte *Epistola* 136b. Daneben werden die Bestattung Konstantius' II., Julians eigener Tod sowie dabei aufscheinende eschatologische Vorstellungen untersucht. Als kulturell prägende Grunddifferenz zeigt sich, dass spätantike Heiden wie Julian, aber auch Libanios oder Eunapios von Sardes von einer strikten Trennung zwischen Leben und Tod, Kult und Bestattung bzw. Reinheit und Befleckung aus-

gingen. Im spätantiken Christentum konnte diese hingegen nach und nach überwunden werden, der Grund dafür liegt vor allem im Osterglauben.

Thomas R. Karmann
Kirchengeschichte und Patrologie
Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät
Leopold-Franzens-Universität Innsbruck
thomas.karmann@uibk.ac.at

Inenarrabilia sunt Dominicae incarnationis mysteria. The Sermon on the Nativity in Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 31 (56)*

Marina Giani

(*Leuven*)

Over the last century, a number of previously unknown Patristic texts have been discovered among the pages of homiletic manuscripts, and their composition and dissemination in medieval times have been investigated in light of their historical background. Still, many homilies today remain almost completely unexamined. Some years ago I was involved in the TraMP (*Traditio Manuscripta Patrum*) project, the aim of which is to build a database of Latin Patristic manuscripts.[1] My assignment was to enter data concerning Patristic manuscripts belonging to the Santa Cruz canons regular monastery – established near Coimbra in 1131 – and now held in the Porto Public Library, following Aires Nascimento and José F. Meirinhos' 1997 catalogue.[2] My attention was caught by the homiliary Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 31 (56). In this paper I will focus on a specific section of this homiliary, a collection of liturgical sermons circulating in the Iberian Peninsula and including a hitherto unknown sermon on the Nativity dated to before the ninth century.

* I am deeply indebted to Marianna Cerno, Paolo Chiesa, Jérémy Delmulle, Marcello Moscone and Gert Partoens for their remarks on the draft version of this article and their valuable suggestions.

[1] This research was made possible by cooperation between the Italian FIRB project *La trasmissione testuale dei Padri latini* and SISMEL (Società Internazionale di Studi per il Medioevo Latino). I hereby express my gratitude to Rossana Guglielmetti, director of the Milan research unit, for having involved me in the project, and to Lucia Pinelli and Francesco Santi.

[2] A. A. Nascimento, J. F. Meirinhos, *Catálogo dos Códices da Livraria de Mão do Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto*, Porto, 1997.

1. The Manuscript

a. Material Description and History

Santa Cruz 31 is made up of 100 parchment leaves, plus two flyleaves at the beginning and two at the end. It is bound in thirteen quires of eight leaves each, with the exception of the fifth, consisting of four leaves. Each folio has been recently numbered by pencil, on the upper-right side of each leaf's *recto*. The book measures 346 × 243 mm = 26 [262] 58 × 29 [76 (12) 78] 48 (fol. 10r). Two parchment strips coming from previous manuscripts were used as paste-downs in order to strengthen the binding: the one at the beginning of the manuscript (40 × 325) is unbound today, the one at the end (40 × 335) is still pasted on the last flyleaf. Each folio is ruled in lead point, and there is evidence of leaf by leaf pricking on the upper, lower and external margins of the folios. The text is laid out in two columns of 38 lines each and the script lies above the top line. Catchwords can still be seen on the lower right-hand corner of the last pages of a number of quires (see fols 52v, 68v and 92v). At least two hands have been at work on this manuscript: the first hand, a transitional minuscule which wrote from fol. 1r to 99r and on fol. 100r-v, has been dated to the last decades of the twelfth century or to the first half of the thirteenth. The second hand, roughly coeval, filled fol. 99v. Two large initials on fol. 1r are illuminated in red and blue ink; red calligraphic initials mark the beginning of each text until fol. 93r. From fol. 93v onwards the initials are drawn in brown ink, and, furthermore, the vertical strokes of the letters that extend under the last line of each column are here longer than in the rest of the manuscript, as they partly fill the lower margin. On fol. 97r two drawings – both in brown ink – in the margins portray a warrior with sword and shield, and a falconer riding a horse. The binding has been restored: the wooden boards are covered in tanned leather, decorated with geometric figures and flowers; two metal clasps still remain, and the spine, bearing the title "Aug. Ambr. et Hieron. Homiliae", was replaced in the eighteenth century. On the second flyleaf a modern hand wrote: *Doctore sobre do livros de Moiseo e da Biblia*.[3]

Concerning the origin and date of this manuscript, there is no unanimity among scholars. Cyrille Lambot claimed that it comes from the *scriptorium* of the canons regular monastery of Saint-Ruf (established near Avignon in

[3] This description is based on A. F. Frias in Nascimento, Meirinhos, *Catálogo* (n. 2), pp. 168-179 and on an in-person consultation of the manuscript. See also the TraMP project website, http://www.mirabileweb.it/manuscript/porto-biblioteca-p%C3%BAblica-municipal-santa-cruz-de-c-manuscript/138937.

1039, then moved to Valence in 1158) and dated it to the twelfth century,[4] whereas Agostinho Figuereido Frias indexed it as a thirteenth century manuscript written in the Santa Cruz monastery.[5] A preliminary and partial survey revealed several analogies with the Portuguese round and broad late-Caroline script used in the second half of the twelfth century. For instance, one can compare Santa Cruz 31 with Lisboa, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra 101, a collection of public and private documents concerning the Santa Cruz monastery, gathered there at the time of Prior Teotónio (between 1162 and 1181), with later additions.[6] Both manuscripts share the following paleographic features: the head stroke of the short-hand sign standing for *et* is often much longer than the upright stem and together they form a 90 degree angle, which is a typically Portuguese trait;[7] the ancient ligature *-ct-* is preserved, though it is reduced and atrophied; the ligature *-on* is used at the end of words; sometimes a minuscule large-sized *n* and *a* are used at the beginning of sentences, the former with the left stroke extending under the line, the latter comprising a triangle-shaped lobe on the baseline, closed by a diagonal line. In any case, many manuscripts held in Santa Cruz during its early existence were copied from the library of Saint-Ruf, to the rule of which the Portuguese community decided to submit in 1136, after the death of its founder, Tello: the *Vita Tellonis* records three journeys to Saint-Ruf made by Santa Cruz canons between 1135 and 1139, during which members of the Por-

[4] See Augustinus Aurelius, *Sermones I-L de vetere Testamento*, ed. C. Lambot, Turnhout, 1961 (*CCSL*, 41), p. 8 *et passim*. P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, Steenbrugge, 1976 (*Instrumenta Patristica*, 12), p. 231 follows Lambot's opinion.

[5] Frias in Nascimento, Meirinhos, *Catálogo* (n. 2), p. 169. See also A. F. Frias, J. Costa, J. F. Meirinhos, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra: A cultura portuguesa aberta à Europa na Idade Média*, Porto, 2001, pp. 106-107 and V. Desprez, "Un sermon latin 'de saint Macaire' sur la persévérance des moines revisité", *Revue Mabillon*, 19 (2008), pp. 51-76, p. 53. G. Partoens points out the lack of agreement among scholars in "Le sermon 151 de saint Augustin. Introduction et édition", *Revue Bénédictine*, 103 (2003), pp. 18-70, p. 31, n. 48. See also Aurelius Augustinus, *Sermones in Epistolas apostolicas*, vol. I, ed. G. Partoens, Turnhout, 2008 (*CCSL*, 41 Ba), p. lxviii; S. Boodts, "A New Critical Edition of Augustine's *Sermo* 170. With a Tentative Analysis of the Stemmatic Position of the *De lapsu mundi* Collection", *Sacris Erudiri*, 50 (2011), pp. 185-225, p. 208 and Aurelius Augustinus, *Sermones in epistolas apostolicas II id est sermones CLVII-CLXXXIII secundum ordinem vulgatum insertis etiam aliquot sermonibus post Maurinos repertis*, ed. S. Boodts, F. Dolbeau, G. Partoens, M. Torfs, C. Weidmann, Turnhout, 2016 (*CCSL*, 41 Bb), p. 433.

[6] The manuscript is available online at http://digitarq.dgarq.gov.pt/details?id=4614124.

[7] A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books. From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*, Cambridge, 2003 (Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, 9), p. 116.

tuguese community copied some manuscripts from the Saint-Ruf library.[8] Therefore, regardless of where Santa Cruz 31 may have been copied, it is possible that its ancestor(s) came from the mother house of Saint-Ruf.

b. Contents

Santa Cruz 31 brings together two collections of homilies, and three additional sections. The first collection is Caesarius' *Collectio B* or *Collectio biblica de mysteriis Veteris testamenti* with two *lacunae*: the texts numbered 12-17 and 25-29 in Germain Morin's list are missing, even though they are mentioned in the *tabula capitulorum*.[9] Some monastic homilies, extracts and hagiographical texts follow. The only irregular quire, made of four leaves instead of eight, is added after fol. 32v in order to complete the transcription of the *Vita septem dormientium* and to insert a short version of the very rare *Visio Alberici*, on which I will focus in a forthcoming paper.[10] The *Visio Alberici* ends on fol. 36v, where the last twelve lines in the right column are left empty. The initial letter on fol. 37r is the only one in the whole manuscript that is as large-sized as the one on fol. 1r (its length covers six lines, instead of four): this feature marks the starting page of another *corpus* of homilies, the *Collectio de lapsu mundi,* consisting of twenty-five Augustinian and pseudo-Augustinian sermons. It was composed in Burgundy at the end of the eleventh century or at the

[8] See A. A. Nascimento, *Hagiografia de Santa Cruz de Coimbra. Vida de D. Telo, Vida de D. Teotónio, Vida de Martinho de Soure*, Lisboa, 1998. On the establishment of the Santa Cruz monastery and its relationship to Saint-Ruf, see A. Cruz, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Cultura Portuguesa da Idade Média*, vol. 1, Porto, 1964, pp. 5-34, 43-50; P. R. Rocha, *Le rayonnement de l'Ordre de Saint-Ruf dans la péninsule ibérique, d'après sa liturgie* in *Le monde des chanoines (XIe-XIVe siècles)*, ed. M. H. Vicaire, Toulouse, 1989 (Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 24), pp. 193-208, pp. 196-197; Nascimento, Meirinhos, *Catálogo* (n. 2), pp. xliv-xlviii, lxx-lxxv and 272; Frias, Costa, Meirinhos, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra* (n. 5), pp. 15-28; A. A. Martins, *O mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Idade Média*, Lisboa, 2003, pp. 91-102 and 164-347.

[9] See Caesarius Arelatensis, *Sermones,* vol. 1, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1953 (*CCSL*, 103), pp. liv-lix. See also the introductory essay by J. Courreau in Césaire d'Arles, *Sermons sur l'Écriture*, vol. 1, transl. J. Courreau, Paris, 2000 (Sources Chrétiennes, 447), pp. 61-66.

[10] This work is witnessed only by one other manuscript, namely Montecassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, 257 (third decade of the twelfth century), which is very close to the author's environment. See P. G. Schmidt, *Visio Alberici. Die Jenseitswanderung des neunjährigen Alberich in der vom Visionär um 1127 in Monte Cassino revidierten Fassung*, Stuttgart, 1997 (Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt a.M., 35, 4). The version in Santa Cruz 31 lacks Albericus' epistle, the *tabula capitulorum*, and Guido's prologue, and has a different *explicit*.

beginning of the twelfth and spread throughout Cistercian abbeys.[11] This *corpus* is followed by two additional sections: the first one comprises ten liturgical sermons delivered on feast days from Advent to the Circumcision of Christ. The last homiletic piece of this section, Augustine's *sermo* 373 on Epiphany ends abruptly a few lines after its beginning on fol. 99r, leaving most of the page empty. A change of scribe on the *verso* of fol. 99 marks the beginning of the last group of texts, which encompasses a hymn and a hagiographical work, dealing with Jerusalem and the Holy Land. Santa Cruz 31 has not been exploited for the edition of Caesarius' works, whereas it was known to editors of Augustine's sermons[12] and to Vincent Desprez, who edited pseudo-Macarius' *Sermo ad monachos*.[13] A summary of the contents is provided below.

fol. 1r Tabula capitulorum
rubr.: Incipiunt omelie sanctorum patrum Augustini, Iheronimi, Ambrosi de Veteri testamento

fols 1r-26v Caesarius, *Collectio biblica de mysteriis Veteris testamenti* (also known as *Collectio B*, with two *lacunae*)[14]

⟨first addition⟩
fols 26v-27v abbreviated version of Pelagius' (?) *Ad Oceanum de opprobriis* (*CPL* 744; CPPM II A 890)[15]

[11] See Aurelius Augustinus, *Sermones I-L de vetere Testamento* (n. 4), pp. xvii-xviii; *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones in Matthaeum I*, ed. P.-P. Verbraken, L. De Coninck, B. Coppieters 't Wallant, R. Demeulenaere, F. Dolbeau, Turnhout, 2008 (*CCSL*, 41 Aa), pp. xli-xlii; Boodts, "A New Critical Edition" (n. 5). Several twelfth and thirteenth-century MSS juxtapose the two homiletic collections, including: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean 104 (twelfth century, Pontigny); Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.III.7 (twelfth century, Cirencester); Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 163 (130) (twelfth century, Cîteaux); Chartres, Bibliothèque Municipale, 129 (147) (twelfth century, Notre-Dame of Chartres. Destroyed in an air raid during World War II); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 93 (S.C. 1902) (twelfth-thirteenth century, Exeter), Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2722 (twelfth-thirteenth century, southern France?); Paris, Bibliothèque de Arsenal, 239 (thirteenth century, St Victor of Paris).

[12] Aurelius Augustinus *Sermones I-L de vetere Testamento* (n. 4), p. 8 *et passim*; Verbraken, *Études critiques* (n. 4), p. 231; Aurelius Augustinus, *Sermones in Epistolas apostolicas* (n. 5), p. lxviii; Boodts, "A New Critical Edition" (n. 5), p. 208.

[13] Desprez, "Un sermon latin 'de saint Macaire'" (n. 5).

[14] See supra.

[15] Inc. *Oportet nos diuersa temptacionum genera*; expl. *hominibus optant seruire pocius quam Christo*. A modern hand has added the title: *De plaga Dei.*

fols 27v-30v *Sermo sancti Macharii ad monachos*[16]
fols 30v-31r abbreviated version of pseudo-Augustine, *sermo* 49 *De miseria carnis et falsitate uitae* (CPPM I A 1176)[17]
fols 31r-31v *excerptum* from Jerome, *Tractatus in Ps*. 119[18]
fols 31v-33v *Vita sanctorum septem dormientium* (*BHL* 2318)[19]
fols 33v-36v *Visio Alberici*

fols 37r-90v *Collectio de lapsu mundi*

⟨second addition⟩
fols 90v-91v Caesarius Arelatensis, *sermo* 188 (= Yale MS no. 1, see below p. 74)[20]
fols 91v-92r Maximus Taurinensis, *sermo* 61a (= Yale MS no. 3)[21]
fols 92r-93r abbreviated and reworked version of Caesarius' *sermo* 187 (= *Homeliae Toletanae* no. 2; Yale MS no. 4)[22]
fols 93r-93v *Sermo 'Karissimi Christus uenit medicina coelestis'* (= *Homiliae Toletanae* no. add. 1; Yale MS no. 2)[23]

[16] Desprez, "Un sermon latin 'de saint Macaire'" (n. 5). A later hand has added the title: *Quales debent esse monachi et ceteri religiosi.*

[17] Rubr. *Sermo sancti Augustini de misera uita huius saeculi*; inc. O *uita que tot homines decepisti uel tot excecasti que dum fugis nichil es*; expl. *quam me tecum demergas in infernum*.

[18] Rubr. *Alia sentencia*; expl. *sectando fraterno odio imitator Iude uoluit esse non Christi*. The *explicit* does not correspond to the text published in Hieronymus, *Pars II. Opera homiletica. Tractatus sive homiliae in psalmos. In Marci evangelium. Alia varia argumenta*, ed. G. Morin, B. Capelle, J. Fraipont, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL*, 78), pp. 259-260. However, the same *excerptum* with the same *explicit* is included as an appendix to Isidore's *Regula* in the so-called "Leodegundia codex" (El Escorial a.I.13, fol. 51v).

[19] With a slightly different *incipit*: *In diebus illis cum regnaret Decius imperator congregauit ante se multitudinem ciuitatis*.

[20] Rubr. *Sermo beati Augustini in aduentu Domini per dies singulos*. See CPPM I A 901; R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux. Analyse des manuscrits*, Spoleto, 1980, p. 183 *et passim*; R. Étaix, "Sermon inédit de saint Augustin sur la Circoncision dans un ancien manuscrit de Saragosse", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes*, 1980 (26), pp. 62-87, p. 64. Edited in Caesarius Arelatensis, *Sermones*, vol. 2, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1953 (*CCSL*, 104), pp. 767-770.

[21] Rubr. *Sermo de aduentu Domini*. See CPPM I A 2071; Étaix, "Sermon inédit de saint Augustin" (n. 20), p. 64. Edited in Maximus Taurinensis, *Sermonum collectio antiqua nonnullis sermonibus extravagantibus adiectis*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, Turnhout, 1962 (*CCSL*, 23), pp. 249-251.

[22] Rubr. *Sermo ante natiuitatem Domini*. See Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (n. 20), p. 294; Étaix, "Sermon inédit de saint Augustin"(n. 21), p. 64, with partial edition at pp. 72-73.

[23] Rubr. *Sermo de natiuitate Domini*. Cf. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (n. 20), p. 314; Étaix, "Sermon inédit de saint Augustin" (n. 20), p. 64. It has been edited by H. Barré, "Sermons marials inédits *in Natali Domini*", *Marianum*, 25 (1963), pp. 39-93,

fols 93v-94v *Sermo beati Iheronimi de natiuitate Domini*
fols 94v-95v abbreviated and reworked version of Augustine's *sermo* 317 (= *Homiliae Toletanae* add. no. 2)[24]
fols 95v-96r abbreviated version of Chromatius' *sermo* 21[25]
fols 96r-97v Caesarius Arelatensis, *sermo* 222 (= *Homiliae Toletanae* add. no. 7)[26]
fols 97v-98v Caesarius Arelatensis, *sermo* 192 (= *Homiliae Toletanae* add. no. 3)[27]
fols 98v-99r Augustine, *sermo* 373 (*incipit* only) (= *Homiliae Toletanae* no. 10; Yale MS no. 30)[28]

⟨third addition⟩
fol. 99v *Hymnus 'Vrbs beata Iherusalem'* and *Sermo de hymno*[29]
fols 100r-v *Miraculum de imagine beatae Mariae de Sardenay* (*BHL* 5409)[30]

pp. 48-50, repr. in *PL Supplementum*, vol. 4, ed. A.-G. Hamman, Paris, 1963, cols 1983-1985. This sermon is witnessed also by El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, P.III.5, s. XV, fol. 84r; see A. Divjak, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus*, Band IV. *Spanien und Portugal*, Wien, 1974, p. 200.

[24] Rubr. *Sermo in die Sancti Stephani*. A. Wilmart supposed that this – rather common – version is attributable to Caesarius of Arles. See A. Wilmart, "Le morceau final du sermon 317 de Saint Augustin pour la fête de Saint Étienne", *Revue Bénédictine* 44 (1932), pp. 201-206, pp. 202-203. See also Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (n. 20), p. 314 and Verbraken, *Études critiques* (n. 4), p. 138.

[25] Rubr. *Sermo de assumptione sancti Iohannis Apostoli*; cf. infra.

[26] See Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (n. 20), p. 315 *et passim*. Edited in Caesarius Arelatensis, *Sermones*, vol. 2 (n. 20), pp. 877-881.

[27] See Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (n. 20), p. 314. Rubr. *Sermo in circumcisione Domini*. Edited in Caesarius Arelatensis, *Sermones*, vol. 2 (n. 20), pp. 779-782.

[28] The space reserved for the *rubrica* is empty. See Verbraken, *Études critiques* (n. 4), p. 152 and Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (n. 20), p. 296 *et passim*.

[29] See U. Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum. Catalogue des chants, hymnes, proses, séquences, tropes en usage dans l'Église latine depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, vol. 2, Leuven, 1897 (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 4), no. 20933. The exegetical sermon expounds on the hymn's text, referring to themes such as the celestial Jerusalem and the afterlife. Inc. *Karissimi fratres, hoc die scriptura quam legimus et cantamus*; expl. *et in discordia uoluerunt permanere, eiecti sunt de celo*.

[30] Rubr. *Miracula de yconia beate Marie*; inc. *Tempore quo Greci terram inhabitabant*; expl. *sunt autem ibi alia plura miracula que per imaginem sue sancte matris cotidie Dominus operatur. Ipso operante ad honorem et gloriam genitricis ipsius Domini*. See P. Devos, "Les premières versions occidentales de la légende de Saïdnaia", *Analecta Bollandiana*, 65 (1947), pp. 245-278. This version of the miracle is included in Magister Thietmarus' *Itinerarium* as well.

2. The Second Addition and Its Sources

a. Spanish Collection(s)

The liturgical sermons gathered in the second addition are most likely drawn from a source close to New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Marston 208 (137). This manuscript was written in Spain in the last decades of the twelfth century or at the beginning of the thirteenth. It is the second half of a two-part codex that was formerly designated "17-34" in the archives of La Seo in Saragossa. The first part was sold by Dawsons of Pall Mall in London in the 1960s and then disappeared. Gregory the Great's *Homilies on the Gospels* are here followed by 34 additional sermons in liturgical order from Advent to Epiphany, drawn, among other sources, from a manuscript related to the *Homiliarium Toletanum*, a collection presumably gathered by Ildephonsus or Julian of Toledo.[31] What is more, the source for the second addition of Santa Cruz 31 appears to be closely connected to the supplemental sermons that follow the *Homiliarium Toletanum* itself in its only witness, London, British Library, Add. 30853, copied in Silos in the eleventh century.[32] In short, five out of the ten homilies gathered in the Porto manuscript are witnessed in the Yale codex too, and they include rare ones, such as Maximus Taurinensis' sermon 61a, an abbreviated version of Caesarius' *sermo* 187 and the anonymous *Karissimi Christus uenit medicina coelestis*; likewise, six homilies out of ten overlap with the ones included in the *Homiliarium Toletanum*, notably in its supplemental section. Therefore, the second addition seems to have been copied from one (or more) Iberic collection(s) close to the two aforementioned.[33] Lastly, two sermons are

[31] See Étaix, "Sermon inédit de saint Augustin" (n. 20) and the online description: https://pre1600ms.beinecke.library.yale.edu/docs/pre1600.mars208.HTM drawn from B. Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library*. vol. 3 *Marston Manuscripts*, Binghamton, NY, 1992.

[32] This MS was discovered by Dom G. Morin: see *Anecdota Maredsolana I*, Maredsous, 1893, pp. 406-425. It is composed of 92 texts, mostly Caesarian homilies, followed by 26 additional sermons. To delve into the *Homiliae Toletanae*, see R. Grégoire, *Les Homéliaires du Moyen Age. Inventaire et analyse des manuscrits*, Roma, 1966, pp. 161-230 (with earlier bibliography on pp. 161-162) and *PL Supplementum*, vol. 4 (n. 23), cols 1935-1996; Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux* (n. 20), pp. 293-319.

[33] Frias, Costa, Meirinhos, *Santa Cruz de Coimbra* (n. 5), p. 106 assume an Hispanic origin for the whole collection gathered in Santa Cruz 31. It is noteworthy that from fol. 93v, where the anonymous *Sermo de natiuitate* begins, up to fol. 99r, the page layout is slightly different from the one used in the rest of the manuscript: as said before, initials are here drawn in brown ink instead of red, and the letters' upright strokes in the last line of each page descend beyond the lower margin. If these changes are determined by the imitation of

included neither in the Toledo nor in the Yale manuscripts: the abbreviated version of Chromatius' *sermo* 21 and the pseudepigraphic *Sermo beati Iheronimi de natiuitate Domini*. The latter is closely related to Chromatian preaching too, as I shall show.

b. The Tradition of Chromatius' Sermons and Santa Cruz 31

Chromatius of Aquileia's sermons were mostly unknown before they were discovered by Joseph Lemarié in the 1960s and 1970s.[34] The first edition of his works, published by Anselme Hoste in 1957,[35] included only two sermons and seventeen *Tractatus in Matthaeum*, whereas the one made by Raymond Étaix and Lemarié in 1974-1977 provides forty-five sermons and sixty-one *Tractatus*.[36] Nevertheless, the collection of the Aquileian bishop's works is still far from complete and many sermons survive only in fragments. Lemarié observed that manuscripts containing Chromatius'

a different exemplar, it is reasonable to conclude that the second addition was copied from different antigraphs.

[34] Very little is known about Chromatius of Aquileia's life, even though he was a key figure in the cultural and political life of Northern Italy between the end of the fourth and the first years of the fifth century. For a survey of the main sources useful to reconstruct his biography, see "Chromatius" in C. Pietri, L. Pietri, *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, vol. 2. *Prosopographie de l'Italie Chrétienne (313-604)*, vol. 1, Roma, 1999, pp. 432-436 and F. Beatrice, A. Peršič, *Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Aquileia, 22-24 May 2008*, Turnhout, 2011 (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia, 57), esp. pp. 177-265. To know more about the history of Lemarié's research, see J. Lemarié, "Indagini su san Cromazio d'Aquileia", *Aquileia nostra*, 38 (1967), cols 151-176; Chromace d'Aquilée, *Sermons*, vol. 1, ed. J. Lemarié, transl. H. Tardif, Paris, 1969 (Sources Chrétiennes, 154), pp. 9-16; J. Lemarié, "*Chromatiana. Status quaestionis*", *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa*, 17 (1981), pp. 64-76; J. Lemarié, "*Chromatius redivivus*" in *Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age*, pp. 269-280.

[35] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera quae supersunt*, ed. A. Hoste, Turnhout, 1957 (*CCSL*, 9), pp. 371-447.

[36] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera*, ed. R. Étaix, J. Lemarié, Turnhout, 1974 (*CCSL*, 9A) and *Spicilegium ad Chromatii Aquileiensis Opera*, ed. J. Lemarié, R. Étaix, Turnhout, 1977 (*CCSL*, 9A *Supplementum*). See also the edition, which regrettably lacks a critical apparatus, Fortunaziano, vescovo di Aquileia, *Commenti ai Vangeli*, ed. G. Trettel, Cromazio, vescovo di Aquileia, *Sermoni*, ed. J. Lemarié, G. Trettel, transl. G. Cuscito, Aquileia, 2004 (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiae Aquileiensis*, IV/1). In the time between the submission of the present article and its acceptance, a new edition came out: Cromazio di Aquileia, *I sermoni. Nuova edizione con traduzione a fronte*, ed. M. Cerno, Roma 2019, which I am unfortunately unable to consult. Before the *Corpus Christianorum* edition, Lemarié prepared the one published in the *Sources Chrétiennes* series, with a French translation (Chromace d'Aquiliée, *Sermons*, vol. 1 [n. 34], and Chromace d'Aquiliée, *Sermons*, vol. 2, ed. J. Lemarié, transl. H. Tardif, Paris, 1971, [Sources Chrétiennes, 164]).

homilies can be divided into two main families.[37] The most important witness, Paris, BnF, lat. 5132, belongs to the "Catalan" family: it hails from twelfth-century Ripoll and includes a collection of eleven Chromatian homilies on fols 81r-93r. In Bernhard Bischoff's opinion, this manuscript descends from a cursive or half-cursive *exemplar* of uncertain origin, dated before the ninth century. Lemarié argued that it was copied from a Venetian codex that Doge Pietro Orseolo brought to the monastery of Cuxa, closely linked with Ripoll, where he arrived in 978 and dwelt until his death: according to Lemarié, this Venetian codex gave rise to the Spanish and southern-Gallic family of manuscripts.[38] The second family is spread in Bavaria and Austria. Other individual texts by Chromatius are included in collections of sermons and homiliaries which are neither Catalan nor German. In particular, *sermones* 23, 24 and 25 have been indirectly transmitted via Caesarius Arelatensis' *Collectio biblica de mysteriis Veteris testamenti* (witnessed, among others, by Santa Cruz 31).[39] New witnesses of Chromatian sermons have been recently discovered, especially in Italian collections: Marianna Cerno, who is currently working on a *status quaestionis* of the tradition of Chromatius' sermons, found around 30 new witnesses.[40] Cerno highlights the primary importance of the Italian homiliaries as

[37] See J. Lemarié, "Homélies inédites de saint Chromace d'Aquilée", *Revue Bénédictine*, 72 (1962), pp. 201-277, pp. 221-230; J. Lemarié, "Homélies inédites de saint Chromace d'Aquilée. 2e série", *Revue Bénédictine*, 73 (1963), pp. 181-243, pp. 189-191; Chromace d'Aquilée, *Sermons*, vol. 1 (n. 34), pp. 17-40; Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), pp. xi-xxvii; Lemarié, "*Chromatiana*" (n. 34), pp. 69-73; J. Lemarié, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de saint Chromace d'Aquilée dans les scriptoria bavarois du haut moyen âge" in *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale*, Udine, 1976 (Antichità altoadriatiche, 9), pp. 421-435; J. Lemarié, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de saint Chromace d'Aquilée en Europe Occidentale" in *Aquileia e l'Occidente*, Udine, 1981 (Antichità altoadriatiche, 19), pp. 279-291; J. Lemarié, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de saint Chromace d'Aquilée dans les *scriptoria* d'Italie" in *Studi forogiuliesi in onore di Carlo Guido Mor*, ed. G. C. Menis, G. Fornasir, Udine, 1983, pp. 81-92, esp. pp. 81-85; J. Lemarié, "La tradition textuelle de l'œuvre de Chromace d'Aquilée" in *Aquileia e il suo patriarcato. Atti del convegno internazionale di studio (Udine 21-21 ottobre 1999)*, Udine, 2000, pp. 95-100.

[38] Lemarié, "Homélies inédites de saint Chromace d'Aquilée" (n. 37), pp. 222-225 (where the author has reported B. Bischoff's opinion); Chromace d'Aquilée, *Sermons*, vol. 1 (n. 34), pp. 22-23; Lemarié, "*Chromatiana*" (n. 34), p. 70; Lemarié, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de saint Chromace en Europe Occidentale" (n. 37), p. 285.

[39] Therefore, these sermons are attributed to Chromatius only on the basis of internal evidence. See Lemarié, "Homélies inédites de saint Chromace d'Aquilée. 2e série" (n. 37), pp. 218-229; Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), p. xviii; Lemarié, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de saint Chromace en Europe Occidentale" (n. 37), pp. 281-285.

[40] G. Brusa, "Gli omeliari della Biblioteca Capitolare di Vercelli", *Scrineum*, 2013, pp. 49-190; M. Cerno, "I sermoni di Cromazio di Aquileia. Nuove acquisizioni dalla ricognizione della tradizione manoscritta", *Vetera Christianorum*, 52 (2015), pp. 7-27. In the time between the submission of the present article and its acceptance, Cerno published her book

a reliable branch of the tradition of Chromatius' sermons. Moreover, she suggests a new classification, dividing the witnesses into three groups: early collections of homilies that partially depend on Chromatius' preaching (notably the ones of Caesarius and Petrus Chrysologus), Carolingian homiliaries that circulated in Bavaria, Southern France and Northern-Central Italy, and whose authors exploited Chromatian sermons in order to compose homiletic *centones*, and, lastly, Paris, BnF, lat. 5132 and other later collections that record isolated Chromatian homilies in their original version. Such collections spread in Italy and France between the ninth and twelfth century, and in Germany from the thirteenth century onwards.[41]

As has been said, among the homilies added to the *Collectio de lapsu mundi*, Santa Cruz 31 includes a shortened version of Chromatius' *sermo* 21 for John the Evangelist's feast day. This text is transmitted in its complete form by Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Car. C 175, a homiliary composed in the Cistercian abbey of Wettingen in 1273, and by two twelfth-century Italian manuscripts, Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale "Vittorio Emanuele III", VIII AA 1 and Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, 17.[42] Reworked extracts from *sermo* 21 are preserved in Bavarian collections, notably by München, BSB, 14445 (eleventh century) and other homiliaries.[43] This text circulated in Catalonia as well, since its first lines are quoted in later breviaries printed or copied for the canon chapters of Urgell (Seo d'Urgell, Archivo Capitular, printed in 1487), Roda (Lérida, Archivo Capitular, Roda 12, fourteenth century) and Lérida (Lérida, Archivo Capitular, 12, fourteenth or fifteenth century; Paris, BnF, lat. 1309 A1, fifteenth century). It is also witnessed by the fragment Vic, Arxiu i Biblioteca Episcopal, fragm. VIII/20, belonging to a thirteenth century collection written near Moià. The version of Santa Cruz 31 seems close to the Vic fragment, as in both the sermon is interrupted at l. 23 of Étaix's edition (l. 38 in the *Corpus Christianorum* edition: *amaritudine persecutionis incurrit*). Nonetheless, Santa Cruz 31 resumes the text from line 48 (l. 69 of the *Corpus Chris-*

Cromazio di Aquileia in mezzo ai Padri. Il destino medievale dei Sermoni, Roma 2019, which I am unfortunately unable to consult.

[41] Cerno, "I sermoni di Cromazio di Aquileia" (n. 40), p. 23.

[42] Lemarié in Cromazio, Vescovo di Aquileia, *Sermoni* (n. 36) adopts the text of R. Étaix, "Nouvelle édition des sermons XXI-XXII de saint Chromace d'Aquilée", *Revue Bénédictine*, 92 (1982), pp. 105-110.

[43] Roberto de' Bardi's *Collectorium* derives from the Bavarian version. Furthermore, *Sermo* 21 has been used as a source by the compiler of the Mondsee *homiliarium* β (See Chromace d'Aquilée, *Sermons*, vol. 2 [n. 36], p. 38; Étaix, "Nouvelle édition des sermons XXI-XXII" [n. 42], p. 106).

tianorum edition) until the end, whereas in the Vic fragment the last lines of Chromatius' sermon 22 follow without interruption.[44]

3. *Sermo de natiuitate*

a. Indirect Tradition

Besides Chromatius' *sermo* 21, another interesting homiletic piece is the pseudepigraphic *Sermo beati Iheronimi de natiuitate Domini*, edited below. Apparently, this sermon was already circulating in Spain by the ninth century, ascribed to Jerome, as it is in Santa Cruz 31: its first three sentences are quoted in a letter written around 840 by Speraindeo, an abbot in Córdoba, to his pupil, the famous Mozarab scholar, poet and theologian, Paulus Albarus.[45] Here, Speraindeo offered some propositions against certain heretic theses upheld by Islamic theologians, in response to Albarus' request.

Speraindeo, *ep. Albaro directa* (n. 8), par. 2[46]

> Set hec cuncta que per contrictjonem cordis locutus sum omittam et ⟨ad⟩ ea que uestra excellentja poscit reuertam. Quis enim in tam ineffauilem rei negotjum quippiam quid fari audeat, quum beatus Iheronimus dicat: "Inenarrauilia sunt dominice incarnatjonis misteria et natiuitatis eius sacramentum". Et ideo non quantum ipsa natiuitas est intimare curamus, set quantum per sermonem exprimere ualemus. Verum quantum ipsa natiuitas est non solum explicare non possumus, set nec ipsi sancti euangeliste plene dicere potuerunt. Et si sancti euangeliste, qui sancto utique Spiritu ⟨sunt⟩ afflati, dicere plene nequiberunt, ex ipsut quod subpleno in libris euangeliorum adnotauerunt melius est reticere quam asserere, et recte ut dicta sunt credere quam prescrutando litteris aliquid comendare, secundum sententjam doctoris que posita est uere: [...].

As one can infer from the punctuation used by Juan Gil in his 1973 edition of Albarus' correspondence, only the first sentence (*Inenarrabilia sunt*

[44] See *Spicilegium ad Chromatii Aquileiensis Opera* (n. 36) p. 613. The text is quoted from Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), pp. 97-99 and from Étaix, "Nouvelle édition des sermons XXI-XXII" (n. 42), p. 108.

[45] See M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum*, vol. 1, Salamanca, 1958, p. 122, n° 460; *Repertorium Fontium Historiae Medii Aevi, primum ab Augusto Potthast digestum* [...], vol. 10, Roma, 2005, p. 447; n° 459; *Epistolario de Alvaro de Cordoba*, ed. J. Madoz, Madrid, 1947 (*Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra. Series patristica*, 1), p. 176 and *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*, ed. J. Gil, vol. 1, Madrid, 1973, p. 204.

[46] *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum* (n. 45), p. 204.

dominicae incarnationis mysteria et natiuitatis eius sacramentum, according to the normalized Latin spelling) was then identified as a quotation. Consequently, it has been listed in the *CPL* as a fragment from an unknown lost work by Jerome.[47] Actually, the whole underlined passage is the beginning of *Sermo de natiuitate*.

b. Sources and *loci paralleli*

The *Sermo de natiuitate* presents many textual parallels with Ambrose's *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2, 41-53[48] and with Chromatius' *sermo* 32[49] and his *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2[50] and 5.[51] Chromatius' *sermo* 32 (on Lc 2:1-14) and Ambrose's *Expositio* 2, 41-53 (on Lc 2:7-18) partially comment on the same pericopes from Luke's Gospel as the *Sermo de natiuitate* (on Lc 2:7-14), while Chromatius' *Tractatus* 2 and 5 expound respectively on the Annunciation and the Nativity in Matthew's Gospel. All these texts are compared below: literal parallels are underlined, passages in italics show analogies in terms of content.

	Sermo de natiuitate	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 5 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *sermo* 32 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Ambrose, *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 14)
1	*Quis enim potest tam nouam et miram natiuitatem digno sermone narrare, Domini in utero conceptionem*, uirginis partum, natiuitatem Saluatoris, infantiam creatoris? *Concepit uterus uirginis eum*	*In qua uere nouum et mirum signum ostensum est, quod numquam a saeculo fuit*: uirginis partus, nouitas Saluatoris, infantia creatoris. *Nascitur ex uirgine qui ante de Patre natus exstiterat; creatur secundum carnem in utero qui*			

[47] *CPL* no. 607. See also *PL Supplementum*, vol. 2, ed. A.-G. Hamman, Paris, 1960, col. 263. The end of the quotation after the third sentence is underlined by the repetition made by Speraindeo when switching to his own argumentation "[...] *nec ipsi sancti euangeliste plene dicere potuerunt". Et si sancti euangeliste, qui sancto utique Spiritu* ⟨*sunt*⟩ *afflati, dicere plene nequiberunt [...].*

[48] Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Opera*, *pars IV. Expositio Evangelii secundum Lucam. Fragmenta in Esaiam* ed. M. Adriaen, Turnhout, 1957 (*CCSL*, 14), pp. 48-54.

[49] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), pp. 144-147.

[50] Ibid. pp. 201-206.

[51] Ibid. pp. 216-218.

	Sermo de natiuitate	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 5 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *sermo* 32 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Ambrose, *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 14)
	quem caeli non capit magnitudo, nascitur lege naturae qui auctor naturae est, procedit in mundo qui creator est mundi, infans uidetur qui plenitudinis Deus est. (ll. 6-11)	*angelos et uniuersa creauerat*; *homo uidetur qui Deus est; infans conspicitur qui Dominus gloriae est.* (6, ll. 163-168)			
2	Paruulus apparuit in corpore qui sublimis erat in maiestate, pannis inuoluitur qui regalia uestimenta largitur, cunis continetur qui continet mundum, in praesepio ponitur qui cum Patre regnat in caelo. (ll. 12-14)	Pusillus apparet in corpore qui sublimis est in maiestate. (6, ll. 168-169)	*In praesepio poni se patitur, intra quem caeli sunt.* Cunis continetur quem non capit mundus. (1, ll. 13-15)	In praesepio ponitur qui cum patre regnat in caelo; pannis inuoluitur qui immortalitatis uestimenta largitur; paruulus uidetur in corpore qui sublimis et potens est. (2, ll. 51-54)	
3	Ille igitur paruulus infantulus fuit ut tu uir possis esse perfectus, ille inuolutus est pannis ut tu a mortis laqueis absoluaris, ille in praesepibus ut tu in altaribus, ille in terris ut tu in caelis, ille in diuersorio locum non inuenit ut tu mansiones haberes in celis. Ille enim cum diues esset propter nos pauper factus est, ut illius paupertate nos diuites essemus: paupertas ergo illius patrimonium meum				Ille igitur paruulus, ille infantulus fuit, ut tu uir possis esse perfectus; ille inuolutus in pannis ut tu mortis sis laqueis absolutus; ille in praesepibus, ut tu in altaribus; ille in terris, ut tu in stellis; ille alium locum in eo diuersorio non habebat, ut tu plures haberes in caelestibus mansiones. Qui cum diues inquit esset, propter uos pauper factus est, ut illius inopia uos ditaremini. Meum

	Sermo de natiuitate	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 5 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *sermo* 32 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Ambrose, *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 14)
	est, infirmitas eius uirtus nostra est, *inopia eius diuitiae nostrae sunt,* sibi egens ut omnibus habundaret. Plus humilitati eius debemus quam sublimitati, plus iniuriis quod redempti sumus quam operibus quod creati, quia nasci non profuerat nisi redimi profuisset. (ll. 19-28)				ergo paupertas illa patrimonium est et infirmitas domini mea uirtus est. Maluit sibi egere, ut omnibus abundaret. Me illi infantiae uagientis abluunt fletus, mea lacrimae illae delicta lauerunt. Plus igitur, domine Iesu, iniuriis tuis debeo quod redemtus sum quam operibus quod creatus sum. Non prodesset nasci, nisi redimi profuisset. (41, ll. 579-591) *Propter te infirmitas, in se potentia; propter te inopia, in se opulentia.* (42, ll. 593-594)
4	Innupta peperit, uirgo concepit, innupta concepit, uirgo generauit. (ll. 35-36)				Nupta peperit, sed uirgo concepit; nupta concepit, sed uirgo generauit. (43, ll. 619-620)
5	*Sed nunc iam mysticam rationem uideamus* quod pannis inuolutus est et in praesepio positus quia non erat locus in diuersorio. Inuolutus est pannis quia ipse peccata nostra suscepit, sicut scriptum est: hic peccata nostra portauit et			Habent tamen haec ipsa Domini gesta etiam *mystica sacramenta*. Pannis inuolutus est quia peccata nostra in se tamquam pannos ipse suscepit, sicut scriptum est: Hic peccata nostra portat et pro nobis dolet. Ipse ergo pannis inuolutus est ut nos a peccatorum	

	Sermo de natiuitate	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 5 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *sermo* 32 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Ambrose, *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 14)
	pro nobis dolet. Ille ergo in pannis inuolutus est ut nos a peccatorum nostrorum pannis exueret. Ex diuersis enim nationibus uenientes ad credulitatem uelut panni circumdedimus Christum, sed ex pannis facti sumus tunica pretiosa *quia contexti sumus in unum*. (ll. 37-43)			nostrorum pannis exueret; *ipse pannis inuolutus est ut pretiosam tunicam ecclesiae suae spiritu sancto contexeret*; uel certe idcirco pannis inuolutus est ut diuersos in se credentium populos inuitaret. Ex diuersis enim nationibus uenimus ad credulitatem, et uelut pannis circumdamus Christum, qui dudum quidem panni fuimus, sed nunc iam facti sumus tunica pretiosa Christi. (3, ll. 55-65)	
6	Quod autem in praesepio positus est, id significat quia esca futurus erat credentium populorum. *Cum enim diuina mysteria fuerint celebrata ad altare Christi, tamquam ad praesepe concurrimus ut cibum uitae de corpore Christi sumamus*. (ll. 49-52)			Quod autem in praesepio positus est Dominus et Saluator noster, hoc ostendebat quia futurus erat esca credentium. (3, ll. 65-67) *Praesepium enim nostrum altare Christi est, ad quod cotidie conuenimus ut cibum salutis de corpore Christi inde sumamus.* (3, ll. 70-72)	
7	Nox enim saeculum intelligitur, in qua caecitas ignorantiae est. Greges uero populi			*Pastores gregum spiritaliter episcopi ecclesiarum sunt.* (4, ll. 86-87)	Grex igitur populus, nox saeculum, pastores sunt sacerdotes. (50, ll. 698-699)

	Sermo de natiuitate	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 5 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *sermo* 32 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Ambrose, *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 14)
	credentes, pastores autem sacerdotes ecclesiarum sunt. (ll. 59-61)				
8	*Vtinam et nos ecclesiae tales pastores inueniamur, qui uigilant super gregem suum!* Sed uigilare fides nostra potest si uigilet et uestra deuotio, quia deuotio plebis fidem excitat sacerdotis. (ll. 61-63)			*Si ergo in fide Christi semper et in preceptis Domini uigilemus, recte commissos nobis greges a Christo seruamus, recte pastores ecclesiae nuncupamur* (4, ll. 90-93) Vigilare enim potest in Christo fides nostra. Semper uigilet et uestra deuotio, quia *sicuti doctrina sacerdotis excitat populum ad opus iustitiae, ita* deuotio plebis excitat sacerdotes. (4, ll. 99-102)	
9	Nobilis autem ista persona pastorum est *qui primi natiuitatem Domini cognoscere meruerunt: non ergo scribae, non pharisei, non doctores legis, non philosophi, non mundi sapientes sed pastores natiuitatem Domini cognouerunt, id est simplices mente, quia simplicitas mentis magis Domino grata est quam prudentia mundi.* (ll. 63-68)				Non mediocre fidei tibi hoc uideatur exemplum, non uilis persona pastorum. *Certe quo utilior ad prudentiam eo pretiosior ad fidem. Non gymnasia choris referta sapientium, sed plebem dominus simplicem requisiuit, quae falerare audita et fucare nesciret; simplicitas enim quaeritur, non ambitio desideratur.* (53, ll. 725-730)

	Sermo de natiuitate	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 5 (ed. *CCSL*, 9A)	Chromatius, *sermo* 32 (ed. *CCSL,* 9A)	Ambrose, *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2 (ed. *CCSL*, 14)
10	Ipse est creator hominum et angelorum. (ll. 83-84)			Ipse erat creator hominum, creator angelorum et deus omnis potestatis. (5, ll. 122-123)	

The comparison shows that these texts are connected in many ways: literal parallels are to be found between long passages as well as short sentences (no. 3, 4, 5, 7, 10), sometimes involving different texts (no. 2); furthermore, there are cases in which literal parallels go hand in hand with similarities in content (no. 1, 6, 8, 9).

c. Hypotheses on Its Origin

Finally, some remarks on the authorship of the sermon should be made. First, it is worth considering its attribution to Chromatius, which is suggested by the following clues. A strong influence of Ambrose has been observed in the whole Chromatian literary production. The Aquileian bishop regarded his Milanese colleague as a mentor, relying heavily on his works and adapting his complicated exegesis and his subtle theological speculations for the less cultivated Aquileian audience. Notably, Ambrose's *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam*, book 2 is the primary source of Chromatius' *sermo* 32 on the Nativity. Thus, the quotations disseminated in our sermon may be significant as to its authorship.[52] Second, Chromatius occasionally reused his own sermons for the composition of *Tractatus in Matthaeum*: textual parallels have been regarded by Lemarié as clues to Chromatius' authorship of anonymous homilies. The presence of a passage in the *Sermo de natiuitate*,

[52] Ambrose and Chromatius met for the first time at the Synod of Aquileia in 381 and began a correspondence, traces of which survive in Ambrose's letter 28 (Maur. 50). In 388 Ambrose visited Aquileia: some scholars suppose that on this occasion he consecrated Chromatius as bishop. See Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), pp. 144-147 and 527-529; Cromazio, vescovo di Aquileia, *Sermoni* (n. 36), pp. 196-202; Y.-M. Duval, "Les relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée durant la seconde moitié du IV siècle. Chromace d'Aquilée et Ambroise de Milan" in *Aquileia e Milano*, Udine, 1973 (Antichità Altoadriatiche, 4), pp. 171-234; G. Nauroy, "Chromace, disciple critique de l'exégèse d'Ambroise. Réalité et limites de l'influence de l'*In Lucam* sur les *Tractatus in Matthaeum*" in *Chromatius episcopus 388-1988*, Udine, 1989 (Antichità Altoadriatiche, 24), pp. 117-149. There is no trace of a direct influence on the sermon *de natiuitate* of Fortunatianus' *Commentarii in Euangelia*, L. I, another recently discovered source of Chromatius' *Sermo* 32 (Fortunatianus Aquileiensis, *Commentarii in Evangelia*, ed. L. Dorfbauer, Berlin-Boston, 2017 [*CSEL*, 103], p. 227).

par. 1, overlapping with *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2 might be interpreted as a piece of evidence in this respect.[53] Besides, it is worth stressing a locution that might be a hint as to the stylistic proximity between *Sermo de natiuitate* and Chromatius' writings: *exclusa uetustate peccati* (l. 19). This is apparently a "Chromatian" expression: three occurrences of the ablative absolute of the perfect participle *deposita* with *uetustate peccati* are to be found in Chromatius' sermons.[54] According to Brepols' Cross Database Searchtool (CDS) and the *PL-Acta Sanctorum* database, Chromatius is the only author to use this *iunctura* – which reverberates the *uetustas litterae* in Romans 7:6 – within an ablative absolute before the ninth century.[55]

[53] Chromace d'Aquilée, *Sermons*, vol. 2 (n. 36), pp. 251-254; most notably, *Tractatus* 3 and 17 partially overlap with *Sermones* 5 and 6; *Tractatus* 12 and 13 seem to depend extensively on *Sermo* 34, whereas *Tractatus* 42 exploits *Sermo* 37.

[54] *Sermo* 17, 3, l. 61 (Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* [n. 36], p. 77); *Sermo* 18, 4, l. 69 (ibid. p. 85); *Sermo* 34, 2, l. 17 (ibid. p. 156).

[55] Lastly, some remarks can be made on Biblical quotations, structure and content of the *Sermo de natiuitate*. J.-M. Auwers, "Chromace d'Aquilée et le texte biblique", in *Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age* (n. 34), pp. 343-359 has remarked that the Aquileian bishop quoted a European *Vetus Latina* text. In *Sermo de natiuitate* Luke 2:14 and Isaiah 53:4 are quoted according to the *Vetus Latina*, but liturgical practices could have influenced the former, while the latter is included in a passage taken *ad uerbum* from Chromatius' *Sermo* 32. The most interesting quotation is Sapientia 1:1 according to *Vetus Latina* recension D: the same verse is cited exactly the same way in Chromatius' *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 41, 5 (Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* [n. 36], p. 393). Nonetheless, it differs from the Vulgate text only in the adoption of *eum* instead of *illum* and Chromatius is not the only Father who quotes the verse with this variant reading. See *Vetus Latina. Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel. 11/1 Sapientia Salomonis*, ed. W. Thiele, Freiburg, 1977-1985, pp. 195-196 and 245-247. Chromatius usually starts his preaching with the literal exegesis of the Bible, and then switches to the spiritual meaning of the story. The shift is usually marked with a variety of verbs used in a technical sense – such as *uidere, ostendere, intellegere, significare* and *explicare*, all employed in this sermon – and with the mention of the hidden sense of Scripture as *mystica/allegorica ratio*. Chromatius' main aim in delivering his sermons is to educate the audience and, for this reason, his exegetical approach is not methodical: he adapts his explanation to suit his didactic purposes, often expounding on the Bible in allegorical and figurative terms and revealing its Christological and ecclesiological implications. The *Sermo de natiuitate* focuses exactly on interpretations of this kind. Furthermore, the passages that do not present any literal correspondence with Chromatius' and Ambrose's production deal with the same themes debated in *Sermo* 32 and elsewhere in Chromatius' speeches: the figural link between the *panni* enshrouding Christ and the vest he was wearing when he died fits perfectly with Chromatius' exegetical technique. The same holds true for the emphasis on the shepherds' and angels' joy at Christ's birth, and on the mutual influence between the priest and the community he serves. Another key-point in his preaching is virginal pregnancy and childbirth as a mystery of faith. The singularity of the Virgin Mary's condition is highlighted in this sermon via the use of the single word *uirgo* rather than *Maria*, as Chromatius has been noticed to do elsewhere. See C. Corsato, "Cromazio interprete della Scrittura nei *Sermones*", in *Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age* (n. 34), pp. 364-395; Lemarié, "*Chromatiana*" (n. 34), pp. 73-76, G. Trettel, "Terminologia esegetica nei sermoni di san Cromazio di Aquileia",

On the other hand, the following considerations lead one to reject Chromatius' authorship. First and foremost, the sermon quotes *ad uerbum* long passages from Ambrose's *Expositio*, whereas Chromatius' *usus*, apparently, did not involve long literal quotations. Even though he echoes several expressions of the Milanese archbishop, and reformulates his arguments while drawing on the latter's vocabulary, literal quotations are limited to short sentences and isolated *iuncturae*.[56] Another clue as to the reworking of the *Sermo de natiuitate* lies in the expression *ab omni nexu peccaminum* (l. 78 in the present edition), which seems typical of Iberian liturgical formularies.[57] Moreover, some passages of the *Sermo* show a poor command of Latin. Most notably, the halting syntax of ll. 29-34 suggests that this paragraph might be a later addition.

All these things considered, one may conclude that the *Sermo de natiuitate* is rather a reworked version of Chromatius' sermon on the Nativity, combined with Ambrose's exegesis on Luke and, possibly, original material. That Chromatius himself is the author of this version is unlikely for the above mentioned reasons. Moreover, as far as I am aware, there is no other instance of surviving twin sermons attributable to him, both focus-

Revue des Études Augustiniennes, 20 (1974), pp. 55-81; C. Lo Cicero, "Cromazio committente di traduzioni", in *Chromatius of Aquileia and His Age* (n. 34), pp. 227-252, p. 232, n. 24; G. Trettel, "*Figura* e *veritas* nell'opera oratoria di san Cromazio", *La scuola cattolica*, 102 (1974), pp. 3-23; G. Trettel, "Tipologia figurale in s. Cromazio vescovo di Aquileia", *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi*, 59 (1979) pp. 25-79; Chromace d'Aquilée, *Sermons*, vol. 1 (n. 34), pp. 69-74; A. Quacquarelli, "L'ecclesiologia nella esegesi di Cromazio", in *Chromatius episcopus* (n. 52), pp. 45-62; V. Cian, *La catechesi aquileiese nel IV secolo*, Trieste, 1993, pp. 137-147; Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), p. 148; Lemarié, *'Chromatius redivivus'* (n. 34), p. 275; Lemarié, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de saint Chromace d'Aquilée en Europe" (n. 37), p. 284.

[56] Indeed, it seems that his sermons originated as simultaneous transcriptions of Chromatius' impromptu preaching. See J. Lemarié, "Le sermon 34 de Chromace d'Aquilée pour l'Épiphanie. Nouvelle attestation dans l'homéliaire carolingien du Pseudo-Bède", *Sacris Erudiri*, 33 (1992-1993), pp. 121-124; F. Placida, *Aspetti catechistico-liturgici dell'opera di Cromazio di Aquileia*, Soveria Mannelli, 2005, p. 38. See also Duval, "Les relations doctrinales entre Milan et Aquilée" (n. 52) and Nauroy, "Chromace, disciple critique de l'exégèse d'Ambroise" (n. 52).

[57] The formula *Ab omni nexu peccaminum* is used in the Silos breviary (Santo Domingo de Silos, Archivo del Monasterio, 6, eleventh century), included in the office for Saint Genesius' feastday: see *Corpus benedictionum pontificalium*, ed. E. Moeller, Turnhout, 1971 (*CCSL*, 162), no. 466, p. 187. *Nexu peccaminum* is also found in the *commune sanctorum* of the same breviary: the formula concludes the vesper's *oratio* on the feast days of bishop and confessor saints (see *PL* 86, col. 1024B). Furthermore, it is to be found in the *praefatio* of the *Liber ordinum* witnessed by the MSS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, 56 (F. 224; 58), tenth century, Santo Domingo de Silos, Archivo del Monasterio, 3 (olim B), year 1039 and 4 (olim A vel B), year 1052. See *Corpus praefationum, Textus Q-V*, ed. E. Moeller, Turnhout, 1980 (*CCSL*, 161C), n. 1283, p. 395.

ing on the same biblical passage. Indeed, *sermo* 32 expounds on Lc 2:1-14, which was the pericope read in Aquileia during Christmas celebrations at Chromatius' time,[58] whereas the *Sermo de natiuitate* focuses on a shorter passage from the same pericope, notably Lc 2:7-14. Instead, I lean towards the authorship of a later compiler, as Ambrose's *Expositio* was largely widespread in the Early Middle Ages and frequently exploited for the composition of *centones* on Christmas.[59]

However, this scenario does not exclude that the *Sermo de natiuitate* could preserve original Chromatian passages omitted by *sermo* 32, and vice versa. As a matter of fact, *sermo* 32 is witnessed solely by Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LII (50), an abridged version of a lost Roman homiletic collection written in the eighth-ninth century in Northern Italy by a scribe educated at Flavigny, according to Bischoff.[60] Since Carolingian homiliaries typically include revised versions of Patristic sources, often reworked and combined in order to meet the specific requirements of the audience of their day, it is difficult to determine to what extent the original text on the Nativity was adjusted to suit the needs and tastes of the Veronese collection compiler.[61]

In conclusion, I would like to stress the following two facts. First, it seems that three Iberian collections dated from the eleventh to the thirteenth century (Porto, Yale and the *Homiliarium Toletanum*) present additional texts drawing upon a common tradition, including several fragments of Chromatius' preaching. Besides the *Sermo de natiuitate* – to the transmission of which the Iberian Peninsula is crucial, if not to its origin –,

[58] Chromace d'Aquilée, *Sermons*, vol. 1 (n. 34) pp. 85-86 and V. Cian, *L'anno liturgico nelle opere di S. Cromazio di Aquileia*, Trieste, 1996, p. 85.

[59] Barré, "Sermons marials inédits" (n. 23), pp. 41-42. Six witnesses of the *Expositio in Lucam* are listed in the *CLA* (III **347; V 548; V 654; VII 1018; X 1489; XI 1602) and fourteen in B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, vol. 4. *Gesamtregister*, Wiesbaden, 2017, p. 5.

[60] R. Étaix, "Un homiliaire ancien dans le ms. LII de la bibliothèque capitulaire de Vérone", *Revue Bénédictine*, 73 (1963), pp. 289-306; J. Lemarié, "Trois nouveaux témoins de l'homélie VIII et une homélie de Noël de saint Chromace d'Aquilée", *Revue Bénédictine*, 74 (1964), pp. 147-155 (see in particular pp. 152-154); B. Bischoff, *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts (mit Ausnahme der wisigotischen)*, vol. 3. *Padua-Zwickau*, Wiesbaden, 2014, no. 7043; Cerno, "I sermoni di Cromazio di Aquileia" (n. 40), pp. 25-26.

[61] On the birth of Carolingian homiletic collections, see F. Dolbeau, "Naissance des Homéliaires et de Passionnaires. Une tentative d'étude comparative" in *L'antiquité tardive dans les collections médiévales. Textes et représentations, VIe-XIVe siècle*, ed. S. Gioanni, B. Grévin, Roma, 2008 (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 405), pp. 13-35 and F. Dolbeau, *Sermons sous forme de centons dans deux recueils de Freising* in *Compilers, Preachers and Their Audiences in the Early Medieval West*, ed. M. Diesenberger, Y. Hen, M. Pollheimer, Turnhout, 2013, pp. 375-426, pp. 375-380.

the second addition of the Porto manuscript includes Chromatius' *sermo* 21, and the Yale manuscript bears witness to Chromatius' *sermo* 8, both in a version close to the one spread in Catalan manuscripts.[62] Second, the *Sermo de natiuitate* was apparently read already in the ninth century by Abbot Speraindeo of Córdoba. This fact may shed new light on the dissemination of the Chromatian sermons ascribed to Jerome – a hallmark of the Catalan family of manuscripts –[63] in the Iberian Peninsula, suggesting that they may have spread even outside Catalonia, and this well before Pietro Orseolo's arrival in Cuxa in the tenth century.

4. Critical Edition

This edition is based on Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 31, fol. 93vb-94vb (*P*). Punctuation and spelling variants have been normalized. Some corrections were apparently made by the same hand who wrote the text: the previous reading have been registered as $P^{a.c}$ in the apparatus. While I stuck to the manuscript text as closely as possible, in some places I was forced to make small changes, such as corrections of *lapsus calami* (doublings of syllables, missing letters) and of orthographic errors (presence or absence of final *-m*, exchange *e>i* and hypercorrection *c>t*). These are always recorded in the apparatus, together with the variant readings of Speraindeo's letter (*Sp*).[64] The most substantial interventions on *P* are conjectured according either to the sermon's sources[65] or to its

[62] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), pp. 32-37; Cromazio, vescovo di Aquileia. *Sermoni* (n. 36), pp. 80-86. The Catalan MSS witnessing *Sermo* 8 in the same version as the Yale MS are Tarragona, Bibl. Pública del Estado (Provincial), 139 and Paris, BnF, lat. 3806.

[63] Chromatius Aquileiensis *Opera* (n. 36), p. 148; Lemarié, "*Chromatius redivivus*" (n. 34), p. 275; Lemarié, "La diffusion de l'œuvre de saint Chromace d'Aquilée en Europe" (n. 37), p. 284.

[64] The orthographic phenomena that have been silently corrected are: monophthongization, single consonants instead of double ones and vice versa, epenthesis, the exchanges *i/y*, *k/c*, *-ci-/-ti-* and *t/d*, and the omission of *h-*.

[65] *Quibus* has been changed into *quod* (l. 7) according to Ambrose's *Expositio in Lucam*. It should be noted that the hypercorrection *quod* > *quibus* might have been made either by a scribe, by the sermon's author himself or by the scribe of his source-manuscript. However, as far as we can infer from the edition of the source (Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Opera, pars IV* [n. 50], p. 49), the variant reading *quibus* is unattested in its manuscript tradition. Moreover, the fact that the immediately following *quod* has not been hypercorrected makes me lean towards the hypothesis of a scribal error. The correction of *de* into *ecclesiae* (l. 61) is based on Chromatius' text. Such a corruption might be explained by taking into account the abbreviation used for *ecclesiae*, that is *eccle*, overcome by a *titulus*. It could have been written as *ecde* and a scribe, in order to correct the text, could have omitted the first part of this strange word, *ec-*.

indirect tradition.[66] Only one emendation is not supported by any parallel: the sentence *non enim loquitur quis loquatur, se quo loquatur* has been changed into *non enim loquitur qui loquatur, sed de quo loquatur* (ll. 74-75), according to the preceding sentence. Lastly, it is worth stressing the variant reading *natiuitas* at l. 8 (*uirginis partum, natiuitatem Saluatoris, infantiam creatoris*), in a passage literally corresponding to *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 2, 6 (*uirginis partus, nouitas Saluatoris, infantia creatoris*). This reading is apparently *potior* than *nouitas*, adopted by both *Corpus Christianorum* and *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiae Aquileiensis* editions.[67]

Summary

This article presents the first critical edition of the pseudo-Hieronymian sermon on the Nativity transmitted by the 12th/13th century manuscript Porto, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 31 (56). The quotation of its *incipit* by the abbot Speraindeo in a letter to Paulus Albarus reveals that the sermon circulated already in the 9th century in the Iberian Peninsula under Jerome's name. The first part of the article provides a description of the manuscript and of its contents. The second part considers the context within which the sermon is transmitted, namely a series of ten liturgical sermons delivered on feast days from Advent to the Circumcision of Christ. The third part examines the sermon's sources and *loci paralleli* and advances some hypotheses about its origin. The most plausible of these is that it is a *cento* combining extracts from Ambrose's *Expositio in Lucam* and Chromatius' sermon 32 on the Nativity, including several hitherto unknown passages from the Chromatian homily.

Marina Giani
KU Leuven
marina.giani@kuleuven.be

[66] The variant reading *uerum* (l. 4), quoted by Speraindeo, has been deemed better than the reading of *P*, *rerum*.

[67] Chromatius Aquileiensis, *Opera* (n. 36), p. 206; Cromazio vescovo di Aquileia, *Trattati sul Vangelo di Matteo*, transl. G. Trettel, Roma, 2005 (*Corpus scriptorum ecclesiae Aquileiensis*, IV/2), p. 54.

P PORTO, Biblioteca Pública Municipal, Santa Cruz de Coimbra 31 (56), sec. XII-XIII, fol. 93vb-94vb

Quamuis inenarrabilia sint, fratres carissimi, dominicae incarnationis 93vb
mysteria et natiuitatis eius sacramenta, tamen propter diei sollemnitatem
uestrae quoque dilectioni aliquanta intimare curamus, non quantum ipsa
natiuitas est, sed quantum sermo potest exprimere. Verum quantum ipsa
5 natiuitas est non solum explicare non possumus, sed nec ipsi sancti euan-
gelistae plene dicere potuerunt. Quis enim potest tam nouam et miram
natiuitatem digno sermone narrare, Domini in utero conceptionem, uir-
ginis partum, natiuitatem Saluatoris, infantiam creatoris? Concepit uterus
uirginis eum quem caeli non capit magnitudo, nascitur lege naturae qui
10 auctor naturae est, procedit in mundo qui creator est mundi, infans uide-
tur qui plenitudinis Deus est, in tempore natus est qui tempora creauit et
saecula, paruulus apparuit in corpore qui sublimis erat in maiestate, pannis
inuoluitur qui regalia uestimenta | largitur, cunis continetur qui continet 94ra
mundum, in praesepio ponitur qui cum Patre regnat in caelo, locum in
15 diuersorio non inuenit intra quem omnis est locus.

Sed hanc omnem humilitatem salutis nostrae causa suscepit ut nos humi-
litatis suae gratia sublimaret, nasci ex uirgine uoluit ut corruptum saeculum
redintegraret, nouam natiuitatem suscepit ut totum mundum innouaret,
exclusa uetustate peccati. Ille igitur paruulus infantulus fuit ut tu uir possis
20 esse perfectus, ille inuolutus est pannis ut tu a mortis laqueis absoluaris, ille
in praesepibus ut tu in altaribus, ille in terris ut tu in caelis, ille in diuer-
sorio locum non inuenit ut tu mansiones haberes in caelis. Ille enim cum
diues esset propter nos pauper factus est, ut illius paupertate nos diuites
essemus: paupertas ergo illius patrimonium meum est, infirmitas eius

---

22/24 cum diues esset – diuites essemus] cfr II Cor. 8, 9

6/11 quis enim potest – plenitudinis Deus est] cfr CHR., *Tractatus in Mattheum* 2, 163-168 **12/14** paruulus apparuit – regnat in caelo] CHR., *Sermo* 32, 51-54; cfr CHR., *Tractatus in Mattheum* 2, 168-169; cfr CHR., *Tractatus in Mattheum* 5, 13-15 **19/28** ille igitur – redimi profuisset] AMBR., *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2, 41, 579-591; 42, 593-594

---

1 quamuis inenarrabilia sint] inenarrabilia sunt *Sp* quamuis] qamuis *P* **2** sacramenta] sacramentum *Sp* **2/3** tamen propter – quoque dilectioni] *om. Sp* diei] dei $P^{a.c.}$ **3/4** aliquanta intimare – natiuitas est] et ideo non quantum ipsa natiuitas est intimare curamus *Sp* **4** sermo potest exprimere] per sermonem exprimere ualemus *Sp* uerum *Sp*] rerum *P* **5/6** euangelistae] euuangeliste *P* **8** uterus] uterum *P* **11** creauit] creauut *P* **12** apparuit] apparuruit *P* **17** sublimaret] sublimaree $P^{a.c.}$ **19** possis] posis $P^{a.c.}$ **22** ut tu] utu $P^{a.c.}$ **23** diuites] diuetes $P^{a.c.}$

uirtus nostra est, inopia eius diuitiae nostrae sunt, sibi egens ut omnibus habundaret. Plus humilitati eius debemus quam sublimitati, plus iniuriis quod redempti sumus quam operibus quod creati, quia nasci non profuerat nisi redimi profuisset.

Sed si haec quae carnis sunt credere debemus, [ut] ante omnia diuinitatis eius gloriam confiteamur quam angeli nuntiauerunt, pastores agnouerunt. Numquam enim angeli tanto gaudio in Domini natiuitate repleti fuissent, nisi eum creatorem suum ac mundi Deum cognouissent, | adnuntiante 94rb enim iam archangelo Gabriel omnia noua in Domini natiuitate promissa, quod sterili conceptus donaretur atque iterum uirgini partus. Et ideo tanta angelorum laetitia fuit quia innupta peperit, uirgo concepit, innupta concepit, uirgo generauit.

Sed nunc iam mysticam rationem uideamus quod pannis inuolutus est et in praesepio positus quia non erat locus in diuersorio. Inuolutus est pannis quia ipse peccata nostra suscepit, sicut scriptum est: *hic peccata nostra portauit et pro nobis dolet*. Ille ergo in pannis inuolutus est ut nos a peccatorum nostrorum pannis exueret. Ex diuersis enim nationibus uenientes ad credulitatem uelut panni circumdedimus Christum, sed ex pannis facti sumus tunica pretiosa quia contexti sumus in unum: in unitatem enim fidei et concordiam pacis omnes qui in Christo credimus conuenimus. Idcirco forte Dominus ac Saluator noster, qui in natiuitate pannis inuolutus fuerat, tempore passionis pretiosam tunicam habuisse refertur, quam milites scindere noluerunt, quia ad hoc Christus pati uoluit, ut populum in se credentem uelut pretiosam tunicam ac regalem in tela crucis contexeret. Quod autem in praesepio positus est, id significat quia esca futurus erat credentium populorum. Cum enim diuina mysteria fuerint celebrata ad

37/38 pannis inuolutus – in diuersorio] cfr Lc. 2, 7 **39/40** Is. 53, 4

35/36 innupta peperit – uirgo generauit] Ambr., *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2, 43, 619-620 **37/43** sed nunc iam – sumus in unum] Chr., *Sermo* 32, 55-65 **49/50** quod autem in praesepio – credentium populorum] cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 65-67 **50/52** cum enim diuina – Christi sumamus] cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 70-72

25 inopia] inopie $P^{a.c.}$ **27** quod[1]] quibus *P* (cfr Ambr., *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2, 41, 590) **28** redimi] redemi $P^{a.c.}$ profuisset] profui sed $P^{p.c.}$: potui**ed $P^{a.c.}$ (cfr Ambr., *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2, 41, 591) **31** fuissent] fuisent $P^{a.c.}$ **32** adnuntiante] ad**nuntiante $P^{a.c.}$ **40** portauit] portabit *P* **40/41** a peccatorum] appeccatorum *P* **42** circumdedimus] circumcidebimus *P* (cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 63-64) **43** unitatem] unitate *P* **45** pannis inuolutus] pannis *****uolutus $P^{a.c.}$ **48** contexeret] contexerit *P*

altare Christi, tamquam ad praesepe concurrimus ut cibum uitae de corpore Christi sumamus, ipso in Euangelio dicente: *qui manducat carnem* | 94va
meam et bibit meum sanguinem in me manet, et ego in illo. Caro enim mea uere est cibus et sanguis meus uere est potus.

Sequitur namque in Euangelio: *Pastores,* inquit, *erant in regione eadem uigilantes et custodientes uigilias noctis supra gregem suum.* In nocte ergo singuli pastores super gregem suum uigilasse referuntur quando Dominus natus secundum carnem est, ut gratia ecclesiae per natiuitatem Domini ostenderetur. Nox enim saeculum intelligitur, in qua caecitas ignorantiae est. Greges uero populi credentes, pastores autem sacerdotes ecclesiarum sunt. Vtinam et nos ecclesiae tales pastores inueniamur, qui uigilant super gregem suum! Sed uigilare fides nostra potest si uigilet et uestra deuotio, quia deuotio plebis fidem excitat sacerdotis. Nobilis autem ista persona pastorum est qui primi natiuitatem Domini cognoscere meruerunt: non ergo scribae, non pharisei, non doctores legis, non philosophi, non mundi sapientes sed pastores natiuitatem Domini cognouerunt, id est simplices mente, quia simplicitas mentis magis Domino grata est quam prudentia mundi. Et ideo scriptum est: *in simplicitate cordis quaerite eum*. Denique, quia pastores isti simpliciter quod audierunt ab angelo nuntiauerunt, omnes audientes mirari pastorum uerba coeperunt. Erat enim reuera magnum quod primi pastores tantum mysterium cognouissent.

Vtinam et nos cum loquimur ad dilectionem uestram, uerba | nostra 94vb
admiratione diuina iudicentur! Non quia nos loquimur, sed quia de Christo loquimur, cuius natiuitas, passio, resurrectio miraculum mundo est. Non enim loquitur qui loquatur, sed de quo loquatur. Nos quidem nulli sumus, sed magnus est de quo loquimur. Nos infirmi et humiles, sed potens et sublimis ille quem praedicamus, qui salutem mundo concessit, ut nobis ueniae subsidium tribuat et ab omni nexu peccaminum eluat atque pacem

---

52/53 qui manducat – in illo] Ioh. 6, 57 **53/54** caro enim mea – est potus] Ioh. 6, 56 **55/56** Lc. 2, 8 **68** Sap. 1, 1

59/61 nox enim saeculum – ecclesiarum sunt] Ambr., *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2, 50, 698-699; cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 86-87 **61/63** utinam et nos – fidem excitat sacerdotis] cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 90-93; 99-102 **63/68** nobilis autem – prudentia mundi] cfr Ambr., *Expositio Euangelii secundum Lucam* 2, 53, 725-730

---

56 in nocte] inocte *P* **59** caecitas] cetitas *P* **61** ecclesiae] de *P* (cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 92) **62** uestra] nostra *P* (cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 100) **63** fidem excitat] fide excitatur *P* (cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 102) **68** quaerite] querte $P^{a.c.}$ **74** passio] passionis $P^{a.c.}$ **75** qui] quis *P* sed de] se *P* **76** potens et] potens est *P* (cfr Chr., *Sermo* 32, 54)

ecclesiae sue praebeat, sicut euangelista angelis canentibus in eius natiuitate actum denuntiat: *Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bonae uoluntatis*. Qualis haec et quanta natiuitas Christi est, quae laetitiam caelo et terrae donauit, quae angelos hominibus sociauit ut exercitum sibi caelestem nouum de angelis et de hominibus faceret! Ipse est creator hominum et angelorum, Dominus totius mundi, unigenitus Dei filius, cui est honor et gloria, uirtus et potestas in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

80/81 Lc. 2, 14

83/84 ipse est creator hominum et angelorum] CHR., *Sermo* 32, 122-123

79 natiuitate] natiuitatem *P* **80** denuntiat] denunciant *P* **84** dei] deus $P^{a.c.}$ **85** potestas] potestes $P^{a.c.}$ saeculorum] sclorum *P*

Sulla datazione dei *Tractatus in psalmos* 89 e 90 *series altera* di Gerolamo

Giulio Malavasi

(*Porto Mantovano*)

1. Introduzione

Dobbiamo all'acribia filologica di Germain Morin la riscoperta e l'edizione delle omelie sui salmi di Gerolamo, divise in due serie, una prima di 59 omelie e una, successiva, di 14.[1] Si tratta di una testimonianza di grande valore sull'impegno omiletico dello Stridonense all'interno della comunità monastica di Betlemme. Tuttavia, la paternità di tali omelie è stata messa in dubbio nel 1980 da Vittorio Peri, che le considerava traduzioni geronimiane di omelie di Origene.[2] Ciononostante, tale ipotesi, già criticata in passato,[3] non può essere più sostenuta in seguito alla pubblicazione delle

[1] Oltre alle omelie sui salmi, la tradizione ha conservato una serie di omelie sui vangeli e alcune omelie su argomenti vari. Per un'efficace introduzione all'omiletica geronimiana, vedi: A. Cain, "Jerome", in *Preaching in the Patristic Era. Sermons, Preachers, and Audiences in the Latin West*, ed. A. Dupont, S. Boodts, G. Partoens e J. Leemans, Leiden-Boston, 2018, pp. 274-293, A. Capone, "*'Folia vero in verbis sunt'*: parola divina e lingua umana nei *Tractatus in psalmos* attribuiti a Gerolamo", in *Adamantius*, 19 (2013), pp. 437-456 e l'introduzione a cura di A. Capone a *Girolamo. 59 Omelie sui Salmi (1-115). Omelia sul Salmo 41 ai neofiti*, ed. A. Capone, Roma, 2018, pp. 9-41. È utile ricordare che gran parte dei testi delle omelie di Gerolamo di cui disponiamo oggi non sono state riviste dal loro autore prima della pubblicazione. Un'eccezione potrebbe essere individuata nei Tr. in Ps. 10 (ser. alt.) e 15 (ser. alt), per i quali vi è il ragionevole dubbio che non siano delle omelie, giacché lo stile è più vicino a quello del commentario. Vedi A. S. Pease, "Notes on St. Jerome's Tractates on the Psalms", in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 26 (1907), pp. 107-131, spec. pp. 122-131, G. Morin, "Les Tractatus de S. Jérôme sur les Ps. 10 et 15, nouvelle solution du problème", in *Revue Bénédictine*, 26 (1909), pp. 467-469, e A. Vaccari, "Frammento di un perduto *Tractatus* di S. Girolamo", in *Biblica*, 1 (1920), pp. 513-517. Anche altre omelie lasciano trasparire una maggior accuratezza stilistica, come mostrato da A. Canellis, "Saint Jérôme prédicateur: à propos du 'Tractatus in Ps. CXLVII'", in *Ἐν κοινωνίᾳ πᾶσα φιλία: mélanges offerts à Bernard Jacquinod*, éd. J.-L. Breuil, Saint-Étienne, 2006, pp. 63-79, spec. pp. 64-67.

[2] V. Peri, *Omelie origeniane sui Salmi. Contributo all'identificazione del testo latino*, Città del Vaticano, 1980. Questa ipotesi è stata condivisa anche dal primo traduttore in italiano delle omelie sui salmi di Gerolamo, vedi: Origene-Gerolamo, *74 Omelie sul Libro dei Salmi*, ed. G. Coppa, Milano 1993.

[3] P. Jay, "Jérôme à Bethléem: les *Tractatus in psalmos*", in *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient. Actes du colloque de Chantilly (septembre 1986)*, ed. Y.-M. Duval, Parigi, 1988, pp. 367-380.

nuove omelie sui salmi di Origene.[4] Si tratta di due opere ben distinte tra loro, anche se i debiti origeniani nelle omelie di Gerolamo sono certamente presenti.[5] Se, dunque, le omelie sui salmi possono essere con sicurezza attribuite a Gerolamo, restano altri problemi che la critica moderna deve affrontare per meglio comprendere e contestualizzare questa specifica produzione letteraria. In particolare, uno degli ambiti di ricerca ancora aperti riguarda la loro datazione.

Germain Morin, grazie ad alcuni elementi interni ed esterni alle omelie stesse, aveva ipotizzato che fossero state predicate durante il primo decennio del quinto secolo. Il termine *post quem* è individuato grazie a un'indicazione presente nel Tr. in Ps. 133: Gerolamo ricorda che sono passati venti anni dalla restituzione delle chiese dei gruppi eterodossi all'ortodossia cattolica. Secondo Germain Morin, il riferimento è all'editto di Teodosio del 10 gennaio 381 e, pertanto, il 401 viene individuato come termine *post quem*. Secondo Alessandro Capone, tuttavia, il passo di Gerolamo potrebbe riferirsi al rientro dei niceni esiliati concesso da Valente prima di intraprendere la spedizione in Tracia, durante la quale perse la vita il 9 agosto 378. Pertanto sarebbe possibile anticipare il termine al 397/398.[6] Come termine *ante quem*, è necessario considerare la citazione del Tr. in Ps. 93 nella lettera 148 di Agostino, databile al 413/414. In ogni caso, secondo Germain Morin, le omelie sui salmi sono state predicate prima della controversia pelagiana.[7]

In realtà, alcuni studiosi, in maniera più o meno esplicita, hanno attribuito alcune omelie a un periodo successivo, ovvero coincidente con la con-

[4] Origenes, *Die neuen Psalmenhomilien. Eine kritische Edition des Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*, ed. L. Perrone, M. Molin Pradel, E. Prinzivalli e A. Cacciari, (*GCS* 19, Origenes Werke XIII), Berlino 2015.

[5] E. Orlandi, "Aspetti della rielaborazione delle omelie origeniane sui Salmi (Cod. Mon. Graec. 314) nei '*Tractatus in Psalmos*' di Gerolamo", in *L'Exégèse de saint Jérôme. Textes recueillis et préparés par Élie Ayroulet et Aline Canellis*, ed. É. Ayroulet e A. Canellis, Saint-Étienne, 2018, pp. 101-113. Sull'influenza origeniana, o, in generale, alessandrina, vedi anche D. Scardia, "*Melius dicitur graece*: termini greci ed esegesi nei *Tractatus in Psalmos* di Gerolamo", in *Spazi e tempi delle emozioni. Dai primi secoli all'età bizantina. Atti del convegno 'Progetto Fir 2014' e delle VI giornate di studio CULCA*, ed. P. B. Cipolla, C. Crimi, R. Gentile, L. Giordano e A. Rotondo, Acireale-Roma 2018, pp. 231-269.

[6] A. Capone, "Scomposizione e composizione dei *Tractatus in psalmos* di Gerolamo", in *L'Exégèse de saint Jérôme. Textes recueillis et préparés par Élie Ayroulet et Aline Canellis*, ed. É. Ayroulet e A. Canellis, Saint-Étienne, 2018, pp. 130-149, spec. pp. 135-136.

[7] G. Morin, "Les monuments de la prédication de S. Jérôme", in *Études, textes, découvertes: contributions à la littérature et à l'histoire des douze premiers siècles*, ed. G. Morin, Maredsous, 1913, pp. 220-293, spec. pp. 233-234: "c'est aussi la date que j'assignerais a tout cet ensemble de fragments homilétiques: les premières années du cinquième siècle, avant la manifestation des erreurs pélagiennes, donc entre 401 et 410", p. 234.

troversia pelagiana.[8] La polemica che ha visto contrapposti Pelagio e Gerolamo negli ultimi anni di vita dello Stridonense farebbe, infatti, da sfondo ad alcune omelie geronimiane, imponendone una datazione al secondo decennio del quinto secolo. Silvano Cola, nel commento alla sua traduzione delle omelie di Gerolamo sui Vangeli e su argomenti vari, individua almeno un testo che potrebbe appartenere al periodo della controversia pelagiana. Benché si tratti di un omelia su un argomento diverso dall'interpretazione dei salmi, la possibile individuazione di almeno un'omelia databile al contesto della controversia pelagiana, rende tale ipotesi meritevole di essere presa in considerazione in questo studio. All'inizio dell'omelia *De persecutione Xpistianorum*, Gerolamo elenca una serie di tentazioni del corpo e dell'anima umana, per resistere alle quali è come se il cristiano fosse sempre sotto martirio. Secondo Gerolamo, il cristiano è sempre pronto al martirio e nessuno può affermare che il martirio non esista. Silvano Cola ritiene che questo passaggio possa riferirsi a Pelagio, il quale, agli occhi di Gerolamo, avrebbe affermato che l'uomo, già in questa vita e senza la grazia di Dio, può raggiungere la perfezione.[9]

Giuseppe Caruso, in un lungo e dettagliato studio sull'influenza origeniana nell'antropologia geronimiana, ha ipotizzato, in maniera concisa, una datazione posteriore al 415 per il Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.) in quanto vi sarebbe un'esplicita menzione della dottrina agostiniana del peccato originale. Al medesimo periodo potrebbe risalire anche il Tr. in Ps. 93 (ser. alt.) per l'insistenza contro il più grave dei peccati, la superbia. Come riconosce lo stesso autore si potrebbe trattare di una generica catechesi morale, ma sullo sfondo della polemica anti-pelagiana acquisirebbe un significato del tutto particolare. Gerolamo, infatti, accusa ripetutamente Pelagio e i suoi seguaci di peccare di superbia.[10]

[8] Non è forse inutile precisare che è ben possibile datare un'omelia agli anni della controversia pelagiana anche in assenza di elementi direttamente riconducibili a questa controversia teologica. Tuttavia, il nostro interesse è quello di verificare non solo se esistono omelie predicate da Gerolamo durante gli anni della controversia pelagiana, ma anche se alcune di esse siano direttamente connesse a questo specifico contesto teologico.

[9] Girolamo, *Omelie sui Vangeli*, a cura di S. Cola, Roma, 1990, p. 215, n. 4: "qui, come in altri passi, Girolamo vuole rispondere di fatto a Pelagio il quale aveva affermato che un uomo, già durante la vita e senza l'aiuto della grazia di Dio, può raggiungere la perfezione, essere libero da ogni tentazione e quindi impeccabile". Tuttavia non vengono esplicitati gli altri passi in cui Gerolamo polemizzerebbe con Pelagio. Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de persecutione Xpistianorum*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), pp. 556-557: si ergo sunt martyria in pacis tempore, sunt et negationes. Nemo ergo dicat, non esse martyrium: et martyrium est, et negatio est.

[10] G. Caruso, *Ramusculus Origenis. L'eredità dell'antropologia origeniana nei pelagiani e in Girolamo*, Roma, 2012, pp. 614-615: "il concetto espresso poco sopra, l'idea cioè che gli uomini ereditino il peccato di Adamo, non è abituale in Girolamo. Esso compare per la prima

Alessandro Capone, infine, ha ipotizzato per alcune omelie una datazione più tarda rispetto a quella di Germain Morin. A questo proposito, lo studioso individua un gruppo di cinque omelie: Tr. in Ps. 80, Tr. in Ps. 81, Tr. in Ps. 83 (ser. alt.), Tr. in Ps. 84 (ser. alt.) e Tr. in Ps. 86, accumunate in parte da affinità esegetiche, relative alla spiegazione del titolo del salmo sui figli di Core, e in parte dall'insistenza sul tema del peccato, che può trovare una sua ragione anche alla luce della controversia pelagiana.[11]

Le ipotesi avanzate dagli studiosi presi in esame sono senza dubbio valide e meriterebbero tutte quante di essere adeguatamente approfondite. Tuttavia, in questo studio, prendendo spunto dall'ipotesi di Giuseppe Caruso, che riteniamo corretta e meritevole, per quanto possibile, di essere ulteriormente sostanziata e ampliata, ci limiteremo all'analisi del Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.) e del successivo Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.). Lo scopo che ci prefiggiamo è quello di dimostrare che entrambe le omelie sono state predicate da Gerolamo durante la controversia pelagiana e, più precisamente, tra il 415 e la sua morte.

2. Il *Tractatus in Psalmum 89 series altera*

L'elemento più interessante dell'omelia sul salmo 89[12] è il commento al versetto 7 (nella tua ira siamo venuti meno): *quia iram tuam per peccata meru-*

volta nel corso del *Dialogus* (3, 18), sotto l'influsso della lettura di testi di Agostino. Sembra dunque possibile sostenere che almeno il *Tractatus in Psalmum* 89 della series altera sia posteriore al 415. Forse risalenti al periodo della polemica contro i pelagiani è anche il *Tractatus in Psalmum* 93 della series altera. [...] I testi sopra presentati, lo si comprende, possono essere delle semplici catechesi morali contro un vizio, la superbia, comunemente considerato il peggiore e proprio per questo tipicamente satanico; nel contesto antipelagiano tuttavia essi acquistano uno sfondo particolarmente significativo in quanto, come si vede, l'accusa di superbia è una di quelle che più spesso Girolamo rivolge gli esponenti del pelagianesimo".

[11] A. Capone, "Scomposizione e composizione dei *Tractatus in psalmos* di Gerolamo", in *L'Exégèse de saint Jérôme. Textes recueillis et préparés par Élie Ayroulet et Aline Canellis*, ed. É. Ayroulet e A. Canellis, Saint-Étienne, 2018, pp. 130-149, spec. pp. 144-148: "a conferma di tale ipotesi conviene ancora osservare come nei *Tractatus* della prima sequenza [Tr. in Ps. 80, Tr. in Ps. 83 (ser. alt.), Tr. in Ps. 84 (ser. alt.) e Tr. in Ps. 86] Gerolamo insista in certo modo sul tema del peccato; il che invece non trova riscontro nei *Tractatus* che si possono ricondurre alla seconda sequenza. Tale differente approccio si può forse spiegare alla luce della polemica antipelagiana che impegnò Gerolamo negli ultimi anni della sua vita e che risulta pertanto essere un ulteriore elemento a sostegno della datazione delle due sequenze. Tale prospettiva consente inoltre di completare il gruppo dei *Tractatus* in esame (80-83 ser. alt. – 84 ser. alt. – 86), giacché accenni insistenti al tema del peccato si ritrovano nel Tr. in Ps. 81", pp. 147-148. Questa ipotesi è stata ulteriormente sviluppata da G. Stefanelli, "Cristiani, giudei e pagani: lessico, esegesi e polemica nei *Tractatus in psalmos* di Gerolamo", in *Augustinianum*, 57 (2017), pp. 81-105, spec. pp. 94-104.

[12] Il salmo 89 è stato interpretato da Gerolamo in almeno quattro occasioni: nei *Commentarioli in Psalmos* (390-392), in due omelie e nella lettera 140 a Cipriano (414), vedi:

imus, inmortalitatem quam dederas perdidimus in Adam, a quo nobis quasi naturaliter peccatum hereditario iure dimissum est.[13] Due sono le ragioni che giustificano l'ira divina: i nostri peccati personali e la caduta di Adamo, che a sua volta produce un duplice effetto, la perdita dell'immortalità e la trasmissione del peccato per diritto ereditario. Il riferimento è chiaramente alla dottrina del peccato originale di matrice agostiniana. Questo breve commento è decisamente interessante perché la dottrina agostiniana del peccato originale sembra del tutto aliena alla teologia di Gerolamo e l'unico passo in cui viene esplicitamente riconosciuta si trova al termine del *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos*, la principale opera anti-pelagiana di Gerolamo, composta nel 415.[14] L'omelia sul salmo 89 sarebbe, dunque, un secondo testimone dell'adesione di Gerolamo alla dottrina agostiniana del peccato originale negli ultimi anni della sua vita. Un simile commento a Sal. 89, 7 sarebbe infatti difficilmente giustificabile prima dell'incontro di Gerolamo con le dottrine agostiniane, e tale incontro non può essere avvenuto prima del 415 quando Orosio, giunto in Palestina dall'Africa, porta con sé alcune opere di Agostino che lo stesso Gerolamo afferma di aver letto.

Per poter meglio definire la datazione di questo sermone al periodo della controversia pelagiana (post 415) si effettueranno due diversi confronti: da un lato, con le altre omelie di Gerolamo per mostrare l'assenza di qualsiasi accenno al peccato originale, dall'altro, con le opere anti-pelagiane di Agostino conosciute da Gerolamo, per dimostrarne la vicinanza contenutistica e lessicale.

Del salmo 89 ci sono giunte due omelie di Gerolamo, una nella prima serie di 59 omelie e una nella serie successiva di 14, in cui è contenuta l'esegesi analizzata in precedenza. Anche nell'omelia contenuta nella prima serie, Gerolamo commenta il settimo versetto ("poiché nella tua ira siamo venuti meno, e nel tuo furore siamo stati sconvolti") affermando che in precedenza gli uomini vivevano novecentotrenta anni e giungevamo fino a mille, ma in seguito la vita umana si è ridotta notevolmente.[15] Il commento

A. Canellis, "Saint Jérôme et l'exégèse du *Psaume* 89 (d'après l'*Epistula* 140 à Cyprien, les *Tractatus* et les *Commentarioli*)" in *L'Exégèse de saint Jérôme. Textes recueillis et préparés par Élie Ayroulet et Aline Canellis*, ed. É. Ayroulet e A. Canellis, Saint-Étienne, 2018, pp. 115-129, che tuttavia data le due omelie sul salmo 89 verso l'anno 400, p. 116.

[13] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIIII series altera*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 417.

[14] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos* III, 18, ed. C. Moreschini, Turnhout, 1990 (*CCSL* 80), pp. 122-123.

[15] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIIII*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 122: quia defecimus in ira tua, et in furore tuo turbati sumus. Nongentis triginta annis ante uiuebamus, usque ad mille ueneramus: ecce in breue uita nostra contracta est.

di Gerolamo si concentra sul fatto che la lunghezza della vita umana dai primordi ai nostri giorni si è notevolmente ridotta, ma rispetto all'omelia della *series altera* non vi è alcun accenno né ai peccati personali, né alla caduta di Adamo e alle sue conseguenze (perdita dell'immortalità e trasmissione del peccato originale). Tali assenze sembrano giustificare per questa omelia la tradizionale datazione a prima dello scoppio della controversia pelagiana. Al contempo, il confronto tra le due omelie, offre una prima serie di elementi utili alla datazione durante la controversia pelagiana per l'omelia della *series altera*.

All'interno del *corpus* omiletico geronimiano vi sono altri passi in cui viene preso in esame il peccato di Adamo e le sue conseguenze per il genere umano. Per esempio, nell'omelia della prima serie sul salmo 114, a margine del versetto 7, Gerolamo afferma che Dio ha creato l'uomo buono, ma che per sua libera scelta è precipitato dalla beatitudine del paradiso e che l'uscita dal paradiso è dovuta a una colpa personale.[16] Gerolamo non spiega come sia possibile che ogni uomo sia caduto dalla situazione di primigenia beatitudine, ma pone marcatamente l'accento sulla responsabilità individuale di tale sciagura. Una simile presa di posizione è difficilmente conciliabile, se non apertamente in contrasto, con la dottrina agostiniana del peccato originale. In maniera del tutto simile, commendando il primo versetto del salmo 136, Gerolamo afferma che è per colpa nostra che siamo precipitati dal paradiso.[17]

In almeno altri due passi Gerolamo torna ad occuparsi della caduta di Adamo e della cacciata dal paradiso, aggiungendo qualche nuova sfumatura alla sua spiegazione. Commentando Tr. Ps. 83 (ser. alt.) v. 7, la caduta dal paradiso del genere umano sembra dovuta al solo peccato di Adamo, non si parla infatti di peccati personali, ma di peccato al singolare, in cui gli uomini insieme con Adamo sono caduti.[18] Anche in Tr. Ps. 88 (ser. alt.), Gerolamo si esprime in termini analoghi, se non ancor più espliciti: noi tutti siamo stati cacciati dal paradiso per la prevaricazione di Adamo, la

[16] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo CXIIII*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 237: Deus enim nos bonos creauit, et sui arbitrii reliquit, et omnes cum Adam in paradiso posuit. Sed quia nostro arbitrio a beatitudine illa cecidimus, et uenimus in uallem lacrimarum; propterea iustus animam suam hortatur, ut conuertatur illuc unde descendit.

[17] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVI*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), pp. 295-296: peccator ergo qui cecidit de paradiso, et uenit in uallem lacrimarum, hoc est in Babylonem, in istum mundum, dicit: magis autem propheta ex persona eius qui cecidit dicit: super flumina Babylonis.

[18] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXIII series altera*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 393: errore eiecti sumus de paradiso cum Adam in conuallem lacrimarum, ubi paenitentia, ubi lacrimae sunt.

nostra caduta è avvenuta a causa del peccato del primo Adamo.[19] In questi passi Gerolamo sembra esprimere una sorta di solidarietà tra Adamo e tutto il genere umano che insieme hanno subito la caduta dal paradiso. Tuttavia, Gerolamo si limita a considerare la solidarietà del genere umano con Adamo nei termini della condivisione di una comune sventura, ovvero la cacciata dal paradiso, ma non afferma che tra le conseguenze vi è la trasmissione del peccato di Adamo.

Il passo preso in esame da Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.) sembra rappresentare una sorta di *unicum* all'interno del corpo omiletico geronimiano. È difficile, se non impossibile, sostenere che Gerolamo abbia formulato una simile proposizione sul peccato originale prima dell'incontro con gli scritti anti-pelagiani di Agostino. È Gerolamo stesso, al termine del *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos* (415), a citare tra le fonti agostiniane a sua disposizione il *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* e la lettera 157 di Agostino a Ilario di Siracusa.[20] Si tratta, rispettivamente, del primo trattato anti-pelagiano di Agostino, e di una lettera scritta da Agostino in risposta ai quesiti teologici sollevati da Ilario di Siracusa, in cui affronta alcuni temi della controversia pelagiana. Orosio, inviato da Agostino in Palestina presso Gerolamo, dà lettura di questa lettera in una riunione pubblica tenutasi a Gerusalemme nel 415 per giudicare l'ortodossia di Pelagio,[21] ed estratti da questa lettera sono inseriti nel libello accusatorio contro Pelagio presentato dai suoi avversari nel sinodo di Diospoli del dicembre 415.[22] Sappiamo, inoltre, che il vescovo di Ippona ha inviato direttamente a Gerolamo un altro trattato, il *De natura et gratia*, in cui confuta il *De natura* di Pelagio,[23] oltre ad alcune lettere, tra cui, di particolare importanza dal punto di vista teologico, le lettere 166 e 167 dell'epistolario di Agostino.

All'interno di queste opere sarebbe possibile rintracciare la fonte che ha ispirato Gerolamo nel Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.), in maniera più o meno diretta. Purtroppo, in queste opere Agostino non espone mai la sua esegesi di Sal. 89, 7 in relazione al peccato originale, anche se molti sono i

[19] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIII series altera*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 409: nec hoc dico, sed iuxta apostolum dico, qui affirmat nos omnes in praeuaricatione Adae de paradiso per peccatum fuisse deiectos. Hoc apostolus dicit, Adam etiam in nobis corruisse, qui postea futuri eramus. Ideo nunc in Christo, hoc est caelesti Adam, credimus, qui per peccatum primi Adam de paradiso cecidimus, nunc per secundi Adae iustitiam ad paradisum redeamus.

[20] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Dialogus aduersus Pelagianos* III, 19, ed. C. Moreschini, Turnhout, 1990 (*CCSL* 80), p. 123.

[21] Paulus Orosius, *Liber apologeticus* 3, ed. C. Zangmeister, Vienna, 1882 (*CSEL* 5), p. 607.

[22] Aurelius Augustinus, *De gestis Pelagii* 11, 23, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Praga-Vienna-Lipsia, 1902 (*CSEL* 42), p. 77.

[23] Vedi Aurelius Augustinus, *Epistula* XIX*, 3, ed. J. Divjak, Vienna, 1981 (*CSEL* 84).

passi in cui Agostino tratta della trasmissione del peccato originale a tutto il genere umano.[24] In particolare, nel *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* vi sono alcuni brani che sembrano avere una particolare affinità con il passo dell'omelia geronimiana in esame. Il primo passo (I, 23, 33) si trova nel primo libro, in cui Agostino, tra gli altri argomenti, tratta in particolare della necessità del battesimo per gli infanti per la remissione del peccato originale. Anche i bambini, infatti, nonostante la loro tenera età e l'assenza di peccati personali, sono macchiati del peccato originale, e da questo peccato solo Cristo, il medico, può liberare gli uomini. È interessante notare che Agostino utilizza due sinonimi per indicare il peccato originale: morbo e ira di Dio.[25] Anche se il passo dell'omelia geronimiana non tratta esplicitamente del peccato originale nei bambini, è possibile ritrovare in questo brano agostiniano due elementi comuni all'omelia di Gerolamo: la condanna universale del peccato originale e l'accostamento con l'ira di Dio.

Nel secondo libro del *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* (II, 10, 15), si trova un altro passo particolarmente interessante. Agostino sta affrontando il problema della giustizia umana, ovvero se coloro che sono definiti giusti dalle Scritture sono effettivamente senza peccato, come affermerebbero i pelagiani. Secondo Agostino, giustizia umana non è sinonimo di assenza di peccato, in quanto ogni uomo non solo commette peccati personali, ma è anche macchiato dal peccato originale, come nel caso di Giobbe. Tutti quanti gli elementi presenti nel breve passo geronimiano, ovvero l'ira di Dio per i nostri peccati, per il peccato di Adamo che si trasmette in ogni uomo e la perdita dell'immortalità, si ritrovano anche in questo brano di Agostino: *fragilitatem quoque ipsam uel potius damnationem carnalis generationis ostendens ex originalis transgressione peccati, cum de peccatis suis age-*

[24] Vedi, per esempio: Aurelius Augustinus, *Epistula* CLVII, III, 11-22, ed. A. Goldbacher, Vienna-Lipsia, 1904 (*CSEL* 44), pp. 547-472; Aurelius Augustinus, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruuolorum* I, 9, 9, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Vienna-Lipsia, 1913 (*CSEL* 60), pp. 10-11, e Aurelius Augustinus, *De natura et gratia* 3, 3, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Vienna-Lipsia, 1913 (*CSEL* 60), p. 235. Per un'efficace e dettagliata presentazione della dottrina del peccato originale in Agostino, vedi: M. Lamberigts, "*Peccatum originale*", in *Augustinus Lexikon*, ed. R. Dodaro, C. Mayer, C. Müller e A. Grote, Basilea 2014, vol. III, fasc. ¾, pp. 599-615.

[25] Aurelius Augustinus, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruuolorum* I, 23,33, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Vienna-Lipsia, 1913 (*CSEL* 60), pp. 32-33: cuius medicinalis aduentus non est opus sanis, sed aegrotantibus, quia non uenit vocare iustos, sed peccatores, in cuius regnum non intrabit nisi qui renatus fuerit ex aqua et spiritu nec praeter regnum eius salutem ac uitam possidebit aeternam, quoniam qui non manducauerit carnem eius et qui incredulus est filio, non habebit vitam, sed ira dei manet super eum. Ad hoc peccato, ad hac aegritudine, ad hac ira dei, cuius naturaliter filii sunt, qui etiam si per aetatem non habent proprium, trahunt tamen originale peccatum, non liberat nisi agnus dei qui tollit peccata mundi.

ret, uelut eorum causas reddens dixit hominem natum ex muliere parui esse temporis et plenum iracundia. Qua iracundia, nisi qua sunt omnes, sicut dicit apostolus, naturaliter, hoc est originaliter, irae filii, quoniam filii sunt concupiscentiae carnis et saeculi? Ad ipsam iram pertinere etiam mortem hominis consequenter ostendit, cum enim dixisset: parui est temporis et plenus iracundia, addidit etiam: et, sicut flos cum floruit et decidit, discessit, sicut umbra non manet.[26] Anche se Gerolamo, commentando il salmo 89, non fa riferimento a Giobbe, non è difficile credere che questo passo, letto nel trattato di Agostino, potrebbe averlo influenzato nella predicazione alla sua comunità.

La perdita dell'immortalità, come conseguenza del peccato di Adamo, certamente non è un tema esclusivo della controversia pelagiana, anche se è stato ampiamente dibattuto tra Agostino e i pelagiani.[27] Per esempio, il *De peccatorum meritis et remissione* si apre proprio con una discussione su questa problematica. Agostino riporta che, secondo i pelagiani, Adamo fu creato in modo tale che sarebbe ugualmente morto, anche se non avesse peccato, a causa, evidentemente, della sua natura mortale.[28] Il vescovo di Ippona ritiene che, benché Adamo avesse un corpo terrestre, dunque mortale, al contrario dell'anima spirituale, se non avesse peccato il suo corpo sarebbe stato trasformato in un corpo spirituale, non dovendo così soffrire la punizione della morte.[29] Si tratta proprio di una delle accuse mosse a Pelagio durante il sinodo di Diospoli nel 415.[30] Non è inutile ricordare che tra gli ispiratori del libello accusatorio contro Pelagio si può annoverare anche Gerolamo.[31]

[26] Aurelius Augustinus, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruuolorum* II, 10, 15, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Vienna-Lipsia, 1913 (*CSEL* 60), pp. 86-87.

[27] Anche all'interno del movimento pelagiano le posizioni non erano così compatte, come mostrato da A. Bonner, *The Myth of Pelagianism*, Oxford, 2018, pp. 206-207.

[28] Aurelius Augustinus, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruuolorum* I, 2, 2, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Vienna-Lipsia, 1913 (*CSEL* 60), p. 3: Adam sic creatum, ut etiam sine peccati merito moreretur non poena culpae, sed necessitate naturae.

[29] Aurelius Augustinus, *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruuolorum* I, 2, 2, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Vienna-Lipsia, 1913, (*CSEL* 60), p. 4: quid ergo respondebunt, cum legitur hoc deum primo homini etiam post peccatum increpando et damnando dixisse: terra es et in terra ibis? Neque enim secundum animam, sed, quod manifestum est, secundum corpus terra erat et morte eiusdem corporis erat iturus in terram. Quamuis enim secundum corpus terra esset et corpus in quo creatus est animale gestaret, tamen, si non peccasset, in corpus fuerat spiritale mutandus et in illam incorruptionem, quae fidelibus et sanctis promittitur, sine mortis supplicio transiturus.

[30] Aurelius Augustinus, *De gestis Pelagii* 11, 23, ed. C. F. Urba e I. Zycha, Praga-Vienna-Lipsia, 1902 (*CSEL* 42), p. 76.

[31] C. C. Burnett, "Dysfunction at Diospolis. A Comparative Study of Augustine's *De Gestis Pelagii* and Jerome's *Dialogus Adversus Pelagianos*", in *Augustinian Studies*, 34 (2003), pp. 153-173.

Eco, più o meno lontano, di queste discussioni si ritrova anche nel passo preso in esame del Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.), a cui è necessario aggiungerne un altro passo della stessa omelia. Commentando il decimo versetto, Gerolamo nota come la vita umana si sia gradualmente accorciata, perdendo l'immortalità ricevuta in paradiso, a causa della disobbedienza.[32] Anche in questo caso il confronto con il Tr. in Ps. 89 può essere illuminante. Gerolamo nota anche in questa omelia la riduzione della longevità umana, ma, a differenza del Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.), è assente il collegamento tra la perdita dell'immortalità e la disobbedienza in paradiso. Il commento di Gerolamo, infatti, si concentra sulla spiegazione della simbologia numerica presente nel decimo versetto del salmo 89.[33] Non si tratta, ovviamente, di un indizio conclusivo, anche se la comparsa del tema della perdita dell'originaria immortalità accanto al peccato originale sembra aggiungere un ulteriore elemento a favore del contesto anti-pelagiano per l'omelia della *series altera*.

Per meglio comprendere la diversità di prospettive e di contesti in cui le due omelie sul salmo 89 sono state predicate, potrebbe essere utile un confronto con la lettera 140 a Cipriano in cui viene commentato sempre il salmo 89. Sappiamo che questa lettera è stata scritta nel 414 durante la polemica con Pelagio, cui fanno implicito riferimento alcuni passi della lettera stessa.[34] Come anticipato in precedenza, in Tr. in Ps. 89 Gerolamo interpreta il decimo versetto del salmo spiegando il significato simbolico del numero 7 e del numero 8.[35] È interessante notare che proprio nella lettera 140 a Cipriano, scritta nel 414 nel contesto della controversia pelagiana, Gerolamo rinneghi una simile interpretazione come inutile.[36] Non può, dunque, sorprenderci l'assenza di una tale interpretazione numerolo-

[32] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIIII series altera*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 418: uidete quomodo paulatim humana vita subtracta est. Primo in paradiso acceperamus aeternitatem, quam perdidimus per inobedientiam.

[33] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIIII*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), pp. 123-125.

[34] C. Moreschini, "Il contributo di Gerolamo alla polemica antipelagiana", in *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 3 (1982), pp. 61-71, spec. pp. 69-70. Vedi, per esempio, Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistula CXL*, 21, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna-Lipsia, 1918 (*CSEL* 66), p. 289.

[35] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIIII*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), pp. 123-125. Sulle fonti alessandrine dell'interpretazione geronimiana dei numeri sette e otto, vedi: A. Capone, "Numeri e simboli nell'esegesi geronimiana dei Salmi", *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medioevale*, 59 (2017), pp. 163-182, spec. pp. 172-181.

[36] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistula CXL*, 13, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna-Lipsia, 1918 (*CSEL* 56), p. 283: "sunt, qui istum locum allegorice interpretantes ad sabbati circumcisionisque mysterium referunt, quod primum requiescamus in lege et postea uerae circumcisionis in euangelio sacramenta nos teneant, admonentes et illud: da partem septem et da partem octo et septuaginta milia atque octoginta milia hominum multitudines, a quibus templum sub Salomone constructum est. Sed qui hoc ad praesentem locum, cui sufficit simplex et pura explanatio, quae non doctrinae gloriam in multiplicatione sermonum sed legentis debet intellegentiam quaerere?".

gica nel Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.), predicato in un momento successivo, ovvero durante la controversia pelagiana e dopo la lettera 140 a Cipriano.

All'interno del Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.) sono assenti ulteriori riferimenti a tematiche strettamente legate alla controversia pelagiana. Ciononostante, la contestualizzazione offerta al commento di Ps. 89, 7, ci permette di datare questa omelia tra il 415, anno di arrivo in Palestina delle prime opere anti-pelagiane di Agostino per tramite di Orosio, e la morte di Gerolamo. Questa prima conclusione è di particolare importanza anche per la datazione dell'omelia successiva.[37]

3. Il *Tractatus in Psalmum 90 series altera*

Il Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.) inizia con un riferimento alla spiegazione fornita per il salmo precedente, l'89. Gerolamo ricorda di aver già spiegato, in

[37] Ci si limita a segnalare, a margine di questo studio, un frammento di una perduta omelia sul salmo 93. Oltre Tr. in Ps. 93 e al Tr. in Ps. 93 (ser. alt.), Germain Morin ha pubblicato anche un breve frammento ricopiato al termine dell'ultima pagina del manoscritto Rouen 527 (A. 277). L'omelia, predicata per il giorno di Pasqua, viene attribuita dal manoscritto a Gerolamo, anche se Germain Morin ritiene che sia difficile giudicare la veridicità di tale attribuzione a causa della brevità del brano. Vedi G. Morin, "Les monuments de la prédication de S. Jérôme", in *Études, textes, découvertes: contributions à la littérature et à l'histoire des douze premiers siècles*, ed. G. Morin, Maredsous, 1913, pp. 286-287. In questo frammento, Gerolamo descrive la discesa agli inferi di Cristo, durante la quale ha liberato tutti i giusti, che erano tenuti avvinti dal peccato originale. Eusebius Hieronymus, *Fragmentum Tractatus in psalmum XCIII*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 447: omnes iustos qui originali peccato obstricti tenebantur absoluit. L'esplicito riferimento al peccato originale rende questo testo molto interessante, in quanto, se la paternità geronimiana fosse provata, si andrebbe ad aggiungere al Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.) ed eventualmente al Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.) alle omelie predicate da Gerolamo durante la controversia pelagiana. Si tratterebbe, inoltre, di un ulteriore passo in cui Gerolamo ha preso posizione a favore del peccato originale. Quanto alla paternità geronimiana, questo studio non è in grado di aggiungere nessun nuovo elemento, a parte l'accostamento con il Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.), in cui è presente un esplicito riferimento al peccato originale. Tuttavia, tra le opere di Agostino conosciute da Gerolamo non vi è alcun accenno alla discesa di Cristo agli inferi e alla liberazione dei giusti, ivi rinchiusi, dal peccato originale. Inoltre Agostino è rimasto sempre abbastanza incerto circa la portata della discesa di Cristo negli inferi. Vedi su Agostino: A.-M. La Bonnardière, "Evodius et Augustin. Lettres 163 et 164", in *Saint Augustin et la Bible*, ed. A.-M. La Bonnardière, Parigi 1986, pp. 213-227; P. J. J. Van Geest, "Augustine's Certainty in Speaking about Hell and His Reserve in Explaining Christ's Descent into Hell", in *The Apostle's Creed. 'He Descended into Hell'*, ed. M. Sarot e A. L. H. M. van Wieringen, Leiden-Boston, 2018, pp. 33-53, spec. pp. 48-52. Vedi anche: R. V. Turner, "*Descendit ad inferos*. Medieval Views of Christ's Descent into Hell and the Salvation of the Ancient Just", in *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966), pp. 173-194; M. F. Connell, "*Descensus Christi ad inferos*: Christ's Descent to the Dead", in *Theological Studies*, 62 (2001), pp. 262-282. Al momento, in attesa di ulteriori ricerche o scoperte filologiche a conforto della paternità geronimiana, si è preferito lasciare da parte questo frammento, limitandoci a questa segnalazione in nota.

un'omelia predicata poc'anzi (*proxime*) che nel testo ebraico i salmi dall'88 al 100 privi di titolo sono tutti quanti attribuiti al medesimo autore, Mosè, a cui è intitolato, per l'appunto, il salmo 89.[38] È molto probabile che Gerolamo si riferisca al Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.). Ovviamente non si può escludere del tutto la possibilità che Gerolamo faccia riferimento a un'altra omelia, oggi perduta. Tuttavia, alcuni elementi sembrano suggerire che nel Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.) Gerolamo faccia riferimento proprio al Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.). Questa omelia, infatti, si apre con la spiegazione richiamata brevemente da Gerolamo in Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.). Gerolamo spiega che i salmi sono divisi in cinque libri, e che nel quarto libro è contenuto il salmo che sta commentando, intitolato "preghiera di Mosè". I successivi dieci salmi mancano del titolo, ma secondo la tradizione ebraica sono stati scritti da Mosè.[39] È evidente che si tratta proprio della spiegazione brevemente richiamata all'inizio del Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.).

Inoltre, tramite il confronto con l'altra omelia sul salmo 89 giunta fino a noi, il Tr. in Ps. 89, è possibile offrire ulteriori elementi a favore della nostra ipotesi. In questa omelia, infatti, non c'è alcun riferimento al fatto che una serie di salmi, privi di titolo, sono attribuiti a Mosè come loro autore. L'omelia inizia con la notizia che quattro salmi sono introdotti con

[38] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo XC series altera*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 420: hoc primum scire debemus, quod ab octogesimo octauo usque ad centesimum, hoc est, undecim psalmos in hebraeo titulum non habere; et eos, sicut in superiori psalmo proxime tractauimus, ad eumdem pertinere, ad quem pertinet et ille qui hoc titulo praenotatur: 'Oratio Moysi hominis Dei'.

[39] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIIII series altera*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 414: lectus est octogesimus nonus psalmus, cuius titulus hic est: Oratio Moysi hominis Dei. Quarti libri exordium est, quoniam psalterium in quinque libros diuisum scire debemus. A primo usque quadragesimum liber primus, a quadragesimo usque septuagesimum primum liber secundus, a septuagesimo primo usque ad octogesimum octauum liber tertius, ab octogesimo octauo usque ad centesimum quintum liber quartus, a centesimo quinto usque in finem liber quintus; et ideo quarti libri principium est, Oratio Moysi hominis Dei. Hebraei non solum istum psalmum, sed et alios decem qui sequuntur, quoniam in eis titulus non habetur, putant a Moyse esse conscriptos. Et propterea eos qui sine titulo sunt eius putant esse cuius et ille est, quia ei qui inscriptus est titulo adiacere uidentur. Da notare che in Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt), Gerolamo fa riferimento al salmo 89 e ai dieci seguenti, mentre in Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.) si riferisce al salmo 88 e ai dieci che seguono. Per una diversa divisione dei salmi, si veda Eusebius Hieronymus, *Commentarioli in Psalmos XL*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1959 (*CCSL* 72), p. 208: et sciendum primum librum psalterii hic esse finitum: secundum uero esse a quadragesimo primo usque ad septuagesimum primum: tertium a septuagesimo secundo usque in octogesimum octauum: quartum ab octogesimo nono usque in centesimum quintum: quintum a centesimo sexto usque ad finem. Secondo *Girolamo. 59 Omelie sui Salmi (119-149). Omelie sui salmi, seconda serie*, ed. A. Capone, Roma, 2018, pp. 304-305, n. 2, la confusione nella numerazione potrebbe essere dovuta a un difetto di memoria di Gerolamo.

una preghiera, il salmo 16, il 17, l'89 e il 101.[40] Nel resto dell'omelia non vi è traccia della spiegazione fornita nei Tr. in Ps. 89 e 90 (ser. alt.). Senza dubbio Gerolamo in Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.) non si riferiva a Tr. in Ps. 89. La breve chiosa di Gerolamo in apertura di Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.) sembra proprio riferirsi all'omelia superstite sul salmo 89 della *series altera*. Ritengo, pertanto, che sia possibile datare anche il Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.), predicato poco dopo il Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.), allo stesso periodo in cui abbiamo datato quest'ultima omelia, ovvero tra il 415 e la morte di Gerolamo.

Un ulteriore indizio a favore di questa ipotesi si trova proprio nel Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt.). L'omelia termina con un accorato appello affinché gli uomini siano in grado di vincere le tentazioni diaboliche. Tale potere è dato non solo agli apostoli, come afferma Lc. 10, 19, ma anche agli altri uomini. Si tratta di una capacità che il Signore concede agli uomini donando il soccorso della sua giustizia.[41] Si potrebbero leggere queste affermazioni alla luce della polemica contro Pelagio, accusato da Gerolamo di predicare la possibilità per l'uomo di raggiungere la perfezione senza il soccorso della grazia divina.

4. Conclusioni

In conclusione, questo studio si pone sulla scia delle ipotesi già avanzate da altri studiosi, come Silvano Cola, Giuseppe Caruso e Alessandro Capone, circa la possibilità che alcune omelie di Gerolamo siano state predicate nel contesto della controversia pelagiana. Il nostro contributo si è limitato ai soli Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.) e Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt), il primo dei quali era già stato individuato da Giuseppe Caruso come una delle omelie probabilmente predicate durante la controversia pelagiana, in particolare dopo il 415. A tale ipotesi si è cercato di fornire ulteriori elementi per corroborarla

[40] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo LXXXVIIII*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 118: *quattuor sunt psalmi qui oratione praenotantur: sextus decimus, et qui post eum sequitur, et octogesimus nonus, et centesimus primus*. Nella lettera 140 a Cipriano è possibile ritrovare entrambe le notizie, sia la paternità della serie di salmi a Mosè, sia l'indicazione dei quattro salmi che iniziano con una preghiera, vedi: Eusebius Hieronymus, *Epistula CXL*, 2-4, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna-Lipsia, 1918 (*CSEL* 66), pp. 271-272.

[41] Eusebius Hieronymus, *Tractatus de psalmo XC series altera*, ed. G. Morin, Turnhout, 1958 (*CCSL* 78), p. 424: *quod autem iustis et Deo caris potestas sit, super antiquum et tortuosum calcare serpentem, et omnem exercitum eius pedum calcaneo premere, in euangelio euidentissime inuenimus. Sic enim Dominus ad apostolos ait: 'Ecce dedi uobis potestatem calcandi super serpentes et scorpiones'. Quam potestatem et nobis datam intellegere poterimus, quando nos apostolica conuersatione aduersus eos sciamus adcinctos. Rogemus ergo Dominum, ut qui potestatem dedit iustis, det nobis adhuc paruulis iustitiae adiutorium: ut imitatores simus apostolorum, et eorum meritis adiuuemur, in Christo Iesu Domino nostro*.

in maniera definitiva. Si è, infine, cercato di dimostrare che anche il Tr. in Ps. 90 (ser. alt), predicato subito dopo il Tr. in Ps. 89 (ser. alt.), deve essere datato allo stesso periodo, tra il 415 e la morte di Gerolamo. La presente ricerca invita a rivedere, almeno parzialmente, la tradizionale datazione dei *tractatus* geronimiani al primo decennio del quinto secolo proposta da Germain Morin. Il lavoro qui iniziato, o meglio continuato, potrà essere portato a suo compimento da future ricerche che, a partire da questo studio e da quelli citati, potranno riaffrontare in maniera globale, ma puntuale, la datazione delle omelie geronimiane,[42] che ancora riservano alla critica moderna spunti e spazi di proficuo approfondimento.

Summary

Jerome's homiletic production, from Germain Morin's research onwards, has been traditionally dated around the first decade of the fifth century, namely before the eruption of the Pelagian controversy. However, some scholars, such as Salvatore Cola, Giuseppe Caruso and Alessandro Capone, have questioned the traditional dating of Jerome's homilies, proposing the hypothesis that some of his homilies were preached during the Pelagian controversy. In the present article, we further develop the hypothesis of Giuseppe Caruso, who believes that the *Tractatus in psalmum 89* (*series altera*) would have been preached during the Pelagian controversy, due to the presence of an explicit reference to the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. This hypothesis is further corroborated through the analysis of the entire homiletic corpus of Jerome and through appropriate comparisons with the works of Augustine known to Jerome. Furthermore, we propose the hypothesis that also the following homily, the *Tractatus in psalmum 90* (*series altera*), was composed during the Pelagian controversy. In conclusion, the present research invites to reassess, at least partially, the traditional dating of Jerome's *tractatus* to the first decade of the fifth century, as proposed by Germain Morin, and to consider also the Pelagian controversy as the possible theological context during which Jerome preached some of his homilies.

[42] Mi pare utile riprendere, in conclusione di questa ricerca, le osservazioni di Alessandro Capone che ha giustamente affermato che "se si possono isolare gruppi di omelie provenienti da cicli differenti, è ragionevole supporre che le due grandi raccolte siano state assemblate in ordine di successione in una fase non meglio definibile della tradizione e che quindi non corrispondano a *corpora* antichi", vedi: A. Capone, "Scomposizione e composizione dei *Tractatus in psalmos* di Gerolamo", in *L'Exégèse de saint Jérôme. Textes recueillis et préparés par Élie Ayroulet et Aline Canellis*, ed. É. Ayroulet e A. Canellis, Saint-Étienne, 2018, pp. 130-149, pp. 148-149.

Sommario

La produzione omiletica di Gerolamo, a partire dalle ricerche di Germain Morin, è stata generalmente datata attorno al primo decennio del quinto secolo, ovvero prima dello scoppio della controversia pelagiana. Tuttavia, alcuni studiosi, tra cui Salvatore Cola, Giuseppe Caruso e Alessandro Capone hanno messo in discussione la tradizionale datazione delle omelie di Gerolamo, avanzando l'ipotesi che alcune di esse siano state composte durante la controversia pelagiana. Nel presente contributo, ci proponiamo di approfondire ulteriormente l'ipotesi di Giuseppe Caruso secondo cui il *Tractatus in psalmum 89* (*series altera*) sarebbe stato predicato durante la controversia pelagiana, in quanto in esso è contenuto un esplicito riferimento alla dottrina del peccato originale di matrice agostiniana. Tale ipotesi viene ulteriormente corroborata tramite l'analisi dell'intero corpus omiletico geronimiano e tramite alcuni opportuni raffronti con le opere di Agostino conosciute da Gerolamo. Inoltre, è stata proposta l'ipotesi che anche la successiva omelia, il *Tractatus in psalmum 90* (*series altera*), sia stata composta durante il periodo della controversia pelagiana. In conclusione, la presente ricerca invita a rivedere, almeno parzialmente, la tradizionale datazione dei *tractatus* geronimiani al primo decennio del quinto secolo proposta da Germain Morin e a considerare anche la controversia pelagiana come uno dei contesti teologici durante i quali Gerolamo ha predicato alcune delle sue omelie.

Giulio Malavasi
malavasi.giulio@gmail.com

Ritual Performance and Christian Belonging: Signing Foreheads with the Cross in the Writings of Augustine of Hippo

Matthieu Pignot

(*Namur*)

Catechumens were a significant, if little-studied, group within early Christian communities. In late Antiquity, baptism was not routinely performed on infants and children to mark their belonging to the Christian community, but Christian membership was acquired as a norm in adulthood after a period of initiation during which candidates had the status of catechumens. This constituted the first step in their progressive integration into the community.[1] Catechumens were thus part of the Christian community but were not yet baptised nor fully initiated. This peculiar status at the margins of Christianity offers an opportunity to understand better how the boundaries of early Christian communities were defined and to explore the role that was played by rites of incorporation besides baptism in this process.

While studies abound on the sign of the cross in early Christianity, less attention has been devoted to the practice and significance of signing foreheads with the cross in the ritual integration of newcomers to Christianity, and in particular the emotions and social behaviour associated with the rite, scholars mainly noting the role of the rite in baptismal ceremonies.[2]

[1] See the studies quoted in note 3, and an overview on the early Christian catechumenate with bibliography in M. Metzger, W. Drews, and H. Brakmann, "Katechumenat", in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 20 (2004), col. 497-574.

[2] For surveys, with sources and bibliography: F. J. Dölger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Kreuzzeichens", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 1 (1958), pp. 5-19; 2 (1959), pp. 15-29; 3 (1960), pp. 5-16; 4 (1961), pp. 5-17; 5 (1962), pp. 5-22; 6 (1963), pp. 7-34; 7 (1964), pp. 5-38; 8-9 (1965-1966), pp. 7-52; 10 (1967), pp. 7-29; J. Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie*, Paris, 1958, pp. 76-96; C. Vogel, "La signation dans l'Église des premiers siècles", *La Maison-Dieu*, 75 (1963), pp. 37-51; E. Dinkler, *Signum Crucis: Aufsätze zum Neuen Testament und zur Christlichen Archäologie*, Tübingen, 1967, pp. 26-75; A. Heinz, "Kreuzzeichen", in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche* 6 (1997), col. 468-469; S. Heid, "Kreuz", in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 21 (2006), col. 1099-1148 at 1126-1128 and 1137-1139; I. Garipzanov, *Graphic Signs of Authority in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford, 2018, pp. 81-105 (for archaeological evidence with a particular focus on the apotropaic power of the

This article will show, however, that in the currently preserved literary production of Augustine of Hippo (354-430), this rite is relevant from the beginning of the catechumenate as a major marker of religious affiliation, its connection to the forehead being exploited to reflect more broadly on the social emotion of shame and how it could help shaping the behaviour of Christians. There is no detailed investigation on Augustine's discussion and interpretation of the rite as a core feature of Christian membership.[3] Yet Augustine's production, in particular his sermons, provide a rare occasion to trace its significance, thanks to the exceptional abundance of the evidence. Augustine's detailed interpretations play on the link between ritual performance, social emotions and religious belonging. As a case study, this article will show how the rite was used by the bishop to include catechumens in his pastoral care and to develop normative views on Christian membership, thus aiming at greater cohesion in the community in a context of religious division. Without limiting the enquiry to explicit references to catechumens but investigating Augustine's thinking about the

cross). This rite should not be confused with the consignation made with oil after baptism to bestow the Holy Spirit, see P. Galtier, "La consignation à Carthage et à Rome", *Recherches de science religieuse*, 2 (1911), pp. 350-383 at 369-371.

[3] The rite is briefly discussed in M. Pontet, *L'Exégèse de saint Augustin prédicateur*, Paris, 1945, pp. 366-369; H. Rondet, "*Miscellanea Augustiniana.* La croix sur le front", *Recherches de science religieuse*, 42 (1954), pp. 388-394; Dölger, "Beiträge" (1961), pp. 12-16; J. Hammerstaedt, "Crux", in *Augustinus-Lexikon* 2, fasc. 1/2 (1996), col. 146-152, at 147-150; D. Pagliacci, *Sant'Agostino, La croce* (Rome, 2005), 18-19, and in studies on the admission into the catechumenate, in particular: W. Roetzer, *Des heiligen Augustinus Schriften als Liturgie-Geschichtliche Quelle. Eine Liturgie-Geschichtliche Studie,* Munich, 1930, 139-141; B. Busch, "De initiatione christiana secundum sanctum Augustinum", *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 52 (1938), pp. 159-178 and 358-483, at 404-423; F. Van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop: The Life and Work of a Father of the Church*, translated by B. Battershaw and G. R. Lamb, London, 1961, pp. 353-357; Th. Maertens, *Histoire et pastorale du rituel du catéchuménat et du baptême*, Bruges, 1962, pp. 114-115 and 122-125; R. De Latte, "Saint Augustin et le baptême: étude liturgico-historique du rituel baptismal des adultes chez Saint Augustin", *Questions Liturgiques*, 56 (1975), pp. 177-223 at 178-191; J. E. Latham, *The religious symbolism of salt*, Paris, 1982, pp. 98-103; V. Saxer, *Les rites de l'initiation chrétienne du IIe au VIe siècle. Esquisse historique et signification d'après leurs principaux temoins*, Spoleto, 1988, pp. 381-399; G. Cavallotto, *Catecumenato antico. Diventare cristiani secondo i padri*, Bologna, 1996, pp. 164-194; E. Lamirande, "Catechumenus", in *Augustinus-Lexikon* 1, fasc. 5/6 (1992), col. 788-794; P. Gavrilyuk, *Histoire du catéchuménat dans l'Église ancienne*, Paris, 2007, pp. 278-287; E. Ferguson, *Baptism in the Early Church: History, Theology and Liturgy in the First Five Centuries*, Grand Rapids MI, 2009, pp. 779-780; W. Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate*, 2nd edition, Collegeville MN, 2014, pp. 91, 174, 271-273 (1st edition 1995); *Christianity in Roman Africa. The Development of Its Practices and Beliefs,* ed. by R. Jensen, J. Patout Burns Jr, Grand Rapids MI-Cambridge, 2015, pp. 202-204; E. A. Eguiarte, "San Agustín y la iniciación cristiana", *Augustinus* 61 (2016), 53-110 at 57 and 80; M. Brons, *Augustins Trinitätslehre praktisch: Katechese, Liturgie, Predigt* (Tübingen, 2017), pp. 72-74.

rite in general, this article first provides a brief presentation of the concrete practice of signing on the forehead in Augustine's writings and then explores in detail how it is interpreted and what significance the rite had for Christians in Augustine's community.[4] This study sheds light more broadly on the progressive nature of Christian belonging and highlights at the same time how the rite counterbalanced to some extent the significance of baptism for the process of community formation.

1. The Practice

The first performance of the sign of the cross on the forehead happened when new recruits to the Christian community were admitted into the catechumenate. Augustine's treatise *De catechizandis rudibus*, describing the first catechesis and the ceremony of admission of new converts, particularly refers to this rite as a landmark of the ritual process. Augustine explains that converts to Christianity would first receive catechesis on the history of salvation from creation to Christ's resurrection. Then, when the candidate agreed to all points presented in this first catechesis, he was ready to undergo a number of solemn rites: a laying of hands, a giving of salt, and a signing with the cross: "You should of course sign him, with due ceremony, and deal with him in accordance with the custom of the Church".[5] In the catechesis itself, Augustine again emphasises the significance of this ritual as a religious sign shared by all Christians.[6] The other most famous passage about these entrance rites is found in the *Confessiones*, in which Augustine refers to his own experience. The rite is performed on Augustine at an unknown time when he is a boy, most probably on his mother's initiative, and includes a sign of the cross and a seasoning of salt.[7] Augustine often emphasised that the rite of the cross put on the forehead was shared by all Christians and defined the catechumens' membership from the time of enrolment, as much as that of baptised Christians. In a sermon preached the tenth of August, perhaps in Carthage, Augustine noted:

[4] Our study focuses on explicit references to the rite performed on the forehead; other instances, in which Augustine refers to signation without precision and in a generic way, are not considered here.

[5] *Cat. rud.* (= *De catechizandis rudibus*) 26, 50 (*CCSL* 46, p. 173): "sollemniter utique signandus est et ecclesiae more tractandus" (translation J. P. Christopher, *Ancient Church Writers* 2 (1946), p. 82 adapted; comments on *sacramentum* at 108-109 note 87 with bibliography).

[6] See note 88.

[7] *Conf.* (= *Confessiones*) I, 11.17 (*CCSL* 27 (1981), p. 9): "audieram enim ego adhuc puer de vita aeterna [...] et signabar iam signo crucis eius et condiebar eius sale".

> [...] when we became Christians, we gave our name to Christ and submitted our foreheads to such a sign [...]. You're a Christian, you carry on your forehead the cross of Christ. [...] from this sign, from this stamp which Christians receive as well when they become catechumens, here is to be understood why we are Christians.[8]

To become a catechumen (*catechumenus*) was truly to become a Christian and the main rite and distinctive feature of this membership was to receive the cross on the forehead.[9] The rite was however also essential in the preparation for baptism: in the quoted passage, the connection of the cross with the giving of one's name to Christ most probably refers to the process of admission of candidates as *competentes* – when they were required to give their name (*dare nomen*) to prepare for baptism at the beginning of Lent, with baptism at Easter.[10] Thus, as for the Lord's Prayer and the creed which were first handed out to candidates to baptism and only then could be recited by them,[11] placing the cross on the forehead of the newly enrolled catechumens manifested the progressive acquisition of Christian

[8] *S.* (= *Sermo*) 302, 3 (*Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia* 1 (1950), p. 102): "quando christiani facti sumus, propter mala ista devitanda, vel bona ista adipiscenda, nomen Christo dedimus, et frontem tanto signo subiecimus [...] Christianus es, in fronte portas crucem Christi. [...] ab isto signo, ab isto charactere quem accipit christianus etiam cum fit catechumenus, hinc intellegitur quare simus christiani" (translation: E. Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine* III/8 (1994), pp. 301-302 adapted). Perhaps dating from 411-412, see B. Pieri, *Aurelii Augustini Sermo CCCII*, Bologna, 1998, pp. 32-35 and P.-M. Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Paris, 2000, pp. 495-506 who argues for 412 and presents other hypotheses. See as well *Io. eu. tr.*(= *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus*) 44, 2 (around 414-415, in a series including *Io. eu. tr.* 17-19 and 24-54, see M.-F. Berrouard, "La date des *Tractatus I-LIV in Iohannis Evangelium* de saint Augustin", *Recherches augustiniennes*, 7 (1971), pp. 105-168, at 121-168; *BA* 72 (1977), pp. 26-41 reprinted in M.-F. Berrouard, *Introduction aux homélies de saint Augustin sur l'Évangile de saint Jean*, Paris, 2004, pp. 90-99; *BA* 73A (1988), pp. 9-15). Augustine however sometimes employed *christianus* only for the baptised (*Io. eu. tr.* 11, 4), see Lamirande, "Catechumenus".

[9] Other early Christian authors also refer to the rite as a major marker of belonging, but generally connect it to the baptismal ceremonies, see studies quoted in note 2. Augustine provides rare evidence to corroborate the importance of the rite since the very beginning of the catechumenate.

[10] Augustine consistently distinguishes between the *catechumeni*, those who have entered the catechumenate but do not yet prepare baptism, and the *competentes*, the candidates preparing for baptism (see *F. et op.* 6.9; *S.* 392, 2; *S.* 216; *S.* 228, 1; *S.* 229, 1; for the use of *competentes* in the preparation: *S.* 56-59; see the discussion of this distinction in S. Poque, "Trois semaines de prédication à Hippone en février-mars 407. Le *Tractatus in Iohannis Euangelium XI* et l'appel aux catéchumènes", *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 7 (1971), pp. 169-187, at 178-183; Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate*, p. 295).

[11] See *S.* 56-59 and 212-215; *De Symbolo ad catechumenos*. *S.* 59, 4.7 to *competentes* even makes a clear distinction between *reddere* (recite) and *orare* (pray): candidates can pray only after they are reborn as sons of God.

membership and enabled them, in turn, to show their belonging to Christianity and veneration of God by signing themselves. Augustine in fact did not always make an explicit distinction between the sign performed on catechumens by clerics and the practice of signing one's forehead.[12]

When referring to the rite, Augustine employs a quite consistent vocabulary, which however remains generic and does not provide clear evidence on how the rite was performed.[13] The cross is generally referred as the *signum crucis*, *signum Christi*, or simply the cross (*crux*, *lignum*) or a sign (*signum*), sometimes more precisely as the sign of the Passion, or the blood of Christ linked with the exegesis of Exodus 12, 22-23.[14] Some exceptions are noticeable, such as the unique *signum gratiae*, *sacramentum fidei* used to refer to the rite in a description of the initiation of catechumens, and *character* applied to the sign of the cross in three sermons – although it generally designates baptism, particularly in the controversy against Donatists.[15] Augustine often describes the sign as being carried on the forehead (*portare*) in the active and passive forms,[16] sometimes using verbs referring to the same idea (*habere*, *gestare*, *gerere*) conveying a sense of a mark that

[12] Explicit references to signing oneself on the forehead in particular in: *Ep.* 158, 2 (Evodius to Augustine, explaning that after the forehead, the dying *notarius* attempted to sign his mouth); *Io. eu. tr.* 11, 4 (about catechumens); *S.* 32, 13.

[13] Early medieval liturgical sources from the West – often the only available evidence on ritual gestures – specify that the rite is performed by clerics on the forehead of catechumens with the thumb (*Ordo* XI, 3, see Vogel, "La signation", pp. 49-51).

[14] *Conf.* VIII, 2.3 (about Victorinus' conversion); *C. Faust.* (= *Contra Faustum*) VI, 9.2; *In Ps.* (= *Enarrationes in Psalmos*) 32, II, 2, 13; *In Ps.* 34, II, 8; *In Ps.* 36, II, 4; *In Ps.* 41, 2; *In Ps.* 46, 2; *In Ps.* 48, II, 2; *In Ps.* 54, 12; *In Ps.* 56, 3; *In Ps.* 59, 9; *In Ps.* 68, I, 12; *In Ps.* 69, 2; *In Ps.* 73, 6; *In Ps.* 75, 10; *In Ps.* 85, 14 *In Ps.* 95, 2; *In Ps.* 141, 9; *In Ps.* 143, 2; *Io. eu. tr.* 3, 2; *Io. eu. tr.* 11, 3 (about catechumens); *Io. eu. tr.* 36, 4; *Io. eu. tr.* 43, 9; *Io. eu. tr.* 50, 2; *Io. eu. tr.* 53, 13; *Io. eu. tr.* 55, 1; *Io. eu. tr.* 118, 5 (about catechumens); *S.* 27, 6; *S.* 32, 12; *S.* 51, 1.2; *S.* 88, 9.8; *S.* 97A (= Bibl. cas. II, 114-115), 3 (about catechumens); *S.* 107, 6.7; *S.* 160, 5-6; *S.* 174, 3; *S.* 215, 5 (to candidates for baptism); *S.* 218C (= Morin Guelf. 3), 4; *S.* 272A (fragment), 1; *S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 8 (to catechumens); *S.* 302, 3 (to catechumens); *S.* 335D (= Lambot 6), 3; *S.* 342, 1; *S.* 360B (= Dolbeau 25), 24. Passion: *Cat. rud.* 20, 34 (to catechumens); *C. Faust.* XII, 30; *In Ps.* 86, 6; *Io eu. tr.* 50, 2.

[15] *S.* 335K (= Lambot 21), 5; *S.* 352A (= Dolbeau 14), 3; *S.* 302, 3 (for *character* see Pieri, *Aurelii Augustini*, 131) and *S.* 317, 4.5 (about Stephen who carries the sign on his forehead). *S.* 352A, 3 perhaps dates from 413 and is part of the debate about moral requirements for candidates to baptism further developed in *De fide et operibus* (on which see with bibliography: M. Pignot, "Setting Rules for Becoming Christian: Augustine's Polemical Treatise *De fide et operibus* in Context", *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 64/1 (2018), pp. 73-114).

[16] *In Ps.* 32, II, 2, 13; *In Ps.* 41, 2; *In Ps.* 48, II, 2; *In Ps.* 50, 1; *In Ps.* 59, 9; *In Ps.* 69, 2; *In Ps.* 85, 14; *Io. eu. tr.* 11, 3 (about catechumens); *S.* 27, 6; *S.* 32, 12; *S.* 88, 9.8; *S.* 107, 6.7; *S.* 160, 5-6; *S.* 302, 3 (to catechumens).

was permanently part of the individual's identity.[17] Augustine also employs verbs to describe the performance of the rite, often considering that it belongs to, and is thus conferred by, Christ. About the gesture, he most frequently resorts, either in the active or passive voice, to *signare* – and the noun *signatio* –[18] and *figere*,[19] the latter perhaps because of its meaning of "fastening" and "attaching" that both well conveys the idea of Christian belonging and the natural connection with the cross and crucifixion – originally *crucem figere*. Other verbs refer to Christ's action but without a specific technical meaning,[20] while in a number of cases, Augustine seems to describe the passive reception of the rite (*accipere*, *adhibere*, *collocare*), particularly in sermons focusing on the initiation process.[21] The rare *depingere* ("to draw") is even used once about the rite made on catechumens, emphasising the visibility of the mark.[22]

Influences from pre-Christian religious practices can be traced and broader comparisons can be made – and were indeed made by Christians themselves to interpret the rites – with the practice of signing soldiers or branding slaves to mark ownership.[23] Evidence for the signing of the fore-

[17] *Habere*: *In Ps.* 86, 6; *In Ps.* 143, 2; *Io eu. tr.* 7, 7; *Io. eu. tr.* 11, 4 (about catechumens); *Io eu. tr.* 50, 2; *S.* 32, 12; *S.* 335K (= Lambot 21), 5. *Gestare*: *Io. eu. tr.* 3, 2; *S.* 342, 1. *Gerere*: *S.* 97A (= Bibl. cas. II 114-115), 3 (about catechumens).

[18] *Signare*: *Cat. rud.* 20, 34; *C. Faust.* XII, 30; *In Ps.* 46, 2; *In Ps.* 69, 2; *Io. eu. tr.* 50, 2; *S.* 107, 6.7; *S.* 272A (fragment), 1; *S.* 335D (= Lambot 6), 3; *S.* 352A (= Dolbeau 14), 3 (about catechumens).

[19] *Figere*: *C. Faust.* VI, 9.2; *In Ps.* 30, II, 2, 7; *Ps.* 34, II, 8; *In Ps.* 54, 12; *In Ps.* 75, 10; *In Ps.* 95, 2; *Io. eu. tr.* 43, 9; *Io. eu. tr.* 53, 13; *S.* 174, 3; *S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 8 (to catechumens).

[20] *Constituere: In Ps.* 141, 9; *Ponere*: *Io. eu. tr.* 36, 4; *S.* 317, 4.5.

[21] *Accipere*: *S.* 160, 5-6; *S.* 215, 5 (to candidates preparing for baptism); *S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 8 (to catechumens); *Adhibere*: *Io. eu. tr.* 118, 5 (about catechumens); *Collocare*: *S.* 218C (= Morin Guelf. 3), 4.

[22] *S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 8 (to catechumens). A brief analysis of Augustine's vocabulary in L. Renaut, *Marquage corporel et signation religieuse dans l'Antiquité*, PhD thesis, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 2004, pp. 781-782.

[23] See F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis: eine altchristliche Taufbezeichnung in ihren Beziehungen zur profanen und religiösen Kultur des Altertums*, Paderborn, 1911, pp. 23-37; F. J. Dölger, "*Sacramentum militiae.* Das Kennmal der Soldaten, Waffenschmiede und Wasserwächter nach Texten frühchristlicher Literatur", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 2 (1930), pp. 268-280; C. P. Jones, "*Stigma:* Tattooing and Branding in Graeco-Roman Antiquity", *Journal of Roman Studies*, 77 (1987), pp. 139-155, esp. 147-150; M. Gustafson, "The Tattoo in the Later Roman Empire and Beyond", in *Written on the Body: the Tattoo in European and American History*, ed. by J. Caplan, Princeton NJ, 2000, pp. 17-32; Y. Rivière, "Recherche et identification des esclaves fugitifs dans l'Empire Romain", in *L'information et la mer dans le monde antique*, ed. by J. Andreau, C. Virlouvet, Rome, 2002, pp. 115-196; Renaut, *Marquage*, pp. 357-404 and 783 mentioning Augustine's contrast between the soldier's tatooing and baptism in the Donatist controversy (*Contra Litteram Parmeniani* II, 13.29). Jerome, *In*

head among Christians is available in earlier and later literary evidence in Africa and elsewhere, clearly pointing to the rite as a widespread and significant marker of belonging, associated with a power of exorcism, and employed in Christian initiation.[24] The first references to the sign of the cross in baptismal initiation are in Tertullian, and later in Cyprian and the *Apostolic Tradition*,[25] while later western sources clearly point to the use of the cross to mark catechumens, without evidence for the concrete gesture however.[26] Other contemporaries also corroborate Augustine's mention of the fact that individuals signed themselves on the forehead for the recitation of the creed.[27]

The emphasis on the visibility of the rite in Augustine, and parallels from other sources, has led a number of scholars to suggest that the cross could have been painted or even tattooed on the forehead.[28] Scholars arguing for the visibility of the marking in Augustine's Africa include Maurice

Esaiam XV, 55, 12.13 (*CCSL* 73A (1963), p. 629) clearly relates the rite with slave branding, telling that Christians are branded with the sign of the cross: "crucis eius inurantur cauterio". On Jewish cross-shaped signation and its possible influence on Christianity, see Dinkler, *Signum Crucis*, pp. 27-35 criticised by Renaut, *Marquage,* pp. 777-779.

[24] For Christian North Africa, the daily practice is first attested in Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* III, 22; *De Corona* 3, 4 (see Rondet, "*Miscellanea Agostiniana*", p. 391; Dölger, "Beiträge" (1958), pp. 5-13; P. Erny, "Le signe de la croix chez Tertullien", *Présence orthodoxe*, 79 (1988), pp. 19-28; Renaut, *Marquage,* 764-765 and É. Rebillard, *Christians and their Many Identities in Late Antiquity, North Africa, 200-450 C.E.*, Ithaca NY, 2012, p. 18 discussing Tertullian's references to the rite in daily behaviour as a positive display of Christian identity. According to Dölger, "*Sacramentum militiae*", p. 271 Tertullian perhaps refers to the practice among followers of Mithras in *De praescriptionibus haereticorum* 40 although this has been recently questioned by L. Renaut, "Les initiés aux mystères de Mithra étaient-ils marqués au front? Pour une relecture de Tertullien, De praescr. 40, 4", in *Religioni in contatto nel Mediterraneo antico. Modalità di diffusione e processi di interferenza,* Atti del 3° colloquio su "Le religioni orientali nel mondo greco e romano" (Loveno di Maggio, Como, 26-28 maggio 2006), ed. by C. Bonnet, S. Ribichini, D. Steuernagel, Rome, 2007, pp. 171-190, but see the reservations of J.-C. Fredouille, "Chronica Tertullianea et Cyprianea", *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques*, 55 (2009), p. 300.

[25] Tertullian, *De resurrectione mortuorum* 8, 3 (see more in Renaut, *Marquage,* pp. 772-776 and our note 85).

[26] Ambrose, *De Mysteriis* IV, 20; Severus of Minorca, *Epistula* 17; Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 121, 8; (Quodvultdeus of Carthage), *De symbolo* 1, 1 and 3, 1. See note 2 for bibliography.

[27] Ambrose, *Explanatio symboli* 3; Rufinus, *Apologia contra Hieronymum* I, 5; Peter Chrysologus, *Sermones* 56, 5; 57, 16; 58, 2; 59, 18; 61, 2; 62, 3.

[28] F. J. Dölger, "Kreuz-Tätowierung im christlichen Altertum", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 1 (1929), pp. 202-211 at 208 and G. Morin, *Miscellanea Agostiniana* I, Rome, 1930, p. 89, n. 6 both record modern accounts of Western travellers witnessing cross-shaped tattoos put on the forehead by locals in Algeria (a practice also attested elsewhere and relating to pre-Christian rituals, as shown in Renaut, *Marquage*, esp. pp. 791-792).

Pontet, Henri Rondet, Franz Joseph Dölger and Thierry Maertens.[29] Rondet evokes Augustine's explanation of Psalm 147, where it is mentioned that pagans recognise Christians by their *frons* as supposed proof for a visible sign.[30] However, the passage may simply mean that they recognise them because their face (*frons* can have this meaning) is known to them.[31] Archaeological evidence of ancient statues with crosses carved on the forehead has also been brought into the discussion[32] and statues bearing cross-shaped signs have been connected by scholars to the Christian rite of initiation. There is little evidence, however, to clearly relate these markings to specific religious rituals, and such statues cannot be used to corroborate the hypothesis of the visibility of mark on foreheads of individuals. The statues preserved show that crosses were frequently put on other parts of the body as well and the practice, attested in rare literary evidence,[33] was meant to purify the statues, and/or reuse them in the progressive Christianisation of landscape.[34] Benedict Busch, André Mandouze, Marie-François Berrouard and Luc Renaut have thus rejected the idea that the sign was visible and permanent, while Suzanne Poque noted that the emphasis on the concrete gesture and the interpretations playing on the outwardness and inwardness of the sign do not imply that it left a visible, permanent sign.[35] Despite all these reservations, the possibility that the mark was made visible, if only temporarily, needs to be taken into account – and is not incompatible with the practice of signing oneself – although we lack of straightforward evi-

[29] Pontet, *L'Exégèse*, pp. 366-367 n. 204; Rondet, "*Miscellanea Augustiniana*", pp. 390-393; Dölger, "Beiträge" (1961), p. 12; Maertens, *Histoire et pastorale*, p. 122.

[30] Rondet, "*Miscellanea Augustiniana*", p. 392.

[31] *In Ps.* 147, 8 (*CSEL* 95/5 (2005): "cognoscunt ipso habitu vel vestis vel capitis, vel fronte notos habent". This is as well highlighted in Renaut, *Marquage*, p. 783. Brons, *Augustins Trinitätslehre*, p. 73 n. 97 highlights that an alternative reading in manuscripts is "forte notos" (perhaps known).

[32] Following F. J. Dölger, "Die antiken Köpfe mit dem stehenden und liegenden Kreuz", *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*, 2 (1930), pp. 281-296.

[33] See Julian the Apostate, *Epistula* 19.

[34] See a recent catalogue of 50 late antique statues (24 with crosses on the head), with discussion, in T. M. Kristensen, "Miraculous Bodies: Christian Viewers and the Transformation of 'Pagan' Culture in Late Antiquity", in *Patrons and Viewers n Late Antiquity*, Aahrus, 2012, ed. by S. Birk and B. Poulsen, pp. 31-66 (bibliography on earlier studies at 31, n. 1) with additions (in 2015 and 2016) on the academia.edu page of the author, last consulted 21/10/19 (I owe knowledge of this work to the kindness of Ine Jacobs).

[35] Busch, "De initiatione", pp. 417-418; S. Poque, *SC* 116 (1966), 22 n. 4; A. Mandouze, *Saint Augustin. L'aventure de la raison et de la grâce*, Paris, 1968, p. 84 n. 3; M.-F. Berrouard, *BA* 71 (1969), p. 210 n. 2; Renaut, *Marquage*, p. 780. See as well: G. Madec, *Le Christ de saint Augustin: La patrie et la voie*, Paris, 2001, p. 29; Hammerstaedt, "Crux", pp. 147-148.

dence in Augustine regarding the concrete way the sign was put on the forehead of candidates, whether it was with clean hands or anything else.[36]

In any case, the repetition of the rite would have certainly provided a way to assert membership, almost as powerful as a permanent sign. The rite was therefore often employed in Augustine's preaching to foster a sense of Christian belonging among catechumens and baptised Christians alike. What mattered for Augustine was that the sign was placed on the forehead, thus visible to everyone, serving as a powerful way of asserting one's religious belonging. As Augustine tells to catechumens in a sermon preached probably in 406-407 in Hippo, the sign of the cross on the forehead concretely showed one's belonging to the Christian community.[37] Later, dictating a homily on the Gospel of John around 420 to be sent to Carthage, Augustine summarised the central role played by the cross, stating that the sign is first put on the forehead of believers, and then performed during their initiation, more generally making all rites efficient.[38] Thus, over the

[36] In the third century, Minucius Felix, *Octavius* 31, 8 rejects the practice of tattooing the body with the cross and later sources also reject this practice, notably the so-called *Canons of saint Basil* (see Renaut, *Marquage,* pp. 794-795). However in Mark the Deacon, *Vita Porphyrii* 82 the painting of a visible but not permanent mark is mentioned as a protective sign painted on the middle of foreheads, the right hand and the right shoulder of three boys aged around seven who miraculously survived falling in a well (see further references on markings with crosses in later Chritian sources in Dölger, "Kreuz-Tätowierung", pp. 204-208; Heid, "Kreuz", col. 1136-1139; Renaut, *Marquage*, pp. 788-813).

[37] *Io. eu. tr.* 3, 2 (*CCSL* 36 (1954), p. 20): "Et si Christiani, utique ipso nomine ad Christum pertinentes. Huius signum in fronte gestamus". This homily is part of a series alternating the first sixteen homilies on John (*Io. eu. tr.* 1-12) with *In Ps.* 119-133, *In Ps.* 95 and 20, II, shortly followed by *Ep. Io. tr* and *Io. eu. tr.* 13-16. Most scholars agree that the series should be situated between 405-411 (see H. Müller, "Enarrationes in Psalmos. A. Philologische Aspekte", *Augustinus Lexikon*, 2, fasc. 5/6 (2001), col. 804-838, at 825), particularly because of intense polemics against Donatists. For the series and the hypotheses of dating see M. Le Landais, "Deux années de prédication de saint Augustin. Introduction à la lecture de l'In Ioannem", in H. Rondet, M. Le Landais, A. Lauras, C. Couturier, *Études augustiniennes*, Paris, 1953), 7-95 (identified the series and suggested 414-415, situating it in Hippo); A.-M. La Bonnardière, *Recherches de chronologie augustinienne*, Paris, 1965, pp. 19-62 (first suggested 406-407); M.-F. Berrouard, *BA* 71 (1969), pp. 29-36 and 78-113 reprinted in Berrouard, *Introduction aux homélies*, pp. 22-27 and 55-78; Berrouard, "La date des *Tractatus*"; S. Poque, "Trois semaines" (refining the dates of *Io. eu. tr.* 7-12). For a study: Harmless, *Augustine and the Catechumenate*, pp. 235-283. For a summary of scholarship on *Io. eu. tr.* see D. J. Milewski, "Augustine's 124 Tractates on the Gospel of John: The *Status Quaestionis* and the State of Neglect", *Augustinian Studies*, 33/1 (2002), pp. 61-77.

[38] *Io. eu. tr.* 118, 5 (*CCSL* 36 (1954), p. 657): "quod signum nisi adhibeatur sive frontibus credentium, sive ipsi aquae ex qua regenerantur, sive oleo quo chrismate unguuntur, sive sacrificio quo aluntur, nihil eorum rite perficitur". For the dating of the whole series of *Io. eu. tr.* 55-124 see M.-F. Berrouard, *BA* 74A (1993), pp. 9-49 reprinted in Berrouard, *Introduction aux homélies*, pp. 177-194).

whole course of his life Augustine emphasised the significance of performing the rite for asserting Christian membership and he frequently referred to it, providing a rare opportunity, beyond evidence about concrete practices, to understand better the role that it played within his community.

2. Augustine's Interpretations of the Rite and its Use in Pastoral Care

a. Being Christian without Shame

Almost all of the numerous descriptions or allusions to the rite are found in Augustine's preaching, mostly to the people, in Hippo, Carthage and elsewhere, with the exception of a few references in the *De catechizandis rudibus* and the *Contra Faustum*, and one allusion in the *Confessiones* – the works that are most informative about the process of admission into the catechumenate. Almost always, except when the rite is directly related to the liturgical context and ritual practice, references to the sign of the cross on the forehead arise when Augustine comments on a biblical passage. More precisely, this occurs generally when commenting on passages which can be figuratively understood as referring to the cross and, most often, the reference to the cross leads to a commentary on the Passion of Christ. In some cases, however, the commentary is drawn from a reference to the forehead in the Bible.

Since Augustine relates the assertion of one's religious affiliation with the practice of signing the forehead with the cross, it is understandable that in most of his explanations he exhorts his audience to manifest their religious belonging in a context of religious plurality in late antique Africa, especially in Carthage. However, the significance of the sign of the cross on the forehead, and its social implications for Christians, deserve closer scrutiny, as Augustine's texts provide rare insights into the emotions associated with the rite and their power in driving social behaviour. It is worth noting that the forehead was commonly seen in the ancient world as the seat of emotions and especially for the display of *pudor* and *verecundia* (shame, modesty) in social relations.[39] Therefore, *frons* in Latin, while generally translating as "forehead", could also more broadly refer to one's face and attitude.[40] This provides Augustine with a powerful means to reflect on the relation between ritual performance, emotions and religious belonging. He addresses the need of shamelessness for those bearing the cross in society

[39] See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 6, 1, Leipzig, 1912-1916, col. 1357-1358; B. Löfstedt, "*Frons* 'Scham' und 'Schamlosigkeit'", *Acta Classica*, 24 (1981), pp. 169-170.

[40] *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* 6, 1, 1353-1355 (forehead) and 1355-1358 (face and attitude).

and more broadly discusses the relation and tension between this outward display of Christian identity, and inward Christian belonging that should be manifested through a visible change of attitude.

i. Manifesting Christian Belonging to the World

When preaching on vision, perhaps in Carthage, Augustine states that no one should be ashamed of the deformity of Christ (*Christi deformitas*) put on the forehead.[41] Indeed, the crucifixion, the cross and the death of Jesus, the son of God, were still seen by many as terrible, infamous and unfitting for God. Independently from the fact that the marking of the forehead was made visible or not, the practice of signing foreheads with a shameful sign of ownership could recall the marking of slaves and criminals as a punishment.[42] This would further reinforce the potentially shameful nature of signing one's forehead with a symbol of the crucifixion. Thus, Augustine, as other early Christians,[43] often preaches against the assumption that the cross would be shameful to bear on the forehead, exhorting his audience instead to display pride in the cross most often on the basis of Gal 6, 14a ("May I never boast except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ"; *Mihi absit glorari nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi*). For Augustine, the rite is performed on the forehead precisely to prevent Christians from blushing and being ashamed. A study of the vocabulary used when referring to the sign of the cross on the forehead shows that the bishop almost consistently resorts to the verb *erubescere* ("to blush") to evoke this sense of shame: this shows that his discussion, mostly found in sermons to the people, focuses on concrete social interactions.[44] Augustine concentrates on rebukes against

[41] *S.* 27, 6 (*CCSL* 41 (1961), p. 365): "Deformitas Christi te format. Ille enim si deformis esse noluisset, tu formam quam perdidisti non recepisses. Pendebat ergo in cruce deformis, sed deformitas illius pulchritudo nostra erat. In hac ergo vita deformem Christum teneamus. Quid est, deformem Christum? *Absit mihi gloriari nisi in cruce domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo* (Gal 6, 14). [...] Huius deformitatis signum in fronte portamus. De ista deformitate Christi non erubescamus" (unknown place of preaching, most probably during the Pelagian controversy, see P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1976, p. 59; Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 369 suggests 18/10/419, when Augustine was in Carthage: see O. Perler, J.-L. Maier, *Les voyages de saint Augustin*, Paris, 1969, p. 356). Similar thoughts in *Io. eu. tr.* 43, 9 (part of a series generally situated in Hippo around 414-415, see note 8).

[42] M. Gustafson, "*Inscripta in fronte:* Penal Tattooing in Late Antiquity", *Classical Antiquity*, 16/1 (1997), pp. 79-105; Jones, "Stigma", pp. 147-149; Renaut, *Marquage*, pp. 360-366.

[43] See Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses* 13, 22; John Chrysostom, *Adversus Iudaeos* 9; *Homiliae in Matthaeum* 55, 4.

[44] Thus *erubescere* alone is used in *C. Faust.* VI, 9.2; *Conf.* VIII, 2; *Io. eu. tr.* 3, 2; *Io. eu. tr.* 11, 3; *In Ps.* 41, 2; *In Ps.* 59, 9; *In Ps.* 68, I, 12; *S.* 27, 6; *S.* 51, 1.2. In *S.* 160, 6, Augustine uses *verecundare* (be ashamed).

displays of shame in the audience. In a number of occasions, however, he also explains that the rite is performed on the forehead, which is commonly understood as the seat of *pudor* or *verecundia*, and should lead his audience to be free from blushing – the two terms are used in the same way, although *pudor* is most frequently used.[45] Studies on shame in the ancient and medieval world highlight the semantic complexity of the vocabulary of shame and show that *pudor* and *verecundia*, manifested through blushing, were essential in shaping social behaviour; the terms could refer to qualities of temperance and self-control – knowing the limits of acceptable conduct, displaying care in social interactions – and were closely connected to the individual's sense of honour (*honor*) and self perception.[46] Augustine's discussion of the rite, however, focuses on blushing and its negative repercussions, rejecting shame as an emotion preventing Christians from manifesting their religious identity in society, while at times shaming the remaining few who fail to become part of the Christian community. Augustine thus both fights against a shared sense of shame of the cross and crucifixion, and perhaps more broadly against the reluctance of displaying one's religious identity in a context of religious plurality, and at the same time promotes the idea that non-Christians are bound to disappear and become marginal in society. His preaching provides us with a good example of the fact that

[45] *In Ps.* 30, II, 2, 7 (*CSEL* 93/1A (2003):"Quia non sine causa signum suum Christus in fronte nobis figi voluit, tamquam in sede pudoris, ne Christi opprobria christianus erubescat". Similar remarks with reference to *pudor* in *In ps.* 141, 9; *S.* 160, 5; *S.* 174, 3; *S.* 215, 5; *S.* 218C (= Guelf. 3), 4; *S.* 272A (fragment). *Io. eu. tr.* 53, 13 has similar thoughts but employs *verecundia* instead of *pudor*. In *S.* 107 Augustine explains that blushing is the consequence of feeling *pudor* (see note 81).

[46] On *pudor* and *verecundia* as Roman values in social relations, connected to *honor*, see in particular: C. A. Barton, *Roman Honor. The Fire in the Bones*, Berkeley, 2001; C. A. Barton, "The Roman Blush: the Delicate Matter of Self-Control", in *Constructions of the classical body*, ed. by J. I. Porter, Ann Arbor, 1999, pp. 212-234; R. A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*, Oxford-New York, 2005, pp. 13-65. Broader overviews in the ancient and medieval world are provided in particular in: J.-F. Thomas, *Déshonneur et honte en latin: étude sémantique*, Leuven, 2007; *Rubor et pudor: vivre et penser la honte dans la Rome ancienne*, ed. by R. Alexandre, C. Guérin, M. Jacotot, Paris, 2012; *Shame between Punishment and Penance. The Social Usages of Shame in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. by B. Sère and J. Wettlaufer, Florence, 2013. Scholars' discussion in Augustine has focused on sex, sin and guilt, the most prominent themes in connection to shame, see: T. Wu, "Shame in the Context of Sin: Augustine on the Feeling of Shame in *De civitate Dei*", *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales*, 74/1 (2007), pp. 1-31; J. Müller, "Scham und menschliche Natur bei Augustinus und Thomas von Aquin", in *Zur Kulturgeschichte der Scham*, ed. by M. Bauks, M. F. Meyer, Hamburg, 2011, pp. 55-72; V. Burrus, "Bodies, Desires, Confessions: Shame in Plotinus, Antony and Augustine", in *Shame between Punishment*, pp. 23-48. See a few insightful remarks about shame in Augustine in connection to the rite of the cross in S. N. Arel, *Affect Theory, Shame, and Christian Formation*, Boston, 2016, pp. 130-132 quoting *In Ps.* 141.

shame depends on shared values about acceptable religious practices. Telling his audience when and why one should be ashamed, also provided him with a powerful tool to promote a normalisation of social behaviour, as we shall see later on.

When preaching in Carthage to the people, at the beginning of the Pelagian controversy, on the need for Christ's healing, Augustine takes the example of Zacchaeus (cf. Lk 19, 1-10) to say that to climb the sycamore to see Jesus is little compared to putting the cross on the forehead and not being ashamed of it.[47] In Thagaste or perhaps again in Carthage, already in 407 or in 414-415, the bishop asks his audience to show pride in their belonging to Christ through the cross put on the forehead and to defend it against opponents, rebuking his audience against being ashamed of confessing their faith when they are with unbelievers.[48] A unique textual version of Ps. 68, 8 (*Quoniam propter te sustinui exprobrationem, operuit irreverentia faciem meam*) where *reverentia* is strikingly replaced by *irreverentia*, shows how Augustine particularly wanted to emphasise this point: to display *irreverentia* ("irreverence", "disrespect") against those who oppose Christ means not to be ashamed of him, but keeping without fear his sign on the forehead.[49] Again in Carthage, perhaps only a few years later in 415-

[47] *S.* 174, 3 (*PL* 38, 942): "Ideo enim vos Iesum videre non potestis, quia sycomorum ascendere erubescitis. Apprehendat Zacchaeus sycomorum, ascendat humilis crucem. Parum est si, ascendat; ne de cruce Christi erubescat, in fronte illam figat, ubi sedes pudoris est: ibi omnino, ibi in quo membro erubescitur, ibi figatur unde non erubescatur" (uncertain dating between 411 and 413 see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 96; Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 393 and n. 19 argues for 413).

[48] *In Ps.* 68, II, 4 (*CCSL* 39 (1956), pp. 919-920): "Obiciebatur crimen Christianis, hoc ipsum quod Christiani essent. Illa quidem gloria erat; fortes libenter accipiebant, et sic accipiebant, ut omnino de nomine Domini sui non erubescerent. [...] *Mihi* enim *absit gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri Iesu Christi, per quem mihi mundus crucifixus est, et ego mundo* (Gal 6, 14). Huic ergo tali fronti opprobrium solum poterat obici. Nam nec confusio poterat esse in conscientia iam sanata, nec verecundia in fronte tam libera. [...] Tu ergo, Domine, nosti, non solum opprobrium meum, sed et confusionem meam; in quibusdam et verecundiam, qui quamvis in me credant, publice me tamen coram impiis confiteri erubescunt, plus apud se valente lingua humana quam promissione divina" (in Thagaste, 414-415, according to Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 595-598, while *In Ps.* 34, II preached at the same period is dated to 407 by Dulaey, see note 66; other hypotheses in Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 817). Similar discussions on shame and pudor in *Io. eu. tr.* 53, 13; *S.* 218C (= Morin Guelf. 3), 4.

[49] *In Ps.* 68, I, 12 (*CCSL* 39 (1956), p. 912): "Observa ergo tu; sit in te irreverentia, frontosus esto quando audis opprobrium de Christo; prorsus esto frontosus. Quid times fronti tuae, quam signo crucis armasti?" (precedes *In Ps.* 68, II). This psalter version, repeated in *In Ps.* 68, II, 4 seems unique: no parallel is found in the *Vetus Latina Database*. It is noted by D. De Bruyne, "Notes sur le psautier de saint Augustin", *Revue Bénédictine*, 45 (1933), pp. 20-28 at 23 as a "malheureuse correction d'Augustin" of the Greek *entropê* (shame, reverence).

416, Augustine contrasted the Old and the New Testament, opposing the circumcision, as a rite in the flesh and hidden, to the sign of the cross, visible, spiritual and revealing Christ's glory, not leading to shame but pride.[50] Thus, for Augustine, to be free from shame means to display openly one's religious identity through the sign of the cross in social relations.

To promote an assertive manifestation of the cross, Augustine often notes in his sermons that the cross, which was ridiculed and neglected, is to be seen on the forehead of kings and all those who mocked it in the past; it brings everyone to believe. Thus, in a sermon on Psalm 32, probably pronounced at the feast of the vigil of Saint Cyprian in September 403, part of Augustine's preaching campaign in Carthage in autumn and winter 403-404, commenting on Ps. 32 (33), 10 (*Dominus dissipat consilia gentium, reprobat autem cogitationes populorum, et reprobat consilia principum*), Augustine explains that kings have believed and now bear the sign of the cross of Christ on the forehead. This sign is more precious than any jewel of their diadem, while those who persecuted Christians are destroyed as the Church grows.[51] Very similar comments are found in other sermons, a number of them from Carthage and preached in the 400s.[52] Augustine also emphasises that the triumph of Christianity is particularly spectacular because it has humble origins: kings, emperors and learned pagans come

[50] *S.* 160, 1-7, esp. 5-6 (*CCSL* 41Bb (2016), pp. 113-114): "Noli erubescere de cruce Christi: ideo in fronte tamquam in sede pudoris signum ipsum accepisti. Recole frontem tuam, ne linguam expavescas alienam. Signum veteris testamenti circumcisio in latenti carne, signum novi testamenti crux in libera fronte. [...] Transi ergo ad Christum, o qui gloriaris de circumcisione. Inde enim vis gloriam habere, quod verecundaris ostendere" (dating: Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 365-376; location: Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 92). This reference to circumcision as opposed to the signing of foreheads recalls other early Christian writers who oppose it in particular to baptism, see Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie*, pp. 89-95.

[51] *In Ps.* 32, 2, II, 13 (*CSEL* 93/1B (2010): "Sed iam cessaverunt reges mali, facti sunt boni; crediderunt et ipsi, signum crucis Christi in fronte iam portant, pretiosius signum qualibet gemma diadematis; illi qui saevierunt, destructi sunt" (dating: Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 13 n. 40 and M. Dulaey, *BA* 58B (2014), pp. 31-36).

[52] *In Ps.* 36, II, 4 (autumn 403 in Carthage, probably September, see Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 12-13 and Dulaey, *BA* 58B (2014), pp. 398-401); *S.* 51, 2 (Carthage, December 403: Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 82 and 102); *S.* 88, 9.8 (unknown location, dating from the 400s, see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 75 and Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 368, n. 8 who suggests 404); *In Ps.* 73, 6 (perhaps in Carthage, see H. Rondet, "Essais sur la chronologie des 'Enarrationes in Psalmos' de saint Augustin", *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 75 (1974), pp. 161-188, at 165; probably preached in 412 see Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 502, n. 24 for a discussion); *In Ps.* 75, 10 (uncertain dating, perhaps 404 according to Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 582-583, n. 78, see also Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 817); *In Ps.* 56, 3 (Hippo or Carthage, uncertain dating, maybe early or between 400-411 see Perler-Maier, *Les voyages*, pp. 248 and 449 who suggest early September 403 and other hypotheses in Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 816). See also, later, *Io. eu. tr.* 117, 3.

to bear the cross that they considered shameful on the seat of shame and decency – the forehead – as they convert to the religion of fishermen.[53] In a sermon preached in Boseth perhaps in December 403, or early in 404, these views are related to the *adventus* of the Christian emperor Honorius in the autumn-winter 403-404, stating that emperors now come to pray at the tomb of Peter rather than at the tomb of the emperor Hadrian.[54] These remarks are followed by a call to pagans not to postpone conversion and become Christian, while Christians are exhorted to bring pagans to conversion through their own impeccable behaviour.[55]

For Augustine, the main point is to stress the contrast between the terrible punishment inflicted to Jesus and the triumph of Christianity in his own time. The bearing of the sign of the cross on the forehead is seen as a striking way of displaying one's conversion, whether simply as a result of the performance of the ritual gesture or following a more durable marking. As said, the evidence is not straightforward enough to determine how the gesture was performed, however this has little impact on the analysis of Augustine's texts about the manifestation of one's belonging: the ritual, witnessed by others, provided a powerful means for Augustine to exhort his audience to display one's religious identity, playing on the function of the forehead as the seat of social emotions. More broadly, the reference to kings and learned pagans and to their conversion throughout the world has the function to foster respect and reverence for the cross and the related rite of initiation.

In texts particularly dating from the 400s, Augustine reflects on the consequences of not having the cross on the forehead, highlighting how it

[53] *S.* 272A (fragment), 1 (P.-P. Verbraken, *Revue Bénédictine*, 84/3-4 (1974), p. 265): "Ineruditos liberalibus disciplinis, et omnino quantum ad saeculi doctrinas pertinet impolitos, non peritos grammatica, non armatos dialectica, piscatores Christus cum retibus fidei ad mare saeculi paucissimos misit. Quid dico a 'paucissimos'? Duodecim misit. Et tamen per eos sic omni genere piscium implevit ecclesias, ut plurimi etiam ex ipsis sapientibus saeculi, quibus videbatur ignominiosa crux Christi, ea in fronte signentur, et de qua erubescendum putabant, nobisque insultabant, eam in pudoris arce constituant" (Pentecost, unknown date and place).

[54] *S.* 360B (= Dolbeau 25), 24-26 (F. Dolbeau, *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, 2nd edition, Paris, 2009, p. 265): "Et hoc factum est, fratres: iam crux Christi in frontibus regum est, adorant reges quod irriserunt Iudaei. [...]. Petrus ibi est in sepulcro, Hadrianus ibi est in templo. [...] Posito diademate, pectus tundit ubi est piscatoris corpus, cuius merita cogitat, cuius coronam credit, per quem cupit pervenire ad Deum, cuius orationibus se adiuvari sentit et invenit. Ecce quae fecit ille crucifixus et irrisus in cruce, ecce unde stravit gentes, non saevientes ferro, sed irriso ligno" (dating according to Dolbeau, *Vingt-six*, p. 626; the exact date of Honorius' *adventus* in autumn-winter 403-404 remains open to debate). See the same remark in *S.* 341aug (= Dolbeau 22), 4 (12 December in Carthage, perhaps the same year for Dolbeau, *Vingt-six*, p. 640).

[55] *S.* 360B (= Dolbeau 25), 27.

differentiates Christians from others. In the sixth book of the *Contra Faustum*, Augustine replies to Faustus' interpretation of regulations regarding defiling skin diseases (cf. Lev 13, 40) according to which bald men should be barred from ordination to priesthood. For Augustine, Faustus would have benefited from having a bald forehead on which to put the sign of the cross of Christ, because it would have prevented him from rejecting the Passion and crucifixion.[56] Perhaps in 403-404, commenting on the title of Psalm 46, referring to the "sons of Core", baldness is interpreted differently, but in a related way. Augustine reads the title as a reference to the Calvary, translating Core as "bald (*calvus*)" but notes that the psalms are intended for the sons of Christ, who have not been left bald by Christ and thus are freed from the shame of baldness.[57] Augustine's thoughts on the cross, associating the triumphal views against pagans with a discussion of shame and baldness are particularly well summarised in a sermon on Psalm 141 probably preached again in the early 400s, as Augustine rejects the pagans' mocking of the cross:

> He may insult the crucified Christ. For my part, I prefer to see Christ's cross on the foreheads of kings. [...] So far am I from being ashamed of the cross that I carry it not in a hidden place but on my forehead. [...] When you hear someone denouncing a person who is thoroughly impudent, he says, "That fellow has no forehead". What does it mean to say that a person has no forehead? That he is thoroughly impudent. Let me have no bare forehead, let it be covered by the cross of my Lord.[58]

[56] *C. Faust.* VI, 9.2 (*CSEL* 25/1 (1891), p. 302): "Sed utinam ipse calvam frontem habere voluisset atque in ea crucem Christi figere non erubuisset".

[57] *In Ps.* 46, 2 (*CCSL* 38 (1956), p. 530): "Agnoscimus enim humilitatem domini nostri, et non de illa erubescimus. Non erubescimus de illo appellato mystice calvo, propter Calvariae locum. Ipsa enim cruce in qua illi insultatum est, non permisit calvam esse frontem nostram, quia eam suo ligno signavit" (unsure location: M. Margoni-Kögler, *Die Perikopen im Gottesdienst bei Augustinus*, Vienna, 2010, p. 438 notes that Augustine may be preaching outside Hippo; the dating is suggested by M. Dulaey, *BA* 59A (2017), pp. 653-657, complementary note 9 "Pour les fils de Coré". Dulaey shows that Augustine's interpretation of the etymology of Core evolved: the earliest sermons, all to be dated to 403-404, interpret Core as *calvus* referring to a dictionary of hebraic etymologies (*In Ps.* 44, 1; 46, 2-3; 83, 2 and 84, 2). A similar reference to the cross on the forehead of the sons of Core without comment is found in *In Ps.* 41, 2, with a different etymology of Core, now translated as *calvaria* (as in *In Ps.* 87, 1), which is dated by Dulaey to 411 in Carthage.

[58] *In Ps.* 141, 9 (*CSEL* 95/5 (2005): "Insultet ille crucifixo Christ; videam ego in frontibus regum crucem Christi. [...] Usque adeo de cruce non erubesco, ut non in occulto loco habeam crucem Christi, sed in frontem portem. [...] Audis hominem insultare impudenti, et dicere: frontem non habet. Quid est: frontem non habet? Impudens est. Non habeam nudam frontem; tegat eam crux domini mei" (translation M. Boulding, *The Works of Saint Augustine*, III/20 (2004), pp. 334-335 adapted). For the dating and place (Hippo?) see Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 344 n. 8.

Bearing the cross on the forehead and thus proudly displaying the sign of Christ's crucifixion means to belong to the Christian community. While Manichaeans like Faustus have left no room for the cross because they reject it, Christians cover their bald forehead with it. The cross should therefore bring Christians to manifest their belonging to Christianity. Shame being intimately connected to the nature of one's belonging, Augustine cleverly transferred the feeling of shame felt for bearing the sign of Christ's crucifixion, to the shame of having a naked forehead, thus building a new sense of community.

As seen, the pervasive theme of the triumph of the cross seems to be most common in sermons preached in the first fifteen years of Augustine's episcopacy, that perhaps particularly reflect a more optimistic context before the sack of Rome in 410. In all these passages, the presentation of a world converted to Christianity is a rhetorical tool employed to convince the remaining few to convert. It may also relate, more specifically, to Augustine's anti-Donatist polemics, emphasising the universality of the "Catholic" party in contrast to the Donatists. Indeed, the sermons explored largely focus on Christians rather than on potential converts, and perhaps particularly on catechumens, more often stressing Christ's triumph rather than the Empire's, notably in sermons that attest the progressive deployment in the 400s of the theme of the two cities in an anti-Donatist context.[59] The success of Christianity and the power of the cross had to be given a universal dimension. It even ruled amongst Barbarians, well beyond Africa and the current limits of the Empire.[60] Thus, Augustine employs this theme to exhort the broader community to a positive display of their religious belonging in the context of division of the African churches. On the other hand, the sermons rebuking the audience against being ashamed on the basis of Gal 6, 14a were mostly preached during the Pelagian controversy, often in Carthage.[61] Shame in connection to the cross on the forehead is understood as conceit and lack of trust in God. Augustine transfers what Paul said in Gal. 6, 14a to his own specific context: receiving the rite on the forehead means that all Christians should trust in this humble

[59] For example: *In Ps.* 54, 12 (uncertainly dated, hypotheses range from 394-396 to 411 see Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 816); *In Ps.* 95, 2 (strongly anti-Donatist, part of a series preached over a winter between 405 and 411, perhaps 406-407, this sermon would then fit in Spring 407 see note 37 and Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 825).

[60] *In Ps.* 95, 2 (*CCSL* 39 (1956), p. 1344): "Quo nondum porrectum est Romanum imperium, iam Christus possidet; quod adhuc clausum est eis qui ferro pugnant, non est clausum illi qui ligno pugnat. Dominus enim regnavit a ligno. Quis est qui ligno pugnat? Christus. De cruce sua vicit reges, et subiugatis ipsam crucem in fronte fixit".

[61] For a list of references of this important quotation most often employed after 412 see Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 369-370.

cross and be proud of it, instead of themselves, in all their relationships with others.

Such exhortations, playing on the shame of the cross, are applied in exactly the same fashion when Augustine directly addresses catechumens and candidates for baptism. In a homily on the Gospel of John, perhaps at the beginning of Lent 407, Augustine notes that a catechumen who signs himself carries the cross on the forehead without being ashamed of it and thus believes in God.[62] In the undated Sermon 215 explaining the creed to *competentes*, the discussion of Christ's crucifixion leads Augustine to recall the reception of the cross on the forehead at the admission into the catechumenate, stating that it was put on the seat of shame precisely to prevent catechumens from being ashamed of the cross.[63] Similarly, when narrating the conversion of Marius Victorinus, Augustine emphasises Victorinus' lack of shame when he received the cross on his forehead.[64] The rite is central for Augustine in shaping the candidates' awareness of their faith in supporting their commitment to Christianity as they prepare for baptism. All these sermons make clear that Augustine employed the rite to bring his audience to display their Christian belonging and would emphasise this aspect in the case of catechumens as liminal Christians that he needed to convince about the power and universality of Christianity in a context of division and conflict with the Donatists. This again shows that the sign of the cross on the forehead was a powerful rite to build a sense of community.

ii. Displaying Christian Behaviour within the Community

Discussion on the rite also often brought Augustine to promote a normalisation of behaviour within his own community, rather than only focusing on how it should define the attitude of Christians of his Church *vis-à-vis* the broader world. The rise of a Christian society is often sharply contrasted with the wrong behaviour of many Christians, what Augustine defines as new persecutions. To contrast this, Augustine aims to build a

[62] *Io. eu. tr.* 11, 3 (*CCSL* 36 (1954), p. 111): "Si dixerimus catechumeno: credis in Christum? Respondet: credo, et signat se; iam crucem Christi portat in fronte, et non erubescit de cruce domini sui" (for the location – Hippo; or perhaps Carthage? – and dating see note 37).

[63] *S.* 215, 5 (P.-P. Verbraken, *Revue bénédictine*, 68 (1958), p. 23): "Denique, ne dubitares, ne erubesceres, quando primum credidisti, signum Christi in fronte tamquam in domo pudoris accepisti. Recole frontem tuam, ne linguam expauescas alienam" (see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 105; the date of around 425 suggested by E. Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine* III/6 (1993), p. 165, n. 1 and n. 18 is unconvincing, as it is based on a variation of the text of the creed).

[64] *Conf.* VIII, 2.3 (*CCSL* 27 (1981), p. 115): "Non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui et infans fontis tui subiecto collo ad humilitatis iugum et edomita fronte ad crucis opprobrium".

sense of belonging among Christians on the basis of the signing of foreheads, and resorts to this shared belonging to shape behaviour in the community. As scholars of the history of emotions well highlight, the senses of shame and honour depend not only on how people are seen from the outside, but also on how they see themselves.[65] The connection between the forehead, where feelings are displayed, and the Christian rite, provides Augustine with a tool to address how each individual and the whole community should behave. Often preaching in Carthage, Augustine discusses the rite for inclusive preaching on morals, particularly reacting against celebrations at the martyrs' shrines and attending games and shows.

While Augustine underlines that everyone sees the glory of the Church, and that it is not permitted to insult or hurt Christians,[66] he remarks that the difficult past situation of the Church, when Christians were persecuted for bearing the sign on their forehead and had to give testimony of their commitment, has been forgotten.[67] As he explains in a sermon *ad populum* preached for the feast of a martyr, this forgetfulness is the start of a new persecution, endured because of bad habits (*luxuria*) at the martyrs' feasts that are visible on the same forehead on which the cross has been put in vain.[68] The cross on the forehead as a marker of belonging is in direct competition with such attitudes that the bishop condemns: in a sermon preached in Carthage in December 403, Augustine deplores that many have attended the gladiators' shows instead of coming to church, contrasting such shows with the Passion and the suffering of martyrs. While carnal men only see cruelty and death in the Passion and the death of martyrs, those who come to church are "spiritual viewers" who should exhort their friends to love God and realise that he is never defeated.[69] Shame is related to what is experienced by supporters when their champion is defeated, Augustine underlining that Christ, whose sign is put on foreheads, will

[65] See in particular on this aspect Kaster, *Restraint*, pp. 13-65 (with a taxonomy of scripts for ways of experiencing *pudor*) and Barton, "The Roman blush".

[66] For instance *In Ps.* 34, II, 8 (Thagaste or perhaps Carthage, see Müller, "Enarrationes", p. 812 listing hypotheses; probably in the summer 407 for Dulaey, *BA* 58B (2014), pp. 234-235 and in 414-415 for Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 595-598).

[67] *In Ps.* 59, 9 (*CSEL* 94/1 (2004): "Tunc ignominiosa ecclesia erat in hominibus, tunc opprobrium illi viduae obiectabatur, quia Christi erat, quia signum crucis in fronte portabat. [...] Erat ergo confusio ecclesiae aliquando, quam modo oblita est" (Carthage, uncertain dating perhaps 413 see Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 816).

[68] *In Ps.* 69, 2 (*CCSL* 39 (1956), p. 931): "Videmus etiam portantes in fronte signum eius, simul in ipsa fronte portare impudentiam luxuriarum, diebusque et sollemnitatibus martyrum non exultare, sed insultare. Et inter haec geminus, et haec persecutio nostra est" (perhaps Hippo, uncertain dating in an anti-Donatist context probably in the early 400s, see hypotheses in Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 817).

[69] *S.* 51, 1.2 (dating and location: Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 82 and 102).

never lead them to a shameful defeat.[70] Again, Augustine argues against shame and for a positive display of Christian belonging.

Such evidence about Augustine's broader thinking helps us understand better similar calls mentioning the cross on the forehead rebuking catechumens against attending the theatre and against other behaviour understood as sinful. In a sermon preached perhaps before 400 in Bulla Regia, the city is presented as an immoral town where all vices are found. For Augustine, while it is understandable to witness spectacles and other vices in cities like Carthage where there are still many pagans and Jews, Bulla is a Christian town and should be free from such things.[71] Theatres would be empty if Christians ceased to attend to go to church instead.[72] Augustine's preaching is centred on the contrast between Christian membership and unfitting habits. Quoting 1 Cor 6, 15 (*Vos autem estis membra Christi*), he reminds the audience that these words were intended for the people (*plebes*), the faithful (*fideles*) and the Christians (*Christiani*): this noteworthy distinction highlights that Augustine had in mind a wider audience including catechumens (thus Christians but not baptised faithful). Indeed, challenging his hearers against the promotion of prostitution, he stated:

> And this is done by Christians (*Christiani*); I'd rather not say, and by the faithful (*fideles*). A catechumen (*catechumenus*), perhaps, has a low opinion of his worth. "I'm just a catechumen", he says. You're a catechumen? "Yes, a catechumen". Do you have one forehead on which you received the sign of Christ, and another which you carry along to the theatre? Do you want to go? Change your forehead, and get along there. So, as you can't change your forehead, don't ruin it.[73]

Augustine suggests that the status of catechumens, acquired through the sign of the cross, is incompatible with wrong behaviour and should imply

[70] *S.* 51, 1.2 (P.-P. Verbraken *et al., CCSL* 41Aa (2008), p. 12): "Denique quae gemma pretiosior in diademate, quam crux Christi regnantium in fronte? Hunc vos amando, numquam erubescitis. Quam multi enim de amphitheatro victi revertuntur, victis eis pro quibus insaniunt!" This idea of competition is commonly found in sermons, see for instance *S.* 198aug (= Dolbeau 26), 3 (in Carthage) contrasting charioteers with the martyr Cyprian. On the Christian uneasiness with spectacles see L. Lugaresi, *Il teatro di Dio. Il problema degli spettacoli nel cristianesimo antico (II-IV secolo)*, Brescia, 2008.

[71] *S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 7 (scholars have suggested a dating before 400 but evidence is scarce: see hypotheses in Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 163).

[72] *S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 8.

[73] *S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 8 (Morin, *Miscellanea Agostiniana* I, pp. 88-89): "Et hoc a christianis fit: nolo dicere, et a fidelibus. Catechuminus forte contemnit se. Catechuminus, inquit, sum. Catechuminus es? Catechuminus. Alia frons tua accepit Christi signum, et aliam tolis ad theatrum? Ire vis? Muta frontem, et vade. Ergo frontem, quam non potes mutare, noli perdere" (translation: E. Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine* III/6 (1993), p. 297).

a particular commitment. At the same time, he conveys the view shared by his audience that catechumens could expect to be treated with less severity in matters of behaviour.[74] The passage shows how Augustine fruitfully exploited the peculiarity of the catechumens' membership in exhortative preaching to reject such assumptions. The sermons previously analysed demonstrate that the requirements set here by the bishop on the basis of the cross on the forehead for catechumens, fully correspond to what he emphasises in the case of a broader audience comprising baptised Christians.[75] Augustine both highlighted the lack of commitment of catechumens and urged them to be faithful to their membership in the same way as he would address the *fideles* (the baptised Christians), significantly including them in the *membra Christi* mentioned by Paul.[76]

iii. From Foreheads to Hearts

Augustine at times extends his moral exhortations by emphasising that the external and visible practice of the rite is, or rather should be, a sign of an inner change, exploiting the fact that the rite is performed on the forehead, where individuals display their feelings.[77] Augustine aims at showing that the outer display of the Christian rite should correspond to a change in the individuals' perception of his actions and of his sense of shame. In a homily on John's Gospel – part of a series with an audience including catechumens generally situated in Hippo in the winter of 406-407 – Augustine noted that Christians who bear the cross on the forehead as well as in the heart are not ashamed of it.[78] Later, in a sermon preached in Carthage, probably during the Pelagian controversy, Augustine explained that there is a great difference between bearing the sign of the cross only on the forehead and

[74] *Conf.* I, 11.18 similarly deplored that his baptism was postponed, leaving him free to sin, thus implying that catechumens felt less committed. This is also noted in Rebillard, *Christians*, 66-67 and É. Rebillard, "Religious Sociology. Being Christian in the Time of Augustine", in *A Companion to Augustine*, ed. by M. Vessey and S. Reid, Chichester, 2012, pp. 40-53, at 42-43.

[75] This despite his reluctance in this sermon (*S.* 301A (= Denis 17), 8) to apply his exhortations to the *fideles*, perhaps because he was preaching in a foreign town.

[76] A similar interpretation of Paul is found in an uncertainly dated sermon on the love of God, where Christians including catechumens are defined as *membra Christi: S.* 65A (= Etaix 1), 7 (for recent hypotheses of dating see E. Hill, *The Works of Saint Augustine* III/3 (1991), p. 206 who suggests 397-398 and Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 437 and n. 8 who prefers 406-407).

[77] This aspect is briefly noted in Brons, *Augustins Trinitätslehre*, p. 74.

[78] *Io. eu. tr.* 3, 2 (*CCSL* 36 (1954), p. 20): "Homines sumus, quod puto non diu esse suadendum caritati vestrae, christiani; et si christiani, utique ipso nomine ad Christum pertinentes. huius signum in fronte gestamus, de quo non erubescimus, si et in corde gestemus" (on the series see note 37).

bearing it in the heart as well.[79] Commenting on the reading of Ez. 9, 4 (*Vade, et da signum in frontibus eorum qui gemunt et mœrent de peccatis populi mei, quae fiunt in medio eorum*), he applied to his fellow Christians the reference to a mark put on foreheads saving from destruction the worthy citizens of Jerusalem.[80] Augustine argued that there are two types of foreheads: the visible forehead and the forehead of conscience (*conscientia*) and of the inner man (*interior homo*), since the emotions of this inner forehead (*interior frons*) are reflected on the visible forehead when one turns pale out of fear or red out of shame.[81]

The bishop also used this double understanding of the forehead against Donatists, particularly in an uncertainly dated sermon preached in Carthage for the *vigilia Cypriani*. Accusing them of pride when claiming to be the legitimate Church of Africa, the bishop stated that they lost the cross in their heart although they think that they are still bearing it on their foreheads.[82] Indeed, Donatists perhaps practised the same rite with similar interpretations, at least according to a recently published anonymous sermon closely recalling Augustine's preaching on the rite.[83] Catechumens were fully included in such conceptions: the above mentioned quotation

[79] *S.* 107, 6.7 (*PL* 38, col. 630): "Nos audiamus, fratres, quibus credentibus evangelium recitatur, a quibus qui illa dixit adoratur, cuius signum a nobis in fronte portatur, et in corde habetur. Interest enim plurimum ubi habeat homo signum Christi, utrum in fronte, an et in fronte et in corde" (dating and location: Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 79).

[80] Other early Christian writers comment on this passage with reference to the rite, see Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem* III, 22 (performed by the *fideles*); Cyprian, *Ad Demetrianum* 22; Pseudo-Cyprian, *Adversus Iudaeos* II, 22; Chromatius of Aquileia, *Tractatus in Matthaeum* 54, 1; Jerome, *In Hiezechielem* III, ix, 4-6; Paulinus of Nola, *Carmina* VII, 23 (a discussion in M. Skeb, *Christo vivere: Studien zum literarischen Christusbild des Paulinus von Nola*, Bonn, 1997, pp. 91-94); Theodoret of Cyrus, *In psalmos* 59, 6. See H. Rahner, "Antenna crucis. V. Das mystische Tau", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 75/4 (1953), pp. 385-410.

[81] *S.* 107, 6.7 (*PL* 38, col. 630): "Et ideo signati sunt in fronte; in fronte interioris hominis, non exterioris. Est enim frons in facie, est frons in conscientia. Denique aliquando quando interior frons pulsatur, exterior obrubescit: aut pudore obrubescit, aut timore pallescit. Est ergo frons hominis interioris".

[82] *In Ps.* 85, 14 (*CCSL* 39 (1954), p. 1187): "Ideo natus es, ideo christianum te dicis, ut invideas gloriae Christi, cuius signum te in fronte portare asseris, et de corde perdidisti?" (dating hypotheses ranging from 401 to 416 see Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 820).

[83] The sermon entitled "De principiis christiani nominis" (AN h Esc 49; *Inc.* "Christiana generositas prima sortis suae fidei"), perhaps of a Donatist preacher, compares the circumcision to the sign of the cross on the forehead, like Augustine *S.* 160, contrasting the hidden and the open character of the rites: "Nec est diversitas in utroque quia ordo patris recensetur in filiis: denique signatur Abraham circumcisione, christianus signatur in fronte; accipit Abraham signum in loco generis, accipit christianus signum Christi domini salvatoris; illic signaculum verecundia contegit, hic in fronte honestas signum ostendit" etc. (F. Leroy, "Les 22 inédits de la catéchèse donatiste de Vienne. Une édition provisoire", *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 31 (1999), pp. 149-234, at 204-206).

of Ezekiel was already discussed in the *Contra Faustum* in the very passage where Augustine describes the first catechesis and provides recommendations about changing one's lifestyle.[84]

b. Receiving Powerful Protection

Augustine's emphasis on the inward and outward transformation that should be brought by the cross also relates to the fact that it was considered a powerful rite of protection, which, together with asserting one's religious belonging, is the other main function of the rite for Augustine and early Christians in general. The bishop often mentioned that bearing the cross on the forehead granted protection, particularly as a sign of victory over the devil.[85] However, he cleverly employed the rite in his moral preaching to argue that only those who accord their inner dispositions, and therefore behaviour, to this external rite can benefit from its protection.[86] When commenting on Ps 48, 15 (*Sicut oves in inferno positae, mors pastor est eis*), Augustine remarks, in front of an audience most probably comprising catechumens and perhaps in spring 407, that those who behave badly as Christians have death, the devil, as their shepherd, while good Christians are turned towards immortality and therefore rightly bear the sign of the cross of Christ on their forehead, since life, Christ, is their shepherd. The rite thus should enact a transformation and a new belonging, which bring Christians to life and heaven after death.[87] Most explanations of the pro-

[84] *C. Faust.* XIII, 16.

[85] *S.* 342, 1 (*PL* 39, 1501): "Est ergo hoc signum quod in fronte gestamus, signum quo salvi sumus" (no evidence of date or place of preaching); on the devil's defeat with quotation of Gal 6, 14a: *Io. eu. tr.* 36, 4 (perhaps around 414-415 see note 8). The apotropaic property of the cross, connected to exorcism, is widely attested in the early Church, see studies quoted in note 2 for overviews and A. Nicolotti, *Esorcismo cristiano e possessione diabolica tra* ii *e* iii *secolo*, Turnhout, 2011, pp. 431-434, 497-500, 556-557, 600-604 (evidence in Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Apostolic Tradition). Concerning Augustine and the signing of foreheads more specifically, the protective quality of the rite is noted in Busch, "De initiatione", pp. 413-414; Dölger, "Beiträge" (1961), p. 13; Van der Meer, *Augustine*, pp. 354-355. See later parallels in Leo the Great, *Sermo* LV, 5 (linking it to the story in Exodus); Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 121, 8. Heid, "Kreuz", col. 1127-1128 and Ph. Bernard, *Transitions liturgiques en Gaule carolingienne*, Paris, 2008, pp. 162-163 provide further parallels and note archaeological evidence for putting crosses or performing a sign of the cross on the foreheads or bodies of the dead before burial.

[86] *De Doctrina christiana* II, 41.62 well summarises the significance of the cross for every Christian action, as part of a reflection on the Passover episode described in Exodus.

[87] *In Ps.* 48, II, 2 (*CCSL* 38 (1954), p. 565): "Habemus autem multis locis in scriptura, quia vita est Christus. Mors autem diabolus est; non quia ipse mors est, sed quia per illum mors. [...] Ad eum pertinentes, pastorem mortem habent; nos autem qui de futura immortalitate cogitamus, et non sine causa in fronte signum crucis Christi portamus, non habemus pastorem nisi vitam. Infidelium pastor mors, fidelium pastor vita. Si ergo in inferno sunt

tective function of the cross revolve around key biblical passages, which Augustine allegorised: he rooted the power of the rite in the history of salvation, as episodes of the Old Testament are understood to prefigure its efficacy. These well-known stories served as a powerful medium to convey essential catechesis on the rite both to the catechumens and to the baptised Christians, by emphasising the protection granted by the rite and at the same time the necessity of a corresponding behaviour.

i. Allegories of Salvation

The main allegorical reading in Augustine is Ex. 12, 22-23, which narrates the Jewish Passover, when the blood of lambs was put on the doorposts as a protection. This interpretation was quite natural since the rite of the cross referred to Jesus' Passion, the Passover being commonly understood as a prefiguration of it. Thus, Augustine extended the analogy and stated that the biblical episode prefigured the cross put on the forehead of all Christians. Significantly, Augustine's interpretation was already employed in the *De catechizandis rudibus* to teach newcomers becoming catechumens, making them fully aware of the power associated with the rite that they were about to receive for the first time. In the long model speech given to Deogratias for catechumens, when the main episodes of the Old Testament which would announce Christ's coming are summarised, Augustine tells that Ex. 12, 22-23 announces the Passion of Christ, and he adds: "with the sign (*signo*) of his Passion and cross, you today are to be signed (*signandus*) upon your forehead, as it were upon a doorpost; and so are all Christians signed (*signantur*)".[88] The rite was not simply understood as a reference to the Passion and the cross but was filled with additional meaning as the Christian accomplishment of a Jewish rite, reinforcing its importance. The same equivalence between the story in Exodus and the Christian rite appears in the *Contra Faustum*, in a polemical tone, to demonstrate that many episodes of the Old Testament announce Christ, this time underlining the fact that the people of God receive the rite to be protected

oves quibus pastor mors est, in caelo sunt oves quibus pastor vita est" (Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 272, n. 13 favours a dating before the Pelagian controversy without precision, while M. Dulaey, *BA* 59B (2019), p. 187-190 suggests spring 407, also emphasising that the audience included catechumens (for other earlier hypotheses see Müller, "Enarrationes", p. 813). In *S.* 110A (= Dolbeau 17), 4 (perhaps preached a few years earlier in 403-404 for Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 485-494), Augustine notes that signing oneself without changing one's way of life is useless and actually harmful, opposing *gratia* and *ruina*.

[88] *Cat. rud.* 20, 34 (*CCSL* 46 (1969), p. 149): "Cuius passionis et crucis signo in fronte hodie tamquam in poste signandus es, omnesque christiani signantur" (translation: Christopher, *Ancient Church Writers* 2 (1946), p. 65 adapted).

and saved as the Hebrews were.[89] Augustine came back to the theme quite naturally, as he commented the Passion of Christ according to the Gospel of John. First, around 414-415, in a preached homily commenting on John 11, 55 about the Jewish Passover, Augustine tells his audience that the blood of the lambs in Exodus is the blood of Christ which signs the foreheads of many, although it only protects from the devil those who have received Christ in their heart.[90] Similar thoughts are found in a dictated homily from November 419 to be sent to Carthage where the reference to the Passover in John 13, 1 leads Augustine to the same interpretation, without the moral exhortation however – perhaps because it is detached from the audience.[91] This allegorical interpretation, repeated over almost twenty years in a variety of contexts, whether in a catechesis, a treatise, preached or dictated homilies, shows the significance of the protective power of the rite, which was conferred by the power of the Passion of Christ, Augustine insisting on the necessity of a corresponding commitment.

Other allegories of the rite are less common and are all explained by the fact that a reference in the biblical text commented by Augustine leads him to draw comparisons with contemporary practice. Thus, in a single sermon preached in Carthage or perhaps Camerata and dated after 403, the mention of Rahab in Ps. 86, 3-4 (*Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei. Memor ero Raab et Babylonis, scientibus me. Etenim alienigenae, et Tyrus, et populus Aethiopum, hi fuerunt ibi*) brings Augustine to connect the psalm with Joshua 2, 17-21 and 6, 17.22-25 telling the story of Rahab the prostitute who protected three spies of the Hebrews in Jericho and put a red cloth on her window which protected her and her family from being killed when the city was taken.[92] For Augustine, the red cloth refers to the fact that Rahab actually put the sign (*signum*) of the blood of Christ on her forehead, offering protection to her and her family. Because Rahab did not

[89] *C. Faust.* XII, 30 (*CSEL* 25 (1891), p. 359): "Sanguine inliniuntur postes, ut pernicies depellatur: signantur signo dominicae passionis in frontibus populi ad tutelam salutis".

[90] *Io. eu. tr.* 50, 2 (*CCSL* 36 (1954), pp. 433-434): "Sanguine occisi pecoris Iudaeorum postes signati sunt; sanguine Christi frontes nostrae signantur. Et illa signatio, quia erat significatio, dicta est a domibus signatis exterminatorem prohibere; signum Christi a nobis repellit exterminatorem, si cor nostrum recipiat salvatorem" (dating: note 8). The sign of the cross is also most probably in Augustine's mind in ibid. 50, 12.

[91] *Io. eu. tr.* 55, 1 (*CCSL* 36 (1954), pp. 463-464): "Nunc ergo figura illa prophetica in veritate completaest, cum sicut ovis ad immolandum ducitur Christus, cuius sanguine illitis postibus nostris, id est, cuius signo crucis signatis frontibus nostris, a perditione huius saeculi tamquam a captivitate vel interemtione Aegyptia liberamur"(dating: note 37).

[92] *In Ps.* 86, 6 (see Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 820 for dating and location). On the theme of the city of God and this preached *enarratio* see A. Lauras, H. Rondet, "Le thème des deux cités dans l'oeuvre d'Augustin", in Rondet-Le Landais-Lauras-Couturier, *Études augustiniennes*, pp. 9-160, at 124-137.

belong to the Jewish people, Augustine saw her as a figure of the Church of the Nations: he particularly underlined that Rahab, like other publicans and prostitutes who gain the kingdom of heaven, had faith in God and feared him.[93] Augustine gave a liturgical and Christian meaning to the episode with particular emphasis on the link between the rite and faith in God to obtain everlasting life. He stressed that a core meaning of the rite was to manifest an act of faith, which in turn protected the individual.

Augustine also connected the story narrating the fight between David and Goliath (1 Samuel 17, 38-51) to the rite because the single stone thrown by David hit Goliath precisely on the forehead. It is noteworthy that the biblical passage is only quoted and studied by Augustine probably not more than eight times in all of his preserved texts, amongst which three make the link with the Christian rite, stating that Goliath was killed because he had no sign of the cross on the forehead. The other texts use Goliath as an example of an individual lacking trusting himself instead of God, either against Donatists or Pelagians.[94] In Sermon 32 preached in the *basilica Tricilarum* in Carthage in September 403, Augustine commented on Psalm 143, which for him had the title *Ipsi David ad Goliam*.[95] He explained to his audience – composed of both Christians trained in the Scriptures and beginners[96] – that David's courage illustrated that he had put all his hope in God and not in himself, while Goliath boasting about his own strength represented the proud.[97] He was therefore struck on the forehead because he had a proud and barefaced forehead, while David's forehead displayed

[93] *In Ps.* 86, 6 (*CCSL* 39 (1954), pp. 1203-1204): "*Memor ero*, inquit, *Raab* (Ps 86, 4): quae ista est meretrix, illa in Iericho meretrix quae suscepit nuntios et alia via eiecit; quae praesumsit in promissione, quae timuit deum, cui dictum est ut per fenestram mitteret coccum, id est, ut in fronte haberet signum sanguinis Christi. salvata est ibi, et ecclesiam gentium significavit" (followed by quotations of Mt 21, 31 and Mt 11, 12).

[94] Apart from the three sermons here studied, A.-M. La Bonnardière, *Biblia Augustiniana,* II. *Livres historiques*, Paris, 1960, p. 72 finds the story commented, without a reference to the rite, in *Contra litteras Petiliani* I, 9.10 (Donatists are proud like Goliath); *In Ps.* 33, I, 2 and 10 (killing Goliath is to kill pride; on a Saturday, uncertainly dated see Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 812); *S.* 153, 9.11 (relying on one's own strengths means to be killed like Goliath: against Pelagians, see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 90). To this list one should add *Contra Iulianum* III, 1.4 (Augustine is Goliath, Julian David) and *Contra Iulianum opus imperfectum* III, 32 (a debate on Goliath's skin colour), although the topic is brought up by Julian in both cases. For a broader overview of early Christian exegesis of the episode, generally understood as a prefiguration of Christ's victory over the devil, see M. Dulaey, "L'histoire de David lue par les écrivains des premiers siècles chrétiens. (I) Le roi caché", *Revue d'études augustiniennes et patristiques* 60/2 (2014), pp. 175-212, at 192-196.

[95] *S.* 32 (dating hypotheses in Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 61).

[96] *S.* 32, 2 and 6. This may indicate a mixed audience of baptised and catechumens but nothing implies it.

[97] *S.* 32, 7-9.

the humility of the cross of Christ.[98] In this precise case, Augustine refers to the practice of signing oneself on the forehead and builds a moral exhortation on the gesture, rebuking his audience against simulating the gesture and exhorting them to bear the sign in the heart as well.[99] Later, the same theme appears in an explanation of Psalm 143, uncertainly dated and perhaps preached in Carthage, again in connection to the title of the psalm. Augustine underlines that Goliath fell because he did not bear the sign of Christ on his forehead to protect him.[100] The last sermon, undated, comments on the story perhaps because it was read that day; explaining that the stone hit Goliath on his forehead because he lacked the sign of grace (*signum gratiae*), Augustine compares Jesus to a new David who hit the devil's forehead.[101]

These interpretations bring further light on Augustine's understanding of the rite: besides the fact that he insists on grace as a common way to highlight how the Old Testament episode is fulfilled in Christian times, he also stresses that the sign gives grace as a protection, which prevents the destruction brought by God against his enemies. Not having the sign is

[98] *S.* 32, 12 (*CCSL* 41 (1961), pp. 404-405): "Golias autem de se, de viribus suis, superbus, elatus, inflatus, primo totam victoriam universae partis suae in se uno constituit. Et quia omnis superbia habet impudentiam frontis, in ipsam frontem lapide veniente deiectus est. Evacuata est frons quae habebat impudentiam superbiae suae, et vicit frons quae habebat humilitatem crucis Christi".

[99] *S.* 32, 13 (*CCSL* 41 (1961), p. 405): "Propterea et nos signum ipsum crucis in fronte portamus. Qui illud intellegit? Hoc dixi, fratres, quia multi illud faciunt et intellegere nolunt. Factorem quaerit deus signorum suorum, non pictorem. Si portas in fronte signum humilitatis Christi, porta in corde imitationem humilitatis Christi". A good parallel is provided by *S.* 110A (= Dolbeau 17), 4 probably preached to an audience of baptised Christians and focusing on the need of a corresponding good Christian life when signing oneself (for Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, pp. 485-494, reviewing earlier hypotheses, it also dates from before 411-412, perhaps around 403-404).

[100] *In Ps.* 143, 2 (*CSEL* 95/5 (2005): "His armatus, gratia utique armatus, et ideo praesumens non de se, sed de domino suo, processit adversus Goliam superbum, se iactantem, de se praesumentem. Tulit unum lapidem, iecit, inimicum in fronte percussit; cecidit ex eo loco corporis, ubi signum Christi non habuit" (see Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 825). This is echoed in Caesarius or Arles, *Sermo* 121, 7.

[101] *S.* 335K (= Lambot 21), 5 (*PLS* 2 (1960), col. 819-820): "Uno lapide tam immanem hostem terribilemque prostravit. In fronte accepit, et cecidit, ubi signum gratiae non habebat. [...] Fratres mei, prima dispensatione domini nostri Iesu Christi tamquam illius spiritalis Dauid qui venerat ex genere David, accepit in fronte inimicus noster, et prostratus est. Iacuit omnis superstitio gentium, quae non potuit deinceps se erigere adversus ecclesiam dei, quia et quando se erigebat, ipsa tum ictuabatur, sed martyrium coronabatur" (no evidence for the date and location, see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 171). No discussion about the Old Testament reading in Margoni-Kögler, *Die Perikopen*, p. 170, n. 489 probably because the sermon does not indicate anything explicitly. However the rare discussion of the episode should at least hint at the possibility that the story had been read.

interpreted either simply as a lack of grace and thus protection, or as evidence of a barefaced attitude which leads to condemnation by God, echoing Augustine's thoughts about bald foreheads, as we have seen.

ii. Competing Rites

Thus, the protection offered by the rite was deeply valued, and its power was closely associated to victory over death and the promise of eternal life. Performing the rite was felt as a protection in situations of danger. However, Augustine's audience did not see the efficacy of the rite as exclusively depending on one's behaviour as Augustine advocated. Moreover, it envisaged other means of protection, which were not necessarily considered incompatible with the Christian rite. In an undated sermon on martyrs, Augustine rebukes Christians (*Christiani* and *fideles*, thus including both catechumens and baptised Christians) against resorting to astrologers, diviners, amulets and other magical treatments when in danger of death, and exhorted them instead to put all their trust in the Christian rite of signing. Again employing the theme of new persecutions, Augustine concludes that those who refuse such remedies on their deathbed are true martyrs, keeping their forehead clean from amulets, but marked by the cross, thus ready to meet their protector.[102] In another homily on the Gospel of John, preached probably shortly before Lent, perhaps in 407, Augustine similarly noted that resorting to these popular remedies meant to put the sign of the devil on the forehead and therefore to loose the sign of Christ that was placed there.[103] Later, preaching on Psalm 50 in Carthage on the day of games celebrating the anniversary of the city (13 August), probably in 413, Augustine deplored that *fideles*, not even *catechumeni*, sign themselves during games when they are afraid, noting that a true commitment to

[102] *S.* 335D (= Lambot 6), 3 (*PLS* (1960), col. 778-779): "Non enim perit, sed non aliquid perdit, tunc potius quod quaerit invenit. Exiet ad dominum suum, fronte signata cruce Christi, cui per inlicitas ligaturas non fecit iniuriam. Non ei ergo dabit quod promisit quem confligentem ipse protexit? Prorsus protexit eum dominus ne mali aliquid patiatur, et certamen adiuvit ut ab eo diabolus vinceretur" (no evidence for the date and location, see Verbraken, *Études critiques*, p. 169). For a recent analysis: Rebillard, *Christians*, pp. 74-75 and Rebillard, *Religious sociology*, p. 50. See similar comments on the incompatibility of the sign of the cross with the resort to astrologers in *In Ps.* 91, 7. Evodius, in a letter to Augustine, evokes the case of a *notarius* who signed himself on the forehead just before dying (*Ep.* 158, 2).

[103] *Io. eu. tr.* 7, 7 (*CCSL* 36 (1954), p. 71): "Nondum persuadeo christianis in Christo spem esse ponendam? Ecce, si cui factum est remedium, moriatur, - quam multi enim cum remediis mortui sunt, et quam multi sine remediis vixerunt – qua fronte exiit anima ad deum? Perdidit signum Christi, accepit signum diaboli" (dating: see note 37).

the sign in the heart would have brought them to church instead.[104] Such thoughts not only relay the distinction assumed in the audience between *catechumeni* (less committed Christians) and baptised Christians, but also illustrate the adaptability of religious belonging beyond Augustine's strict views. Thus, while his audience seems to have been more accommodating, Augustine insisted on exclusively performing Christian rites as a necessary condition for being Christian and benefitting from God's protection. Augustine's preaching might have been particularly relevant knowing that protective power may have been attributed to cross-shaped signs in magical practices in Africa as attested elsewhere.[105]

Although touching upon the *fideles*, these exhortations also well fit with an audience comprising catechumens, for whom the sign of the cross constituted the main rite of protection. Despite their peculiar position and expectations of a lower commitment, catechumens hoped to receive protection from the rite. While it was clearly refused by Augustine, catechumens appealed to their inclusion into the community for protection in the afterlife: indeed, in a sermon preached perhaps in 404 in an uncertain location outside Hippo, Augustine says that the family of a young man who died as a catechumen expected that he would be granted burial amongst the baptised and perhaps also hoped that he would enjoy protection in the afterlife.[106] A remarkable funerary inscription from late antique southern Gaul corroborates such hopes, as parents mention the cross protecting their dead child in the afterlife, despite the fact that he could not be baptised before death.[107] Augustine himself likewise noted the power of the cross in

[104] *In Ps.* 50, 1 (*CCSL* 38 (1954), pp. 599-600): "Qui si forte in ipso circo aliqua ex causa expavescant, continuo se signant, et stant illic portantes in fronte, unde abscederent si hoc in corde portarent" (see Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches*, p. 163, n. 332; Müller, "Enarrationes", col. 813; N. Requin, *BA* 59B (2019), pp. 401-404).

[105] For instance, John Chrysostom, *Homiliae in epistolam primam ad Corinthios* 12, 7 mentions women putting marks with mud on the foreheads of children for protection against the evil eye and witchcraft, exhorting them to mark their children with the cross instead (see Renaut, *Marquage,* pp. 767-769; J. L. Maxwell, *Christianization and Communication in Late Antiquity. John Chrysostom and his Congregation in Antioch*, Cambridge, 2006, pp. 151-152). See as well Heid, "Kreuz", col. 1128-1129 with further references to evidence in the East.

[106] *S.* 147aug (= Dolbeau 7), 2 (Dolbeau, *Vingt-six*, p. 302): "Quid enim dicturus sum, fratres mei? Palpaturus sum hominem et dicturus quia et catechumeni illuc eunt quo eunt fideles? Usque adeo blandimur doloribus hominum, ut contra evangelium disputemus?" (for the dating hypothesis, with discussion, see Dolbeau, *Vingt-six*, pp. 297-298; É. Rebillard, *BA* 77A, forthcoming).

[107] *CIL* XII, 5750 = *ILCV* 1512 = *ILCV* 02486 = *CLE* 770: "Insegnem genetum cruces munimene septum / [i]nsontem nulla peccati sorde fucatum / [The]udosium parvum quem pura mente parentes / [op]tabant sacro fontes baptesmate tingui / [imp]roba mors rapuet

connection to death. In the *Confessiones*, he narrates how, almost dying in Rome (and was thus only a catechumen), the cross would have protected him from God's enmity, if he were not holding to Manichaean beliefs:

> You had not yet forgiven me in Christ for any of them, nor had he by his cross delivered me from the hostile disposition towards you which I had contracted by my sins. How could he deliver me from them if his cross was, as I had believed, a phantom?[108]

The powerful qualities associated with the cross offered a way for catechumens to feel included into the community despite their lack of baptism. Augustine knew that and skilfully employed the rite to set strict requirements in terms of behaviour to all Christians.

3. Conclusion

For Augustine bearing the cross on the forehead was an essential feature of Christian membership and a powerful statement because of the paradoxical emphasis on Jesus' shameful death. The references to pagans and Faustus the Manichee shaming Christians for their attachment to the cross and to Christ crucified show that for Augustine it should foster belonging and clearly distinguish Christians from other religious groups. An exploration of the context in which Augustine developed these views shows that he took a prominent role as preacher on morals often outside Hippo and in particular in the city of Carthage. The emphasis on religious diversity, the exhortations against shame and in favour of manifesting one's religious belonging, well reflects the situation of a city like Carthage. The insistence on the universal practice of the rite and the exhortations not to be ashamed but proud of the cross also offer another significant and little-known example of Augustine's resort to liturgy to define the "Catholic"

set summi rector Olimpi / [praes]tabet requiem membris ubi nobele signum / [prae]fixum est cruces Chr(ist)ique vocavetor eres" (mentioned by Vogel, "La signation", p. 47). This is briefly commented in P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages c. 200-c. 1150*, Cambridge, 1993, pp. 131-132 who connects it (without clear evidence) to the debate over original sin and thinks that the parents referred to the cross put on the child's burial place. There is ambiguity however on whether the text refers to the cross put on the body or over his tomb.

[108] *Conf.* V, 9.16 (*CCSL* 27 (1981), p. 66): "Non enim quidquam eorum mihi donaveras in Christo, nec solverat ille in cruce sua inimicitias, quas tecum contraxeram peccatis meis. Quomodo enim eas solveret in cruce phantasmatis, quod de illo credideram?" (translation: H. Chadwick, *Saint Augustine. Confessions*, Oxford, 1991, p. 82).

community and draw lines of separation with Donatists and Pelagians, a phenomenon that has been mainly explored in connection to baptism.[109]

As baptism, the sign of the cross durably asserted religious belonging and defined Christians. Thus, there was only one forehead to be marked, although it could be ruined. Contrary to baptism, however, the rite could be repeated and was shared by all Christians, enabling Augustine to reach a wider audience and develop an inclusive approach. This foundational rite of the catechumenate, performed over the course of one's life, was a powerful tool to set rules of behaviour and renew the commitment of the whole community. Augustine underlines that those undergoing the rite would feel protected from the devil, cut off from paganism, becoming part of the chosen ones, the Christians, to be spared at the time of God's judgement. He argued, however, that the *raison d'être* of the sign of the cross and its efficacy were entirely related to a corresponding commitment to rules of behaviour applying to catechumens as much as to baptised Christians. Shared ritual power provided a strong means to build a united community. Sermons show that his audience was more accommodating and believed in the enduring efficacy of the rite while resorting to complementary popular remedies. Catechumens in particular may have had a flexible understanding of their membership, hoping to benefit from the cross as a protection, however without fully committing to Christianity as the baptised Christians. In this context, Augustine's preaching on shame, an emotion that regulates social relations, was aimed at shaping the individuals' perception of themselves and their actions, thus developing a new sense of belonging and leading to a normalisation of social behaviour. Creating a strong connection between ritual performance, emotions, and social interactions outside the church offered a powerful tool to reach an audience as wide as possible and build a united community.

In his sermons and other works, Augustine defined the catechumenate as a necessary process of inclusion. He tried to shape Christian membership as a process of progressive adhesion to norms of behaviour: in this respect, catechumens were particularly important. This confirms Éric Rebillard's conclusion that Augustine included all Christians in his pastoral preaching and particularly fought against the assumption amongst catechumens that

[109] See in particular: A. Vinel, *Le rôle de la liturgie dans la réflexion doctrinale de saint Augustin contre les Pélagiens*, Université Catholique de Louvain PhD. Thesis, 1986; A. Vinel, "L'argument liturgique opposé par saint Augustin aux Pélagiens", *Questions liturgiques*, 68 (1987), pp. 209-241; D. Van Slyke, "Augustine and Catechumenal 'exsufflatio': an Integral Element of Christian Initiation", *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 118 (2004), pp. 175-208, at 197-207; A. Dupont, *Gratia in Augustine's Sermones ad Populum during the Pelagian controversy*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 297-441 (on the use of prayer).

they would be less liable to church discipline.[110] It also shows, however, that catechumens need to be given attention in order to understand better the nature and manifestation of Christian identities in late Antiquity: they were an essential category in Christian communities, employed as a tool for renewal of the broader community, as seen in the use of the rite of the cross on the forehead. Augustine referred to the foundational sign of the cross, the most basic marker of Christians, to address the whole community and define the boundaries of Christian membership often in doctrinal controversies. He used these liminal Christians to renew the commitment of the community, provisionally erasing the distinction based on initiation to demonstrate that Christian membership should rest first and foremost on a radical change of lifestyle. Augustine's objective, when including catechumens, was to promote a united community of committed members. This study of rite of cross in Augustine's writings clearly shows its significance in the definition of Christian belonging. In the steps of recent research emphasising the need to move away from the binary distinction pagan/Christian,[111] further study on this and other rites of incorporation in early Christian writings may more broadly help moving beyond the dichotomy unbaptised/baptised to emphasise the progressive nature of Christianisation in late Antiquity as it was experienced within Christian communities.

Summary

This article shows how the practice of signing foreheads with the cross, a major marker of religious belonging for Christians and a powerful rite of protection, was used by Augustine of Hippo to include catechumens – members of the Christian community that were not fully initiated – in his pastoral care and to develop normative views on Christian membership and behaviour. Investigating Augustine's frequent references to the rite, most often in preached texts, this article first provides a presentation of the concrete practice of signing foreheads and then explores in detail how the rite is interpreted. It particularly highlights that Augustine resorted to the rite to promote a more assertive and exclusive belonging to Christianity against the more accommodating attitude of his audience, and that for this end he provisionally erased the distinction between baptised and unbaptised Christians. Augustine spoke against a sense of shame of the cross shared by his audience

[110] Rebillard, *Christians*, pp. 66-67; Rebillard, "Religious Sociology", p. 43.

[111] See an overview of scholarship in J. L. Maxwell, "Paganism and Christianization", in *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. by S. Johnson, Oxford, 2012, pp. 849-875 and the already quoted studies of Rebillard.

towards non-Christians, connected the performance of the rite and its efficacy to fitting Christian behaviour, and rejected any alternative means of protection. This study sheds light more broadly on the nature of Christian belonging in late Antiquity and the role played by catechumens, demonstrating the significance of rites of incorporation besides baptism for the process of community formation.

Matthieu Pignot
Université de Namur/FNRS
matthieu.pignot@unamur.be

Augustine's Reception of Augustine. How to Compare Images and How to Write History?

Matthias Smalbrugge

(*Amsterdam*)

1. Introduction

The *Retractationes* of Augustine can be considered to be his third major autobiographical work,[1] along with the *Soliloquia* and the *Confessions*. Yet, though the autobiographical nature of this work is obvious, its particular nature has not been sufficiently examined and it therefore merits a more profound analysis. Such an analysis should at least take into account the recent research on the relation between history and autobiography. Modern historiography[2] is indebted to the scholarly debate around narrativism, historicism, the image of the self, and the philosophical analysis of memory,[3] which has produced new insights into the very nature of historiography and the way we transform the past into history. All this research has at least the merit of substantially bridging the gap between historiography and autobiography.[4] The works of, for example, Stephen Greenblatt,[5] Peter

[1] We leave aside smaller autobiographical fragments, like e.g. *Epist.* 7, 22, 35, 211 and 224. Regarding Augustine's autobiographical technique, see, C. Pelling, "Was there an Ancient Genre of Autobiography? Or, did Augustus Know What He Was Doing?", in C. Smith, A. Powell, eds, *The Lost Memoirs of Augustus and the Development of Roman Autobiography*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 41-64; M. Scrodilis Brownlee, "Autobiography as Self-(Re)presentation: The Augustinian Paradigm and Juan Ruiz's Theory of Reading", in J. D. Lyons, S. G. Nichols Jr., *Mimesis. From Mirror to Method, Augustine To Descartes*, Hanover/London, 1982, pp. 71-82.

[2] Cf. G. M. Spiegel, ed., *Practising History. New Directions in Historical Writing After the Linguistic Turn*, New York, 2005.

[3] Cf. J. D. Popkin, "Narrative Theory, History and Autobiography", in J. D. Popkin, *History, Historians & Autobiography*, Chicago, 2005, pp. 33-56, as well as the next chapter, "Historians as Autobiographers", pp. 57-91. Popkin shows adequately the influence of modern philosophy on current historiography, in particular the influence of P. Ricoeur, *Temps et Récit*, Paris, 1983-1985.

[4] Cf. R. Elbaz, *The Changing Nature Of The Self: A Critical Study of the Autobiographic Discourse*, Iowa, 1987. Also J. Assmann, "Remembering in Order to Belong: Writing, Memory, and Identity", in *Religion and Cultural Memory*, Stanford, 2006, pp. 81-100; J. Brockmeijer, D. Carbaugh, *Narrative and Identity: Studies in Autobiography, Self and Culture*,

Burke,[6] Frank Ankersmit,[7] and Mark Rowlands,[8] to name just a few, have made considerable contributions to the idea that historiography is closely connected to the philosophical question of "representation" and its real or fictional character.[9] Moreover, these studies have demonstrated that one of the main elements of the relationship between historiography and autobiography is the notion of self-fashioning, as conceived by Greenblatt. Both the manner in which we speak about history and the manner in which we speak about ourselves may be ways of self-fashioning; so questions about representation, image, and reference cannot and should not be avoided. Furthermore, the autobiography and its creating of images of the past have been influential even in the domain of church history,[10] underlining the relevance of research on the Augustinian *Retractationes*.

Amsterdam, 2001. Linda Anderson, *Autobiography*, London, New York, 2001/2011; J. Freccero, "Autobiography and Narrative", in Th. C. Heller, M. Sosna, D. E. Wellbery, eds, *Reconstructing Individualism. Autonomy, Individuality, and the Self in Western Thought*, Stanford, 1986, pp. 16-29.

[5] S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare*, London 1980/2005. A good example of this self-fashioning is the case described in the famous study of P. Burke on Louis XIV, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven/London, 1992, in particular ch. V, Self-assertion, pp. 61-69.

[6] P. Burke, *Western Historical thinking in a Global Perspective*, in J. Rüsen, Western Historical Thinking. An Intercultural Debate, New York, Oxford, 2002, pp. 15-29. See also his splendid, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven 1992.

[7] Fr. Ankersmit, *Meaning, Truth and Reference in Historical Representation*, Cornell, 2007; F. Ankersmit, *Sublime Historical Experience. Cultural Memory in the Present*, Stanford, 2005. One of his critics, E. Domanska, considers Ankersmit's last position a kind of relapse in earlier romanticism. Cf. E. Domanska, "Frank Ankersmit: From narrative to experience", *Rethinking History* 13 (2009), pp. 175-195. This criticism is particularly relevant when dealing with autobiography: the element of the narrative is essential in analysing the structure of the autobiography.

[8] M. Rowlands, "The Metaphysical and the Autobiographical Self", in M. Rowlands, *Memory and the Self: Phenomenology, Science and Autobiography*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 75-92.

[9] J. Hart, "Mimesis, Recognition and Culture", in J. Hart, *Textual Imitation: Making and Seeing in Literature*, New York, 2013, pp. 13-40.

[10] One of the most fascinating publications recently published on autobiography was the article of Chr. Markschies, "Kirchengeschichte – oder: Warum es ein Vergnügen ist zwischen den Stühlen zu sitzen", in B. Jaspert, ed., *Kirchengeschichte als Wissenschaft*, Münster, 2013, pp. 115-137; p. 115: *Meinen Zugang zur Kirchengeschichte möchte ich biographisch erläutern – nicht deswegen, weil meine Biographie aufgrund irgendwelcher Besonderheiten verdient, in den Mittelpunkt gestellt zu werden, sondern allein deswegen, weil ich davon überzeugt bin, dass der individuelle Zugang zu einem wissenschaftlichen Feld tief biographisch bestimmt, wenn natürlich auch nicht gänzlich determiniert ist.* What Markschies at least puts forward, is that autobiography is closely related to historiography, though he does not go into detail about the methodological relation between these two elements. To be contrasted with the autobiographical approach of P. Burke. Cf. P. Burke, Invitation to Historians: "An intellectual self-portrait or the history of an historian", *Rethinking History* 13 (2009), pp. 269-281,

In short, modern historiography, deeply influenced by postmodernism,[11] has increasingly become aware of the subjectivity of every narrative and of the fact that this subjectivity has to be explored and analysed if its possible negative consequences – epistemological scepticism and relativism – are to be overcome. This quest of meaning, overcoming thereby an epistemological *aporia*, is therefore profoundly related to the analysis of autobiographical writing. Is an autobiography more than a subject writing in a purely subjective way on his or her own subject? Put otherwise, is there more than the *circulus vitiosus*? If so, can this outcome be useful to historiography in general? Is there any historical writing that is linked to the writing subject in anything other than a purely subjective way, or is there no hope for overcoming epistemological relativism? With such questions in mind, this paper analyses how Augustine used autobiographical techniques in order to create his own reception and how he found a particular way of dealing with the relation between (personal) *memoria* and (general) *historia*.[12] The focus is primarily on a few important passages of the *Retractationes*.

The main thesis of this article will be that Augustine is not only correcting his own works, but also his own image, the representation he is eager to hand over to his future readers.[13] However, this first element is nothing new in the history of research on the *Retractationes*.[14] What I also hope to

who writes: *In my view, historians should try to be aware of the role that present concerns play in their studies of the past. Hence, the Fabrication's explicit comparisons and contrasts between official image-making in the seventeenth and in the twentieth centuries*, p. 278.

[11] Cf. E. Breisach, "The Metanarrative Controversy", in E. Breisach, *On the Future of History. The Postmodern Challenge and Its Aftermath*, Chicago, 2003, pp. 122-141.

[12] I cannot dwell further on this very interesting aspect, but of course, the relation between *memoria* and *historia* has a particular meaning in Christianity: *do this in remembrance of me*. A very illuminating illustration of this kind of historiography, rightly pertaining to the topic of eucharistic remembrance, has been published by C. Gallagher, S. Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism*, Chicago/London, 2000, ch. 5, "The Mousetrap", pp. 136-162. See also the instructive example of R. Bernstein, in his review of Avishai Margalit, "The Ethics of Memory, Review Essay", *History and Theory* 43 (2004), pp. 165-178, who discusses the fact that memory can be erroneous, but nevertheless the basis of history. He quotes the example of a survivor of the Holocaust whose memory proved to be erroneous in some details. As he puts it, this particular example of memory is the basis of *the reality of an unimaginable occurrence*, p. 167. Therefore, it can be the basis of historiography. See also, J. Lössl, *The Early Church. History and Memory*, London/New York, 2010.

[13] Which implies that the autobiography has a performative, conjectural and self-revising character. Cf. M. Sheringham, "Autobiographical turning points: Remembering and forgetting", *Literator, Journal of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics and Literary Studies* 36 (2015) online.

[14] For the history of research on the *Retractationes*, see, H. Müller, "Augustine's Retractationes in the Context of his Letter Corpus: on the Genesis and Function of an Uncommon Genre", *Revue d'Études Augustiniennes et Patristiques* 62 (2016), pp. 95-120.

show is that this correction of his own image is not only a matter of personal judgment but first and foremost Augustine's wish to measure the distance between his own image and the image of God that man is supposed to discover in his inner being.[15] Finally, that in that sense the *Retractationes* are fully part of his theology of image.[16]

2. Augustine and Autobiography

In contrast with the *Confessions* and the *Soliloquia*, Augustine's *Retractationes* do not deal with the author's life *per se*; rather, it is concerned with his books and his reflections on them. This may explain why the *Retractationes* has perhaps not sufficiently been considered as the last step in Augustine's amazing capacity for playing with images, representing himself as a kind of old-fashioned critical scholar, seriously revising his own works. Yet, at the same time, below this image of the serious scholar, sincere critic, and skilful author, he forges an inner unity in his doctrines and beliefs that was not, perhaps, apparent to his readers.[17] He refers to his own works and shows us how the relation between the author (himself) and his works has changed over time, and how he feels obliged, therefore, to correct the elements he now considers embarrassing and that might undermine the image by which he wants to be remembered in posterity. Simply put, he creates his *personal* memories as interpretations of his past and his works that must become *our* memory. In a sophisticated manipulation of memory, he ensures that

[15] Cf. H. Müller, Augustine's *Retractationes*, quoting the preface by A. Mutzenbecher of the *Retractationes* in the *Corpus Christianorum*: "*Doch das Gewicht dessen, was Augustin dazu getrieben hatte, ein Werk in dieser Form zu schreiben, nämlich das Bewusstsein der Verantwortung Gott und den Menschen gegenüber für jedes von ihm geäusserte Wort, hat die Retraktationen nicht nur in ihrer Gattung, sondern in der Weltliteratur zu einem einzigartigen Werk gemacht*", p. 96. Indeed, Augustine submitted his words and his image to God.

[16] Literature on this topic is too extensive to quote and I therefore only refer to G. P. Boersma, *Augustine's Early Theory of Image: A Study in the Development of Pro-Nicene Theology*, Oxford, 2016.

[17] The best introduction to this work, is actually the article from K. Pollmann, "Alium sub meo nomine: Augustine between His Own Self-Fashioning and His Later Reception", *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 14 (2010), pp. 409-424. See also, A. Obermeier, *The History and Anatomy of Auctoral Self-Criticism in the European Middle Ages*, Amsterdam/Atlanta, 1999, pp. 52-56. The "Retractatio" of the *Retractationes* can be found in *Epist*. 224, where Augustine states that his goal was correction and defence: *nam retractabam opuscula mea; et si quid in eis me offenderet, uel alios offendere posset, partim reprehendendo, partim defendendo quod legi deberet et posset, operabar*. E. Clark has done much to relate this letter to the *Retractationes*, in her "On Not Retracting the Unconfessed", in J. D. Caputo, 156M. J. Scanlon, eds, *Augustine and Postmodernism. Confessions and Circumfession*, Bloomington, 2005, pp. 222-243. In the *Retractationes* themselves, Augustine only speaks of *quod me offendit* leaving aside the auto-defence.

the way he remembers his books must also become ours, for his personal memory becoming our memory will unavoidably become history, allowing Augustine to transform his personal memory into a general history. History, as Augustine seems to conceive it, is a kind reproduction of once-created memories. Of course, these memories have to be created! They have to be dug up,[18] perhaps even corrected or rectified, even formulated in other ways, but once they have been formed according to the author's wishes, they can become the basis of history. This remarkable process seems to be particular to the *Retractationes*, a book that clearly, therefore, has alternative – but no less effective – purposes besides those visible in the *Confessions*[19] and the *Soliloquia*. For a final time, Augustine showed his rhetorical mastery in shaping the image he wanted to be handed over to posterity:[20] an image weaving together the threads of his work and person in a more objective and less narrative way than in the *Confessions*.

Indeed, Karla Pollmann has emphasised that these books are characterised by Augustine's incredible capacity for shaping his own reception,[21] both of his works and of his authorial identity. What we see is a man capable of forging images he would like to hand over to his readers, in order to be understood and to be looked upon as he wants.[22] As a prolific writer, he is fully aware of the fact that some phrases, some expressions, even some thoughts might be misunderstood. Therefore, he scrutinises his own writings in order to see whether there are elements needing corrections. Hence, he calls these books the *Retractationes*, or *Reconsiderations*. There are things he wants to retract or to correct, making a long series of auto-critical remarks, in a process analogous to proofreading and correct-

[18] Cf. *Conf.* X,8,12.

[19] Unlike G. Madec, I think the *Retractationes* are far from a kind of new *Confessions*. Cf. G. Madec, "Introduction aux Révisions et à la lecture des oeuvres de saint Augustin", *Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Antiquité*, Paris, 1996.

[20] Some of his works haven been written after the completion of the *Retractationes*. In particular his works against Julian of Aeclanum. See, A. Mutzenbecher, "Der Nachtrag zur den Retraktationen mit Augustins letzten Werken", *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 30 (1984), pp. 60-83.

[21] Though at the same time no attention is paid to the aspect of self-fashioning, as formulated by S. Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare.* In fact, Greenblatt, though his influence is great, is hardly mentioned in literature about Augustine. See also the very instructive study of S. Ratti, *Le premier Saint Augustin*, Paris, 2016, who shows in detail the way Augustine fashions various aspects of his image.

[22] H. Müller stresses the way some letters already helped Augustine to shape the genre of the *Retractationes*, aiming indeed "to reshape and to control the reception of his literary oeuvre". Cf. H. Müller, "Augustine's Retractationes in the Context of his Letter Corpus: on the Genesis and Function of an Uncommon Genre", *Revue des Etudes augustiniennes et Patristiques* 62 (2016), pp. 95-120.

ing a draft manuscript. Indeed, Augustine mentions that he will revise his works – be it books, letters, or treatises – with a "severe judgment" and will act like a censor, amending or removing the passages that displease him.[23] He assumes that no one will dare blame him for errors he has already corrected himself.[24] Three expressions in the first two lines – *iudiciaria seueritate*; *censorio stilo*; *errata reprehendo* – reveal the spirit of a man who is most critical towards his own works and who apparently tries to avoid every possible fault, especially those pertaining to the doctrinal field. It is this desire to correct his works that raises the question of the criterion: what is the criterion allowing him to correct his works? Did he change his mind and does he hold other opinions than he once did, causing a kind of shameful remembrance of earlier days? Have the limits of orthodoxy – if that would be the criterion – changed? What is his criterion and can we reveal it? It is a question that must be answered, and one that is related to the question of the object. Indeed, in the very first paragraph Augustine changes the "object", that is, the one who could be hurt by these faults. He begins by claiming he is eager to remove what offends himself,[25] but this quickly transforms into a desire to escape the judgment passed on what might offend his Master.[26] Augustine not only examines what he has written, he also wants to submit his critical reading to the Lord and, by doing so, he hopes to avoid a final judgment. Judge yourself and you will not be judged by the Lord[27] is the first scriptural quotation included in the preface. From this alone, perhaps we can already identify some elements of the criterion? For if I feel embarrassed by some thoughts I once had and which I now consider erroneous, then the criterion is my personal and actual state of mind. What I think at present might lead me to conclude that I held some erroneous opinions in the past, which at least would imply that my mind has changed and that there has been a certain development. Yet, if I feel embarrassed because I fear the judgement of the Lord, then this implies that the criterion is the Word of the Lord and certainly not my personal conviction. Of course, this suggestion leaves aside the fact that it is still me who interprets the Word of the Lord, but as a rhetorical tech-

[23] *Retract*. Prologus 1 (*CCSL* 57, ed. A. Mutzenbecher): *adgredior, quia differendum esse non arbitror, ut opuscula mea, siue in libris siue in epistolis siue in tractatibus cum quadam iudiciaria seueritate recenseam, et quod me offendit, uelut censorio stilo denotem*.

[24] Ibid., Prologus (*CCSL* 57): *Neque enim quisquam nisi imprudens, ideo quia mea errata reprehendo, me reprehendere audebit*.

[25] Ibid., Prologus 1 (*CCSL* 57): *quod me offendit...denotem*.

[26] Ibid., Prologus 2 (*CCSL* 57): *Restat igitur ut me ipse iudicem sub magistro uno, cuius de offensionibus meis iudicium euadere cupio.*

[27] Ibid., Prologus 2 (*CCSL* 57): *Si nos ipsos iudicaremus, a domino non iudicaremur* (I Cor 11,31).

nique it is quite convincing. It is a technique revealing Augustine's amazing ability to modify essential elements of his self-representation: he did not change; he only wanted to emphasise once more the role of the Word of God. Essentially, he is not correcting but underlining.

This way of interpreting the *Retractationes* suggests that Augustine might have had more goals than those he explicitly mentions. Indeed, recent research on his autobiographical technique has highlighted many of Augustine's literary skills, by revealing the almost hidden aspects and the different layers Augustine relied on in fashioning his own *persona*.[28] What was confessed and what was not confessed?[29] What was the protreptic aim of the *Confessions*?[30] What can be said about the coherence of the narrative created?[31] What is the relation between the narrator, the writer, and the object that is written on in the *Confessions*?[32] Moreover, in the philosophical sense of the word, what is the status of the subject?[33] Who is actually confessing?[34] All these aspects and questions have also to be taken into

[28] We have to be aware of the fact that Augustin speaks in person, certainly, but also becomes a *persona*. Cf. M. Smalbrugge, "The Notion of Persona in Early Christianity", forthcoming the *Encyclopedia of Early Christianity* (Brill). The most striking example of this growing awareness is of course J. J. O'Donnell, *Augustine. A New Biography*, New York, 2005. See also his "Augustine's Unconfessions", in J. D. Caputo, M. J. Scanlon, eds, *Augustine and Postmodernism. Confessions and Circumfession*, Bloomington, 2005, pp. 212-221. For a critical appraisal of the recent biographies of Augustine, see, N. Baker-Brian, "Modern Augustinian Biographies: Revisions and Counter-Memories", *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 11 (2007), pp. 151-167. However, in a more traditional way, memory, confession and moulding of one's person are brought together by D. Tell, "Beyond Mnemotechnics: Confession and Memory in Augustine", *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 39 (2006), pp. 233-253.

[29] M. W. Elliot, "More Confessed Than Unconfessed: Thoughts Gained From Teaching The Canonical Augustine", *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 11 (2007), pp. 115-128.

[30] A. Kotzé, *Augustine's Confessions: Communicative Purpose and Audience*, Leiden, 2004; Idem, "Protreptic, Paraenetic and Augustine's Confessions", in J. A. Van Den Berg, A Kotzé, eds, *In Search for Truth: Augustine, Manichaeism, and Other Gnosticism. Studies for Hans van Oort at Sixty*, Leiden/Boston, 2011, pp. 3-23.

[31] B. Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue. The Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2010.

[32] J. Sturrock, *The Language of Autobiography. Studies in The First Person singular*, Cambridge, 1993.

[33] See, D. Zahavi, *Subjectivity and Selfhood. Investigating the First-Person Perspective*, Cambridge/Massachusetts, London, 2008, in particular ch. 5,III, The Narrative Concept of Self.

[34] See, L Boeve, "Retrieving Augustine Today. Between Neo-Augustinianist Essentialism and Radical Hermeneutics?", in L. Boeve, M. Lamberigts, M. Wisse, eds, *Augustine and Postmodern Thought. A New Alliance Against Modernity*, Leuven, 2009, pp. 1-17, where the author writes, p. 10: "*This genre is not so much about the confession of a subject having committed a trespass, taking responsibility for it. The more radical confession is never 'mine', but the decision of the other in me who comes over me... It is always the other who confesses in me*". Compare, M. Foucault, *Premier cours au Collège de France, 1982, L'herméneutique du sujet*, Paris, 2001, p. 17: *La spiritualité postule que la vérité n'est jamais donnée au sujet de plein droit. La*

account when reading the *Retractationes*, as for the *Confessions* and the *Soliloquia*. Yet, the way Augustine dealt with these questions in his three autobiographical works, proves how convincing he was in this life-long self-representation.

3. The Technique of the *Soliloquia* and the *Confessions*

What then is the essence of this Augustinian technique of self-representation? And what is the difference between the *Soliloquia* and the *Confessions* on the one hand and the *Retractationes* on the other? To address these questions, some brief remarks on the other autobiographical texts of Augustine are in order.

To start with the *Soliloquia*:[35] these soliloquies may reveal some highly relevant aspects of the Augustinian technique, to be kept in mind when turning our attention to the *Retractationes*. The *Soliloquia* starts as an internal dialogue, focussing on the inner gap between Augustine and his Mind (*Ratio*), and providing an account of a man having an inner voice and speaking to himself, looking for ways to overcome his inner division. The focus is not correction; rather, it is the discovery of an inner division and at the same time the discovery of some kind of self-knowledge. Confronted with this division as the main dynamic of the self, Augustine tries to overcome it by introducing the notion of similitude, acknowledging the inevitability of truth and falsehood in the similitude. Take the example of an actor. In order to be a true actor, let's say a true Hector, you have to be a false Hector, a fake one. If you want to see the true portrait of a horse, the horse must be fake.[36] Further, the man who looks in the mirror sees not a real man but a fake one, which implies that the author who wants to picture a true portrait of himself will always fake the truth. So what he is

spiritualité postule que le sujet en tant que tel n'a pas droit, n'a pas la capacité d'avoir accès à la vérité. Elle postule que la vérité n'est pas donnée au sujet par un simple acte de connaissance, qui serait fondé et légitimé parce qu'il est le sujet et parce qu'il a telle ou telle structure de sujet. Elle postule qu'il faut que le sujet se modifie, se transforme, se déplace, devienne, dans une certaine mesure et jusqu'à un certain point, autre que lui-même pour avoir droit à avoir accès à la vérité. La vérité n'est donnée au sujet qu'à un prix qui met en jeu l'être même du sujet.

[35] A good introduction has been written by B. Stock, *Augustine's Inner Dialogue: the Philosophical Soliloquy in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge, 2010.

[36] *Sol.* II,10,18 (*CSEL* 89, ed. W. Hörmann): *Quid putas, nisi haec omnia inde esse in quibusdam vera, unde in quibusdam falsa sunt, et ad suum verum hoc solum eis prodesse, quod ad aliud falsa sunt? Unde ad id, quod esse aut volunt aut debent, nullo modo perveniunt, si falsa esse fugiunt. Quo pacto enim iste quem commemoravi, verus tragoedus esset, si nollet esse falsus Hector, falsa Andromacha, falsus Hercules, et alia innumera? aut unde vera pictura esset, si falsus equus non esset? unde in speculo vera hominis imago, si non falsus homo?*

doing here is realising a first exercise with fashioning the self, asking: what is false, what is true?[37] Obviously, one of his conclusions is that there is an artificial element in every representation. That is a conclusion that is not countered by the sequel of this passage, where Augustine states that this twofold character of the reality, a mixture of false and true, is not what he is looking for.[38] On the contrary, he longs for a reality that does not suffer from a double nature. Of course not, he is longing for a single truth. But writing yourself on yourself, creating an image of yourself, is nothing else than being aware of this double nature of the ordinary reality. It is the platonic influence[39] that makes him see reality as a layered reality, in which we have to seek the ultimate reality. It is for that reason that he refers to the examples of falsehood in the empirical reality, like the image of a broken oar once it has been put in the water.[40] But he clearly realises that this simple reality he is longing for, cannot be grasped when an author is writing an autobiographical tract. In that case, the me that is writing and the me on which is written, must be the same but at the same time they never can be the same. That is what in the end shall make him conclude that the self cannot be touched on without its "double" which is God.[41] The self cannot be approached directly; it has to be imagined. The technique he uses invokes the difference between true and false and raises the question of whether the imagined self belongs to the realm of truth or falsehood. If I imagine my "self", is this image then a false or a true one? If the latter, then what is the self behind the representation? What Augustine hereby discovers in any case is the artificial element of every representation, the need for the quest of the self, and the need of a technique for discovering this self. This technique seems to be the autobiographical one, though it is not yet clear whether this will lead us to the truth. Writing and thinking about one's self proves to be a *similitude* and on the one hand this simil-

[37] Cf. Ph. Carey, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self. The Legacy of a Christian Platonist*, Oxford, 2000.

[38] *Sol*. II,10,18: *sed illud verum quaerere, quod non quasi bifronte ratione sibique adversanti*.

[39] Cf. Erik Kenyon, *Augustine and the Dialogue*, Cambridge, 2018, in particular ch. 2 "From Plato to Augustine", pp. 57-81. See also, P. Carey, *Inner Grace: Augustine in the Traditions of Plato and Paul*, Oxford, 2008. It is an influence some authors even consider to be prevailing up to even 395; see, B. Dobell, *Augustine's Intellectual Conversion: the Journey from Platonism to Christianity*, Cambridge 2009, in particular the conclusion: "Conclusion: Augustin the Porphyrian", pp. 228-236.

[40] *Sol*. II,9,17: et eo tamen falsa sunt, quo id quod tendunt esse non possunt. *R*. - Quid iam de turrium motu, vel de merso remo, vel de umbris corporum plura dicam?

[41] Cf. M. Smalbrugge, "Imago verweven met zelfkennis en godskennis. Het augustijn tegoed in postmoderne tijden", *Tijdschrift voor Theologie* 57 (2017), pp. 326-343.

itude is *mater falsitatis*,[42] on the other it is *ueritatis mater*.[43] Artificiality is true and false, thinking about one's self is artificial, and therefore true and false and Augustine chooses to be clear about these aspects.[44] Autobiographical writing does not imply an ability to directly access to one's self; it is artificial and it can be compared to a mirror. Whosoever looks into the mirror will meet not a reality but an image, containing false and true elements. Or perhaps we should state that images and imagery – *similitudines* – are the only reality available and accessible to an author; there is no directly accessible reality, so once you start showing your life to others and describing it as a mirror in which your readers can partly recognise their lives, you necessarily fake your own life. You do so in order to show that the truth about one's life has to come from elsewhere than from one's pencil and, moreover, that it is not directly accessible, but has to be "imagined". Yet, this "faking" and the play with "false" and "true" has nothing to do with moral categories. They should be taken in an exclusively literary and epistemological sense. The reader should take care not to judge this technique in a moral sense. "True" and "false" cannot be considered as categories which are morally acceptable or reprehensible;[45] they merely represent techniques in the hand of a skilful author and are part of his hermeneutical structure. There is no sense in blaming the author for making his own choices. The conclusion then can be that the *Soliloquia* shows us that the truth has to be represented, even imagined. There is no direct access. What we can achieve, in longing for the truth and in searching for our

[42] *Sol.* (*CSEL* 89) II,6,10.

[43] *Sol.* (*CSEL* 89) II,7,13.

[44] See also, G. P. Boersma, *Augustine's Early Theology of Image*, p. 12/13: *In the Soliloquies, Augustine is attentive to the dual nature – both negative and positive – of an image. ... An image has first of all a negative character: it claims to be something that it is not...However this negative evaluation of image is predicated on a more primordial positive evaluation, suggests Augustine. Only because an image participates in its source can it be genuine reflection*.

[45] J. J. O'Donnell describes in his *Augustine. A New Biography* (see note 28), his object in terms of radical disapproval. Augustine tells a "moral melodrama" (p. 43), makes "tendentious association" (p. 43), writes "something slight and insubstantial, a pamphlet of ten thousand words or so" (p. 45). The overall impression this biography presents is that of man who has his reasons to hide his real life and who is merely an opportunist. O'Donnell blames his object in scornful appraisals for his choices and his style. He considers, in his *Augustine's Unconfessions* (see note 28), the main question why we still practise "gullibility" in trusting "an autobiographical narrative with heavy theological overtone, written by a man with a suspect past and enemies of all sort"(p. 213). This strong disapproval has, in my view, no sense as long as the historian doesn't clarify what are his own hermeneutics? What is the approach he is practising when reading Augustine's *Confessions* and other auto-biographical books and letters? We are dealing with a literary author who said from the very beginning that writing, painting, playing, was a matter of false and true and even had to be so. So what is the problem with Augustine arranging his material?

"selves", is a similitude, the image we see in a mirror. The question, then, is this: if the only way to gain access to my self is through imagining myself, where does the image come from? How is it related to the truth? Probably, the image, at least the true one, comes from elsewhere than from ourselves.

Augustine pursued this enquiry in the *Confessions*,[46] asserting the need for grace and conversion.[47] The inner dialogue was now transformed and intensified into a prayer, a dialogue with God, who indeed confronted the author with the need for grace. Honest though this longing for grace may have been, the literary play was still clearly present in this work.[48] The author did not solely have a dialogue with God; he had it no less with his readers.[49] They, not God, were the very reason Augustine started to write and decided to publish. Furthermore, even as he introduces the theme of correction by suggesting that his readers need to correct their lives,[50] the book is itself his own correction of his own personal past.[51] Accusing his readers, he seems to cry out that he is ready to accuse himself; he is trapped

[46] Cf. P. Rigby, "Confessio", in P. Rigby, *The Theology of Augustine's Confessions*, Cambridge, 2015, pp. 6-33, who also refers frequently to Ricoeur's analysis of the autobiography, in particular in his *Soi-même comme un autre*, Paris, 1990. See also, Paula Frederiksen, "The Confessions as Autobiography", in M. Vessey, S. Reid, ed., *A Companion to Augustine*, Chichester, 2012, pp. 87-99, as well as M. Hollingworth, "Augustine and Spiritual Autobiography", part I, *The Expository Times* 127 (2015), pp. 53-62; part II, Ibid, p, 114-123.

[47] Ph. Carey, *Inner Grace: Augustine in the Traditions of Plato and Paul*, Oxford, 2008, in particular, ch. 2 Pauline Grace, pp. 33-68. S. Thompson, "The Confessions of Saint Augustine: accessory to grace", in T. Mathien, D. G.Wright, eds, *Autobiogrpahy as Philosophy. The philosophical uses of self-presentation*, New York, 2006, pp. 31-63.

[48] Cf. P. Rigby, "Narcissism and Narrative's Vital Lie", in P. Rigby, *The Theology of Augustine's Confessions*, pp. 56-70. In quite another way, but no less convincing, P. Burton describes the *Confessions* as an anti-comedy. This time, there is no happy ending with a marriage, but the renouncement of sexuality. Cf. P. Burton, "Alternative Comedy: The Language of the Theatre", in *Language in the Confessions of Augustine*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 35-62.

[49] *Conf.* X,3,3 (*CCSL* 27, ed. L. Verheijen): *Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus, ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Curiosum genus ad cognoscendam uitam alienam, desidiosum ad corrigendam suam. Quid a me quaerunt audire qui sim, qui nolunt a te audire qui sint? Et unde sciunt, cum a me ipso de me ipso audiunt, an verum dicam, quandoquidem nemo scit hominum, quid agatur in homine, nisi spiritus hominis, qui in ipso est.* This phrase is a very illuminating one. Augustine confronts his readers with a question which, he suggests, they must answer. Though in fact it is his choice to publish what he is writing and no one else can answer the question but the author. See also X,4,5; X,4,6.

[50] As P. Ricoeur states in *Temps et Récit, II, Le temps raconté*: "Comme l'analyse littéraire de l'autobiographie le vérifie, l'histoire d'une vie ne cesse d'être refigurée par toutes les histoires véridiques ou fictives qu'un sujet raconte sur lui-même. Cette réfiguration fait de la vie elle-même un tissu d'histoires racontées", p. 356.

[51] Cf. M. Warner, *The Aesthetics of Argument*, Oxford, 2016, in particular the chapter' Philosophical Autobiography', "The *Confessions* of St Augustine", p. 99 sqq.

in an aporia.[52] This indicates that his quest for truth has become an even more existential one, addressing the questions: what is true in my life and can I picture my life in a true way? To the latter, the answer is affirmative: he can picture his life in a true sense, but only as a confession. Such a confession, however, remains an image of one's past life. Once again, it is a similitude, bearing in it true and false elements. Where, then, does this image, these *Confessions*, meet the truth? For if it is only an image Augustine pictures of himself, there is potentially a great distance between the real Augustine and the image figuring in the *Confessions*, between the author and his work. In that case, Augustine would have written an autobiography that reduced his own authorship to a kind of *persona*, a role he assumed in order to convince his audience independently of the truth.[53] He would be like an actor taking up his role, thus reducing the whole story of the *Confessions* to a kind of theatre.[54] He would not have made any progress compared to the *Soliloquia*. Certainly, it is true that there is a degree of conscious self-fashioning and of modelling the truth involved.[55]

But there is more. There is this genuine longing for grace and the discovery of the fact the image he pictures of himself is only true if it corresponds to the interior image of God in our soul.[56] What is required, in fact, is two images that can be compared one with the other. One image is the picture you make yourself, the other is the image allowing you to see whether the image you created is a true or false one. But this discovery is not something that can be reached by means of one's own capacities.[57] There is the essential role of grace, the divine gift which we cannot merit. Augustine asserts that we can only pray for grace, but he understands that each prayer he addresses to God is no less an exhortation to his readers. This, indeed, is a protreptic approach,[58] in which image becomes the gift

[52] S. Menn, "The Desire for God and the Aporetic Method in Augustine's Confessions", in *Augustine's Confessions: Philosophy in Autobiography,* ed. by W. E. Mann. Oxford, 2014, pp. 71-107.

[53] Which in fact is the tendency of J. J. O'Donnell, *Augustine, A New Biography* (see note 28).

[54] Cf. P. Burton, Alternative Comedy: "The Language of the Theatre", in P. Burton, *Language in the Confessions of Augustine*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 36-62.

[55] Something P. Rigby, *The Theology of Augustine's Confessions*, calls a "consoling lie", stating in accordance with Ricoeur that Augustine wrote the *Confessions* as a narrative in which "we (or, a single subject, Augustine) oscillate between the corrosive suspicion of stories as consoling lies and the equally invincible conviction that fictions are not simply arbitrary, inasmuch as they respond to a need over which we are not the masters", p. 58.

[56] Cf. *Conf.* III,7,12; VI,3,4; 4,5.

[57] Cf. Ph. Carey, *Outward Signs, The Powerlessness of External Things in Augustine's Thought*, Oxford, 2008.

[58] A. Kotzé, "*Cui narro haec*: Augustine and his Manichaean Audience: a Re-Reading of the First Three Books of the Confessions: Original Research", *HTS Theological Studies* 60 (2013), pp. 1-8.

of God to humanity. The paradoxical use of image now becomes somewhat clearer. In Augustine's view, one has to create an image of one's self in order to discover true and false, which can only be discovered by comparing our own image with the image God gave us. It is no longer a dialogue between a man and himself, as it was in the *Soliloquia*, but a dialogue with his readers and with God in order to discover the true image according to which we have to live. Therefore, autobiographical writing is a necessary phase in which Augustine deals with the image he creates of himself as a means to discover true and false. Yet, on might raise the question whether this autobiographical approach is the best way to find the divine image in ourselves? It is, according to Confessions X,8,15.[59] The only way to discover the divine image is our memory. But memory is always our personal memory, it is the image of the past I collected and therefore, it is an image of myself. The best way therefore to discover the divine image, with the help of divine grace, is to compare my own image of myself with the divine image. Truth I then will discover is only to be found in the interior *imago Dei*, which represents a discovery thanks to the divine grace. This mode of conceiving truth ascribes to grace a central role, though this central role cannot be managed anymore by the human subject, thus leaving us, again, in a situation of great epistemological relativism. There is a truth, but we cannot discover it through the use of our own capacities. Image and autobiography are means to discover the truth about our lives, but the ultimate truth will only be accessible thanks to grace, implying that there is an intimate relation between the theology of grace and autobiography. In that sense, we might suggest that the Augustinian technique of self-fashioning has a purely theological aim, namely the discovery of the divine image.

4. The *Retractationes*

How does Augustine refine this already sophisticated autobiographical technique in the *Retractationes*? This work, best translated as *Reconsiderations* or *Reappraisals*,[60] represents perhaps the most convincing proof of

[59] *Conf.* X,8,15: *Magna ista uis est memoriae, magna nimis, deus meus, penetrale amplum et infinitum. Quis ad fundum eius pervenit? Et uis est haec animi mei atque ad meam naturam pertinet, nec ego ipse capio totum, quod sum. Ergo animus ad habendum se ipsum angustus est, ut ubi sit quod sui non capit? Numquid extra ipsum ac non in ipso? Quomodo ergo non capit?*

[60] The translation of *Retractationes* with *Revisions* does not take into account the literary purpose of Augustine. He is re-arranging is materials, seeking at the same time "correction" and "defense". Yet, what he corrects is not something that objectively is incorrect; it is a correction in his self-representation.

the discontinuity in Augustine's writings.[61] The most interesting part of the *Retractationes* is the first book, in which he reconsiders the works written before his ordination. It is in this part that he endeavours to create a certain unity among his works, an element which at first sight is not directly visible.

In my view, then, Augustine is taking several steps in the *Retractationes*. The first is the reshaping of the interpretation of his early works, in particular the works against the Manicheans and the *De Libero Arbitrio.* In both cases, he tries to prove that these works have to be considered as purely anti-pelagian writings and he thus traces the framework of his own reception. He entirely shifts the angle of incidence. Indeed, it is the step of Augustine creating his own reception. He creates a new image of what he has written and, compared to the two other autobiographical works, refines the idea of a true portrait, based on the notion of grace. As he himself states, in the context of a discussion about *De Libero Arbitrio*: *behold, long time before the Pelagians existed, we were already discussing as if we argued against them*.[62] The second step is forging a crossroad between literary technique and theology in construing the image of a man standing in the need of correction, in order to discover the truth. This is a correction that might seem a purely literary affair, but which at the same time has a metaphysical dimension. He is acting like a censor, but this censorship is rooted in the belief that it is God who makes us aware of the interior image we have to discover. Simultaneously, however, it is a defence, according to *Epistola* 224.[63] Thus both elements contribute to the reception Augustine wants to enforce. In other words, Augustine tackles, for the final time, his own image, transforming his literary *topos* – reappraisal and correction[64] – into a theological theme: the true image. This autobiograph-

[61] A thesis eminently defended by C. Harrison, *Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology. An Argument for Continuity*, Oxford, 2006. Yet, it does not take into account the very serious troubles Augustine has in creating some sense of unity in his work, as is visible in the *Retractationes*. See the review of M. J. Boone, "Carol Harrison, Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology", *Augustinian Studies* 40 (2009), pp. 154-156; and, seriously critical, the review of J. Rist, Rethinking Augustine's Early Theology, *New Blackfriars* 87 (2006), pp. 542-544.

[62] *Retractationes*. I,9,6 (*CCSL* 57): *Ecce tam longe antequam Pelagiana heresis extitisset, sic disputauimus, uelut iam contra illos disputaremus*.

[63] *Epist*. 224 (*CSEL* 57, ed. A. Goldbacher): *Nam retractabam opuscula mea...partim reprehendendo, partim defendendo*.

[64] Cicero distinguished two elements that created trust in one's oration: confirmation and reprehension. See, *De Part. Orat*, 33 (*LCL* 349, ed. H. Rackham): *Nempe ea sequuntur quae ad faciendam fidem pertinent*. Cicero Pater. *Ita est: quae quidem in confirmationem et reprehensionem diuiduntur. Nam in confirmando nostra probare uolumus, in reprehendendo redarguere contraria*. Quintilianus, on his turn, states, *De Oratore* IX,1,38 (CUF, Collection Budé 237/5, ed. J. Cousin): *cum corrigimus nosmet ipsos quasi reprehendentes*; X,2,9 (CUF

ical writing is therefore also a last element in his theology of image. The autobiographical exercises, the images the author wants to be handed over to a next generation, are fully part of his theology of image. What matters when one writes about oneself is to discover the true image inside oneself. The autobiographical writing is therefore one of the registers Augustine uses in order to forge his theology of image and it is a very convincing one. Here, we do not find an author speaking about "image", but showing it as an example of how to discover the true image given to us by God.

We will not dwell on the Augustinian theology of image, but some short remarks are necessary to recall its essence. Augustine developed it over many years of thinking, writing, and believing, but the essential characteristics are clear.[65] Man has been created after the image of God, but alas this image has definitively been lost – or least damaged – by the Fall. It can only be restored by the grace of God, which has become available in Christ. Though there are larger parts in the *De Trinitate* which seem to hold a more optimistic view on the possibilities of self-restoring, the idea of a definitely damaged image remains the prevailing one,[66] implying that the *captatio benevolentiae* with which he starts the *prooemium* of the *Retractationes*, *adiuvante domino*, has indeed become a theological truth. Man is unable to save himself; God alone is capable. The image he wants to be handed over to the future generations must therefore fit into this pessimistic theology of image. His is a rhetorical construction of a man having spoilt the essence of his life and creation. At the same time, once we discover the interior image, we can be saved from this corruption. Autobiography is a means to analyse the fall of humanity, but also the means to discover the true image that might save us. Our own image becomes "absorbed" in the divine one.[67]

237/6 C): *sperare possumus illum oratorem perfectum: cum in iis quos maximos adhuc nouimus nemo sit inuentus in quo nihil aut desideretur aut reprehendatur*.

[65] S. Marcel, *La mémoire du présent. Saint Augustin et l'économie temporelle de l'image*, Paris, 2015; M. Drever, *Image, Identity and the Forming of the Augustinian Soul*, Oxford/New York, 2013.

[66] Matthias Smalbrugge, "The Presence of the Absence. Augustine and Deification", *in Conversion and the Church. The Challenge of Ecclesiastical Renewal*, ed. by S. Van Erp, K. Schelkens, Leiden/Boston, 2016, pp. 27-38.

[67] M. B. Pranger calls it indeed "absorption" in a recent article, which may be compared to a vanishing subject. See, "Inside Augustine", *Augustinian Studies* 47 (2016), pp. 1-16. Elsewhere, he calls it rightly the "language of dispossession"; see, M. B. Pranger, *Eternity's Ennui. Temporality, Perseverance and Voice in Augustine and Western Literature*, Leiden/Boston, 2010. See also R. Elbaz, *The Changing Nature of the Self. A Critical Study of Autobiographic Discourse*, who writes on the *Confessions*: *the story stops at the moment of conversion; beyond this point Augustine, the individual, disappears to make room for a metaphysical discourse*, p. 19. And: *The self disappears to be engulfed in God, the creator*, p. 23.

5. The Examples of the *Retractationes*

How does Augustine make us believe this representation in the *Retractationes*, this ingeniously constructed crossroad between autobiography and theology? Was he convincing? In order to address these questions, we might focus on his revisions of his writings against the Manicheans. Indeed, Augustine's reconsiderations here open a new area of contention. In fact, he completely changes his focus. He has written in the past against the Manichaeans, but he now pretends that all this was already written against the Pelagians. That is the essential shift he is working on and which he considers to be decisive in the image he wants to hand over to posterity. This conscious shift is initially observable when he writes about his first book against the Manicheans, *De Moribus*. Reviewing this book, he confronts the reader with his deepened knowledge of scriptural quotations, though at the same time this knowledge can be reduced to some merely philological remarks. Augustine does so, following exactly in this respect the rules Quintillianus had prescribed that a perfect orator should adopt.[68] However, there are no new arguments against the Manicheans, but what he is arguing against is the Pelagian point of view. This shift from an anti-Manichean view to an anti-Pelagian is easily achieved by referring to the notion of perfection,[69] which of course is the common denominator between Manicheism and Pelagianism. Pelagians, according to Augustine, should not think that perfection is realisable in this life: it certainly is not. He continues by summing up all the keywords pertaining to this controversy: sin, guilt, regeneration, vice, infirmity, purification. The only word still lacking from this anti-Pelagian vocabulary is "grace", but that will come two lines later. Finally, he ends his attack on Pelagian perfectionism by stressing that the phrase in the Lord's prayer, "forgive us our trespasses", absolutely does not imply that there can be any perfection in this life. That is simply impossible. In this life, even the church will not be without any "spots or wrinkles".[70] Pursuing his criticism of the Pelagian concept of perfectionism, he points out that perfection can only be found in Christ. He is the one who purified the church, *lauacro aquae in uerbo*. Therefore, Christ cannot be an example to human beings, for it is he who must baptise the ecclesial community. Perfection, in the end, is surely not a capacity of man; it is a full regeneration, realised by Christ.

[68] See above note 17.

[69] This paragraph has 254 words and the verb *perficere* occurs four times, the noun *perfectio* three times.

[70] A reference to the key text of the Donatists, as remarks E. Clark, "On Not Retracting the Unconfessed" (see note 17).

The whole paragraph is therefore characterised by the relationship between perfection, regeneration, and Christ. That is the ideal triangle in which man does not have his place. He has no access to this triangle unless by regeneration, the moment that he is invested, by baptism, with the image of Christ. The truth on a theological level is only to be found in the image of Christ; hence the image of man is defective and therefore false. In this life, human weakness cannot be figured without vices: *sine quibus (sc. uitia) esse non potest humana in hoc saeculo infirmitas*. Man, as a being in itself, gradually vanishes. He is a being that has lost its specificity, which is that he is a being created by God in His image. Therefore, every suggestion of a divine element being automatically present in man should be avoided. The image that is left after the Fall is only the image of an image: *mater falsitatis*. The only divine element that might come into human existence is the divine grace, which by its nature is not a quality man can ever consider to really belong to his existence; it would not be grace anymore. Yet, it is the essential condition to discover the real image according to which we have been created. The Pelagian view – man being definitely gifted with a divine presence – has to be rejected. Hence, man becomes a defective being: what he once was, he will never be again. Perfection, the ideal that the Manicheans considered realisable and that was not specifically identified with something divine, became in the Pelagian context associated with the traces of the divine presence in the creation. That identification allowed Augustine to oppose himself against this ideal and to draw a sharp line between the human and the divine. The theological truth is that of an image becoming less and less distinguishable, unless conversion leads man to the gift of grace. This theological truth is rhetorically achieved by creating a triad of perfection-regeneration-Christ that is inaccessible to man. The only thing that remains achievable is to be a perfect orator in the Quintillian sense, which means rightly to admit one's errors and one's mistakes. Becoming the perfect rhetorician implies an insistence on the imperfection of one's inner life. Perfect rhetoric serves the theological truth of human imperfection.

In discussing his second book against the Manicheans (*De Genesi aduersus Manichaeos*), the angle is no longer the theme of perfection, but that of the human will. Augustine had written that it is possible to fulfil the divine law if only one really wishes to do so.[71] That is certainly true, he admits,

[71] *Retr*. I,10,2 (*CCSL* 57): *ab amore uisibilium rerum et temporalium se ad eius praecepta implenda conuertunt, quod omnes homines possunt si uelint.*

but it is only true once the Lord has prepared this will.[72] Let the Pelagians therefore never think that the human will is a power on which we can rely in order to achieve the good.[73] On the contrary, the will, in Augustine's view, has no autonomy and, in that sense, it cannot be seen as totally belonging to the human subject. This is true in a positive sense (God preparing the human will), but also in a negative sense when we think of the inner division our will is suffering from. But Augustine's remarks do not end there. He continues in explaining the phrase according to which "sin does only harm the nature that committed them" and then explains that the notion of nature is not only an individual notion, but also a kind of common denominator between all human beings.[74] So the argument runs as follows. We know and believe that every human being is struck by the original sin.[75] This sin entered the world by one single man; yet in this man we sinned all because we share the nature of this first man. That is the reason Augustine did not speak about sins being only imputable to the individual person that committed them, but to the *nature* that committed them.[76] Hence, the fact that Augustine spoke of sins harming only the nature that committed them, concerns us all.

So, what the bishop of Hippo is insisting on in this paragraph is the limited autonomy of humans,[77] and he does so in order to refute the Pelagians. It is limited in a positive sense: our will starts somewhere other than in our individual existence; it is directly related to the gift of grace and therefore our will, in the positive sense of the word, is linked to God's will. It is also limited in a negative sense: we are sharing a common fate that makes us guilty of sin we have not consciously committed.[78] Our will

[72] *Retr*. I,10,2 (*CCSL* 57): *Non existiment noui haeretici Pelagiani secundum eos esse dictum. Verum est enim omnino, omnes homines hoc posse si uelint; sed praeparatur uoluntas a domino.*

[73] *Retr*. I,10,2: (*CCSL* 57): *non existiment noui haeretici Pelagiani secundum eos esse dictum. Uerum est enim omnino, omnes homines hoc posse si uelint; sed praeparatur uoluntas a Domino.*

[74] *Retr*. I,10,3 (*CCSL* 57): *in primis hominibus natura humana peccauit, ac per hoc naturae humanae nulla nocuerunt peccata nisi sua*.

[75] On the relation between Augustine's doctrine on original sin and his opposition against the Manichees, see, W. E. Mann, Augustine on Evil and Original Sin, in W. E. Mann, *God, Belief and Perplexity*, Oxford, 2016, pp. 78-85.

[76] *Retr*. I,10,3 (*CCSL* 57): *non enim nulli homini, sed nulli naturae dixi peccata nocere nisi sua*.

[77] To measure the distance that separates Augustine from his earlier views, see the very illuminating study of S. Harrison, *Augustine's Way into the Will: The Theological and Philosophical Significance of De libero arbitrio*, Oxford, 2007.

[78] See, M. Janebová, *Grace and the Will according to Augustine*, Leiden/Boston, 2012, p. 350: *With a certain amount of hyperbole one should rather say that the will Augustine 'invented' for the historical man differs from the ancient notion mainly in its split (i.e., its fun-*

is something that depends entirely on the will of God and hence it has very limited competences. It is certainly not capable of maintaining a real autonomy and therefore, once again, it is part of mankind as a defective being. This time, the theological truth is realised by a wordplay on *homo* and *natura*. One's nature is not an individual nature but a quality common to all human beings. And of course, if this nature has been affected by the original sin, this must also go for the human will, which is part of our nature. The will cannot act independently or individually and although nature was created *sine uitio*,[79] it has lost this quality and now has become in fact the opposite of the will: a quality that is unable to will as long as God does not will that it wills. The will belongs to the bigger picture of a human nature that has been corrupted and therefore perfectly illustrates the damaged character of the divine image mankind once was. Increasingly, Augustine creates a void when he tries to describe the human condition. It has no existence in itself; it is completely dependent on its creator. Yet, having completely ruined the relation with this creator, the original relation has turned into an even greater dependence. The will is situated in a vacuum that can only belong to human nature in its fallen state. For if the will wants something good, it does so thanks to God. If it wills something bad, it is due to its fallen nature, which does not depend on the merits and qualities of the individual; on the contrary, people are born with these deficiencies. Nowhere we can see any original, personal, or individual longing for, for example, justice or the good. On the contrary, the paragraph opens by highlighting the unbridgeable distance between the immutable being of God and the mutable nature of His creation.[80] Once again, *De Genesi aduersus Manichaeos* was originally written against the Manicheans; it now has become a refutation of the Pelagians by thoughtfully analysing the impotence of the human will.

This is pursued in the discussion of his third book against the Manicheans, the *De Duabus Anim*. The subject is again that of the human will. This time, however, it is said to be characterised by concupiscence and it is this longing in particular, characterised by being out of control, that prevents the will from doing what it wants. It is a longing that creates the paradox of a will that is unable to master its own dynamics. Follow the famous words

damental direction towards the good, but, at the same time, also its innate orientation towards evil) and its absolute inner conditionality (by inherited sin or by grace) which, nevertheless, doesn't take away its responsibility for its own deeds.

[79] *Retr*. I,10,3 (*CCSL* 57): *qualis sine uitio primitus condita est.*

[80] *Retr*. I,10,1 (*CCSL* 57): *unde ostenderem deum summe bonum et immutabilem creatorem esse omnium mutabilium naturarum nec ullam esse naturam malam siue substantiam, in quantum natura est atque substantia.*

of *Romans* 7, where Paul explains that he is doing what he does not want to do. Indeed, what we find in this paragraph is a new explanation for the lack of autonomy in our will.[81] The lack is now called concupiscence and, even though baptism removes the guilt of this concupiscence, it does not cure our inclination towards it. We remain in the grip of this infirmity and it makes us aware of the need to reconcile two opposite ideas. On the one hand, no one sins without willing it. On the other, there is an original sin, dominating our lives without us willing it. Augustine's arguments are rather complicated, but the essence is the following. The original sin has been punished, but part of this punishment is the fact that we remain haunted by the will to sin. So, at a certain level, sin and punishment are the same.[82] Or, in other words, sin is always proceeding from a former sin, hence our will is always responsible for what it chooses to do. Once again, the autonomy of the will is seriously compromised. In its positive development, it is entirely dependent on the grace of Christ. In its negative way of behaving, its failures are due to the concupiscence that has replaced the original power of the will. This argument clearly compromises the capacities of the will, for the lack of autonomy undermines the required capability to decide between right or wrong. In fact, the will is squeezed between grace and original sin and it has no capability whatsoever to react in the required way. Either it is delivered by grace or it remains captured by the everlasting doom of the original sin. Here, though discussing this anti-Manichean book, Augustine shifts fundamentally to address the Pelagian controversy, dealing with even the most complicated matters such as original sin and the autonomy of the will. Rhetorically, he does so by emphasising that the Manicheans maintain that man is, partly, sharing in the divine. This, in Augustine's view, is ridiculous. The relation between Creator and creatures consists in the latter belonging to the former. Humans do not share in the divine being. They entirely depend on God, which allows Augustine to say that this dependence is the equivalent of grace.

Having manoeuvred himself into this position in which a human being is completely dependent on his creator, because human *nature* is corrupted, Augustine now has to correct himself on an essential point. He had written in this early work that we have to love the spiritual world, not the corporeal one, and that we are able to do so *by nature*! This is quite understandable in an anti-Manichean polemic, stating that that there is only one nature, a good one, and not two, as had been taught by the Manicheans. How-

[81] Which in fact might be a topos, more than an original meditation. Think of Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7,20: *uideo meliora proboque, deteriora sequor*; and Seneca, *Phedra* 604: *hoc quod uolo me nolle*.

[82] *Retr*. I,15,2 (*CCSL* 57): *ideo peccatum uocatur, quia peccato factum est et poena peccati est*.

ever, in an anti-Pelagian context, this point of view immediately becomes erroneous and Augustine therefore exclaims and wonders why he had not written *by grace*![83] The correction is obvious. What was still acceptable in an anti-Manichean context can be completely mistaken in a later setting. At the same time, Augustine has to avoid the suggestion that there was a bad nature (the fallen human being) and a good one (the divine one), so he opts for the word *grace*, allowing him to maintain that originally there was only the good nature of the creation reflecting its creator, but that this good nature was, alas, spoiled by the Fall. Yet, this remark is not just a minor or semantic detail. It shows how Augustine valued human nature entirely differently in comparison with an earlier phase of his life. Previously, he still could emphasise that God's creation was good and continued to be so. What was evil was the absence of the good. Now, this absence has been interpreted as the story of the Fall and of the loss of the divine image. Certainly, the creation was good, but this element could only be valued once man had received divine grace, the grace that liberated and restored the will,[84] the ultimate good revealed in Christ. Being occupied, in the time of the *Retractationes*, with the refutation of Julian, it was highly important to Augustine to radically change his appreciation of human nature. Once again, Augustine changes the image of a "former" Augustine in order to come closer to a true image, the image of Christ discovered by divine grace.

Finally, Augustine also reconsiders his *De Libero Arbitrio*. He begins with the observation that the main goal in this book is to refute those who deny that evil is rooted in the human will. It certainly does not find is origin in God, in the Good Creator.[85] It is for this reason, he says, that the notion of grace is only haphazardly mentioned in this work: *gratiae commemoratio*

[83] *Retr*. I,15,8 (*CCSL* 57): *corporea diligendo peccamus, quia spiritalia diligere et iustitia iubemur et natura possumus, et tunc in nostro genere optimi et beatissimi sumus. Ubi quaeri potest, cur natura et non gratia possumus dixerim*.

[84] Ph. Carey, *Inner Grace. Augustine in the Traditions of Plato and Paul*, Oxford, 2008, rightly insists on the enormous weight grace acquires in Augustine's theology. Yet, though It is already a critical approach of Augustine's thought, there are passages which seem to be too positive, like on p. 110: *My contention, on the contrary, is that the experiential matrix of Augustine's doctrine of grace is not to be found in any single episode of his life but in the ongoing practice of praying for grace and receiving it, in which the goodness and truth of God become ever sweeter to him as he continues in prayer and virtue. This is not the experience of those who receive grace for the first time at the very beginning of the process of salvation or the spiritual life, but rather the kind of religious practice that formed the backbone of monastic spirituality for many centuries. Grace wasn't anymore the equivalent of goodness and it wasn't sweet. Moreover, it created a substantial frustration in the monastic world instead of being its backbone*.

[85] *Retr*. I,9,1 (*CCSL* 57).

fieret, transeunter commemorata est.[86] Therefore, Pelagian critics, suggesting that Augustine fully upholds the notion of a free will, cannot claim him to be on their side. Indeed, he was arguing against the Manicheans, hence his argumentation was other than it would have been against the Pelagians. For example, he surely would have mentioned predestination had he been arguing against the Pelagians. Clearly, then, there are differences. Yet, once he has revised in detail the whole book, he concludes that, even though he was arguing against other heretics than the followers of Pelagius, it is as if he already turned himself against them. So this is the picture: at the beginning of this paragraph Augustine insists on the differences between Manicheism and Pelagianism; at the end, he only sees the similarities between them. His goal is therefore clear: he wants to show that he never held opinions on grace and free will other than those he held in his later career. Indeed, his whole work can only be interpreted as one great song of praise of the divine grace, though of course different voices are audible in this choir. His main argument for this continuity is his interpretation of the relation between sin, the good life, and human will. Whatever one does, one does so because one decided to do so, which implies that every sin does in fact find its origin in the human will. But the inverse is also true; while every sin originates in the human will, the will can also be said to be enslaved by sin. This is a slavery Augustine calls the original sin, something already present in the Old and New Testament, but unfortunately rejected by the Pelagians. Yet, the will is not only enslaved and leading to sin. It is also the source of the choice for good life. Once the will has been liberated by divine grace from the slavery of sin, it is able to choose the good – but only then! Without this liberation, however, it would be completely impossible to live up to the good life, so whatever one's choices may be, they are the responsibility of the individual alone. However, opting for the good life is only possible with the grace of God. The argument is a clear one: as every good has its origin in God, so the will, striving to realise and achieve the good, can only do so thanks to God. Once again, the Manicheans are not Augustine's real opponents; he deals with the Pelagians. He changes his past in order to be able to refute this heresy. He revises his works not in order to correct one or two phrases, but in order to build a steadfast image of his own person that could be seen as the last element in his theology of image.

Yet, Augustine knew he was doing something dangerous. Discussing his earlier work against the Manicheans, he now seemingly endorsed their position by stating that the original sin had completely corrupted the human

[86] *Retr*. I,9,2 (*CCSL* 57).

will.[87] What was good was God's grace, while what was evil was the original sin no one could escape from. He took the risk regardless. What he wanted was of greater importance than the possible damage of the misinterpretation of his notion original sin.

6. Conclusion

We can now see what we discovered. This paper began by noting that the Augustinian autobiography is a technique comprised of different phases, starting in the *Soliloquia* with the discovery of the difference between false and true, directly linked to the notion of image. An image can be true, though at the same time we know it is false. Augustine therefore concludes that images are to be treated as similitude, containing true and false elements. This goes, of course, for any autobiographical writing. The second phase was the *Confessions*, when he discovered that the written image, the autobiography, can only be true if it discovers the interior image God has bestowed on us. The written image in itself, the autobiographical *Confessions*, remains a similitude, the image we see in a mirror, containing false and true elements. What matters, however, is not the similitude, but the comparison of the written image with the true image. However, such a comparison can only be realised if we discover this interior image, and such a discovery can only be made by grace. Grace, however, does not depend on human qualities and merits, but solely on God's love. Therefore, there is an intimate relation between autobiography as image one the one hand, the true image which is bestowed by God on the other hand, and finally the divine grace. Moreover, grace has become the turning point, the hinge between both images, but the comparison between both images can only be realised if the autobiographical exercise is not at the heart of one's reflection. You cannot compare two images – the autobiography and the divine image – if you do not start to write and to create the image that subsequently can be compared to the divine one. There is, so to say, a double subject present in Augustine's autobiographical writings: he is writing about himself, but at the same time, he is writing about God as the real subject of his life.[88] At the same time though, this autobiographical exercise is the beginning of a deep longing for this grace, the discovery that we fundamentally are in the need of truth. Autobiography is therefore an exercise in writing one's per-

[87] J. K. Coyle, "Augustin et le Manichéisme", in J. K. Coyle, *Manichaeism and Its Legacy,* Leiden, 2009, pp. 209-219.

[88] Cf. M. Smalbrugge, "L'image de soi-même. La question du double sujet", in E. Bermon, G. O'Daly, *Le De Trinitate de Saint Augustin. Exégèse, logique et noétique*. Études augustiniennes 192, Paris, 2012, 159-179.

sonal history as correctly as possible (and in that sense it is an epistemological exercise), but at the same time it is a longing for the divine grace. That is the reason the *Soliloquia* and the *Confessions* are framed in the form of a prayer. Yet, the discovery of this divine image can only happen if one makes increasing efforts to sharpen one's own image, correcting earlier versions of autobiographical writing because they still could be formulated in better ways. That is what is happening in the *Retractationes*. Augustine corrects his own image in order to allow himself the best access possible – as far as that lies within the human reach – to discover the divine image. This is only possible by insisting on the role of grace as the hinge between the two images. The autobiographical writings are therefore an essential part of the Augustinian theology of image.[89] But he also showed, by constantly rewriting his autobiographical material and by radically changing his own point of view, that he was aware of a surprising lack of inner coherence in his theology. Reconsidering his works and thus handing over to posterity the image he wanted to be prevalent became, therefore, a necessity: the necessity of creating an inner unity in his theology. That is one side of his endeavour to correct, for a final time, his image of himself. The other side is a less obviously spiritual exercise, having to do with the legacy he wanted to leave to posterity. He created his own reception and fashioned an image of himself as the one who had completely, from the very beginning of his writings, understood the crucial role of grace. Here we find the man who wants to frame himself as the *doctor gratiae*. It is the making of legend, of a theological king.[90]

This brings us back to the question of autobiography and historiography. The self-fashioning Augustine practises in his autobiographical writings makes us aware of the fact that he is striving to more than a purely subjective record of his own life. Rather, what he is doing is self-fashioning, which, as was observed at the beginning of this article, is one of the ties between autobiography and historiography, implying that notions like image, reference, and meaning were common to both genres. We can now see how these autobiographical writings of Augustine are linked to the questions of modern historiography. What Augustine discovered, was that the image he pictured from himself, his autobiographical writings, needed a constant rewriting. He realised that his own autobiographical image was,

[89] As A. K. Hermanson states it in "Religion's Rhetoric. Saint Augustine's Union of Christian Wisdom and Sophistic Eloquence", in R. L. Enos, R. Thompson et al., eds, *De Doctrina Christiana & The Search for a Distinctly Christian Rhetoric*, Waco, Texas, 2008, pp. 311-314, p. 312: *Augustine concludes that rhetoric ought to be engaged in order to assist humans in coming to know God's wisdom*.

[90] Cf. note 5.

in a sense, merely instrumental: it helped to discover the inner image that is figuring as a measure by which we are measured but also as a source of grace. He started with the *Soliloquia* and he ended up with the *Retractationes*, and though his three books were all autobiographical writings, he constantly changed the literary genre. He avoided the trap of pure subjectivity by introducing another image next to the image he pictured of himself, and by comparing the two. What he makes clear is that every personal memory has to be related to a bigger history, which in his case implied being related to a history that also started, long ago, as a memory.[91] It is a pattern comparable to the tale of the two cities, but then at a personal level. Autobiographical writing as a story has the merit of being only possible when referring to another story. That other story can be any story you want; what matters is the crossroad between those stories, because that is the moment memory turns into history. Augustine tried to write a Christian history. He discovered that he needed his own memories, his own stories, considered as images, in order to discover another image and to be able to compare these two images. He was even ready, in order to see this other image more clearly, to rewrite his own story and to deny what he had written before, focussing on the role of grace that made it possible to relate his own story to that of Christ. Indeed, he had a theology of image, built on diptych of two images, one personal and human one, the other general and divine. Autobiography served to highlight this structure by confronting the human picture with the divine one.[92] The *Retractationes* was not merely the wish of an old man to revise his works, but the necessary theological step – within the theology of image – from personal memory towards history. Once again the tale of the two worlds that are intimately connected and in which the personal story is meant to discover the divine one.

Summary

In the present article, Augustine's *Retractationes* are closely examined in order to discover what the author was aiming at in writing this final correction of his own works. It turns out that the *Retractationes* can, not surprisingly, be linked to his other autobiographical works, the *Soliloquia* and the *Confes-*

[91] Christianity started, so to say, with the memory of Jesus pronouncing the eucharistic words "do this in memory of me".

[92] As A. K. Hermanson states it in "Religion's Rhetoric. Saint Augustine's Union of Christian Wisdom and Sophistic Eloquence", in R. L. Enos, R. Thompson et al., eds, *De Doctrina Christiana & The Search for a Distinctly Christian Rhetoric*, Waco, Texas, 2008, pp. 311-314, p. 312: "Augustine concludes that rhetoric ought to be engaged in order to assist humans in coming to know God's wisdom".

sions. In the *Soliloquia*, Augustine examines the difference between true and false in the way he pictures himself. Next, in the *Confessions*, he continues to examine his own image and he discovers the role of grace: one can only rightly picture oneself with the aid of grace. Finally, in the *Retractationes* he reconsiders almost all his works and corrects the possibly false image these works might give of the author. He does so in particular by pretending that even in earlier periods the notion of grace was always the prevailing one in his writings. He surely may have written against the Manicheans, he may have insisted on the importance of the free will, but in fact he was already arguing against the Pelagians. Augustine changes his image for two reasons. Frist, he wants to rectify his own image so that the true one can be handed over to posterity. This is his wish to create his own reception. Secondly, he creates a new image that is based on the discovery of an interior image. It is this discovery that will allow him to make the autobiographical image also an essential part of his theology of image. It is the discovery that a personal view on one's life may become the discovery of God's view on his life and so the autobiographical image and the interior image become, once again, the tale of two stories, of two cities so to say, which reveal us the presence of the divine in our human existence.

Matthias Smalbrugge
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
m.a.smalbrugge@vu.nl

New Identifications Among the Sixth-Century Fragments of Augustine in Cambridge University Library*

H. A. G. Houghton
(*Birmingham*)

Although almost all manuscripts of the works of Saint Augustine date from a much later period, there are over thirty fragments (and a few complete codices) from the sixth century or earlier which attest to the popularity of his writings in antiquity. The "Cambridge Fragments" have been known since 1916, when details of the three largest pieces were published by Francis Crawford Burkitt.[1] These were found in the Cairo Genizah at the end of the nineteenth century and acquired by Cambridge University Library in 1899. The Augustine texts, written on parchment in a fine Italian uncial hand of the sixth century, had been palimpsested in the ninth or tenth century with a set of Hebrew masoretic lists on books including Joshua, 1 Samuel and Isaiah.[2] Pages of the original manuscript were simply folded in half to create the new document and some of the undertext remains relatively legible to the naked eye, although it is often obscured by the overwriting and there is extensive decay to the parchment. The original Augustine manuscript was a luxury production, written in a single column of thirty lines with wide outer margins, its pages measuring at least thirty centimetres tall by twenty centimetres broad: a sense of the overall layout is provided by the image in Plate 1. Apart from the standard *nomina sacra* and the use of a supralinear stroke at the end of lines for final *n* or *m*

* This paper was prepared as part of the CATENA project, which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme (grant agreement no. 770816), in conjunction with the PLATINUM project led by Maria Chiara Scappaticcio funded under the same scheme (grant agreement no. 636983). The author would like to thank Ben Outhwaite, Head of the Genizah Unit at Cambridge University Library, for providing images and bibliographical details, and Christina M. Kreinecker for her comments on the transcription.

[1] F. C. Burkitt, "Augustine-Fragments from the Cairo Genizah", *Journal of Theological Studies*, os 17 (1916), pp. 137-138.

[2] See S. C. Reif, *Hebrew Manuscripts at Cambridge University Library: A Description and Introduction*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 52. Cambridge, 1997, p. 299.

(indicated by an additional dot), there are no abbreviations. No evidence survives of paragraphing, pagination, or the distinguishing of biblical quotations (*lemmata*).

Burkitt identified the three largest pages (Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 4320 a–c) as containing portions of the latter part of Book 2 of *De sermone domini in monte*, including the end of the work with an *explicit* written in double-height capitals. This was followed by a three-line *incipit* probably written in rubrics, which was not legible to Burkitt, and the opening paragraphs of *Sermo* 118 (see Plate 1). Burkitt's transcription was very partial, and for her *Corpus Christianorum* edition of *De sermone domini* published in 1967, Almut Mutzenbecher relied on a photocopy of these pages to establish the text of this witness, to which she gave the siglum *G*.[3] Perhaps unsurprisingly, given its age, the manuscript proves to be an excellent source: apart from a handful of common orthographic variants not mentioned by Mutzenbecher and an omission through *homoeoteleuton* (line 1941), there are only three places where it has a reading which differs from her editorial text (*alias* for *illas*, *considerandum* for *considerandus* and *audimus* for *audiuimus*, all between lines 2010-2012). Both Robert Cavenaile (*CPL* 55) and Joseph van Haelst (no. 1209) rely on Burkitt for their description of the manuscript, although Elias Avery Lowe's account of the hand (*CLA* II 136) indicates that he had examined it in person.[4]

Nevertheless, there is more to this manuscript than the pages so far described. MS Add. 4320 actually consists of no fewer than fifty-two parchment fragments: the first three leaves, which have portions of all four margins extant, are each mounted between their own set of glass plates, while all the fragments numbered 4-52 are mounted in a fourth set of plates (MS Add. 4320d). Fragments 4 and 5 are both about the size of a quarter of an original page, with a margin on one side; fragments 6-10 contain six letters at most; the remaining fragments, arranged in descending order of size, are barely large enough for two letters. Burkitt did not identify the text on fragments 4 and 5, and Mutzenbecher did not proceed beyond establishing that it was not part of *De sermone domini*.[5] What is more, as part of the cataloguing of the additional series of manuscripts in the Taylor-Schechter collection from the Cairo Genizah, also held by Cam-

[3] Aurelius Augustinus, *De Sermone Domini in Monte*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, Turnhout 1967 (CCSL, 35).

[4] R. Cavenaile, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum*, Wiesbaden, 1958, pp. 133-134; J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens,* Paris, 1976, pp. 365-366; E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores. II. Great Britain and Ireland.* Oxford, 1935 (no. 136). Van Haelst gives the date of the manuscript as the fourth century, but this must be a typographical error of *iv* for *vi.*

[5] Mutzenbecher, *De sermone domini*, p. xxi n. 2.

bridge University Library, a further fragment of this manuscript was identified during the 1990s (Cambridge, University Library, T-S AS 139.1). Although this is mentioned with the other fragments of the original manuscript in Reif's catalogue, the first recorded identification of its undertext – as a further portion of *De sermone domini* – was by Ben Outhwaite in a posting on the Cambridge University Library website in May 2007 including images of the fragment.[6]

In conjunction with the preparation of a new "Corpus of Latin Texts on Papyrus" by the European Research Council-funded PLATINUM project (led by Maria Chiara Scappaticcio at the University of Naples), the present author examined colour digital images of all the surviving fragments of this manuscript. A full transcription – the first, in fact, of every page of the manuscript apart from Burkitt's transcription of MS Add. 4320b recto – will be published as part of that corpus. This examination, however, has resulted in the identification of the two fragments in MS Add. 4320d which contain substantial text. In each case, they constitute the earliest surviving witness to that writing by several centuries. Furthermore, despite the paucity of remaining pages, these fragments provide a new understanding of the contents of the original codex.

Fragment 4, the biggest piece on MS Add. 4320d (illustrated in Plate 2), contains on both sides text from the first two paragraphs of Augustine, *Sermo* 225 auct. The majority of manuscripts transmit this sermon delivered on Easter Sunday in a heavily abbreviated version. It was only in 2015 that Clemens Weidmann published a full text of this sermon for the first time, based on the longer version extant in two twelfth-century witnesses.[7] Given that the clearest phrases on this fragment constitute part of this additional material, secure identification of this fragment would have been impossible before the publication of this edition. As it is, we now have a witness to the longer version which is some six hundred years older than the other two manuscripts. Although this fragment is small, both the extant letters and the illegible or lacunose spaces correspond closely to the text printed by Weidmann. There are two variants, both on the side currently presented as the *verso* on the glass plates even though its text precedes that of the *recto* on which the fragments are numbered. The first line begins *GOIPSE..CI[*. This text does not correspond to the phrase *quidquid*

[6] Reif, *Hebrew Manuscripts*, p. 299; B. Outhwaite, "St Augustine in the Genizah: Fragment of the Month (May 2007)": <https://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/departments/taylor-schechter-genizah-research-unit/fragment-month/fragment-month-20-23> (last visited 12.8.2019).

[7] Aurelius Augustinus, *Sermones Selecti*, ed. C. Weidmann, Berlin & New York, 2015 (*CSEL*, 101).

factum est a deo per ipsum factum est, which immediately precedes *an numquid ipse se fecit* in both the longer and shorter traditions of this sermon (§ 1, line 23). It may be that, before the following sequence of three questions, Augustine made a statement of position based on John 1:3, such as *ergo ipse se fecit*, which he then problematised. There are clear parallels for this on either side, such as *ergo erat* (§ 1, line 8) and *ergo tale opus fecit* (§ 2, line 5).[8] The omission of such a short interjection through eyeskip to *ipse se fecit* in the next phrase is a straightforward error which could have happened at an early point in the tradition. The second variant is partly supported by the manuscripts of the shorter version: instead of reading *si ergo qui se faceret erat* in the following line, the palimpsest appears to support *si ergo erat qui se faceret*, repeating the word order of the previous phrase. There is no other point at which this witness appears to depart from Weidmann's editorial text: it clearly supports the reading *postremo* (§ 1, line 24) despite the conjecture of *putamus* in place of this word which Weidmann offers in the apparatus. Unfortunately the end of *sedent[is]* (§ 2, line 5) is missing, so it cannot be determined whether the fragment read *sedentem* with the other manuscripts or supports the genitive in Pseudo-Augustine, *Sermo* Mai 76. The full transcription is as follows:

Frag. 4 'verso' undertext: Sermo 225 auct. 1 (line 23) to 2 (line 5)

go ipse̩ [fe]ci̩[t an numquid ipse]
se feci̩t̩ postr̩[emo si se ipse fecit]
3 erat [q]ui se facer̩[et si ergo erat qui]
s̩e f̩[acer]e̩t̩ numq[uam non erat quomo]- **2.**
d̩o̩ e̩r̩go in uirgine tal̩[e uerbum omnia]
6 per ipsum facta sunt [et fit ipse fit ip]-
se sed homo non a patr[e solo sed etiam]
a se ipso quid̩ est a se ips[o quia omnia]
9 per ips̩[um fa]c̩ta sunt n̩[oli separare]
ab isto t[anto] o̩pere̩ [SPM SCM a quo]
tanto o̩p̩[ere] a̩ car̩n̩e̩ [XPI non est par]-
12 uum opu[s mag]num [DI opus sunt ange]-
li carne[m XP]I · s[e]dent[is ad dexteram]
[p]atris ado[r]ant e̩t̩ a̩n̩[geli ergo tale opus]
15 [fecit] e̩t s[PS ---]

Frag. 4 'recto' undertext: Sermo 225 auct. 2 (lines 12-19)

[SPS SCS superueniet in te] ecc̩[e] quomodo
[fiet quod quaeris et] uir̩t̩u̩s̩ a̩lt̩is̩i̩-
3 [mi obumbrabit tibi] ipse SPS s̩[CS] uir-
[tus altissimi dictus est] et b̩e̩n̩e̩ d[ixit] o̩b̩-
[umbrabit tibi n]e tua uirginitas ae[s]-

[8] Compare also the treatment of this passage by Augustine in *Sermo* 118.1.

6 [tum libidinis s]entiat obumbrabit
[tibi propter] ḥoc̣ quod n̤a̤sc̤e̤t̤ṳr̤ ex
[te SCM uocabit]ṳr̤ f̤i̤l̤i̤ṳs DI et cum
9 [praegnans e]sse̤t̤ d̤i̤c̤t̤ṳ[m est] de̤ i̤l̤l̤a
[inuenta est in ute]ro h̤a̤b̤[ens d]e̤ SPU SCO
[operatus est ergo SPS] sc̤s̤ c̤[arne]m̤ XPI̤
12 [operatus est et i]pse X[PS un]igenitus
[filius DI carnem] s̤uam̤ ṳ[nde] p̤roba-
[mus quia inde ai]t̤ s̤c̤r̤i̤p̤t̤[ur]a sapie[n]-

Fragment 5 of MS Add. 4320d (illustrated in Plate 3) contains not a sermon but a portion of Augustine's treatise *Contra sermonem Arrianorum*. It is narrower than fragment 4 but slightly taller, preserving the beginning of fifteen lines from paragraph 18 on the *recto* and the corresponding ends of lines from a later part of the same paragraph on the *verso*. Despite the extensive lacunae, the text appears to agree fully with the editorial text of Pierre-Marie Hombert's recent *Corpus Christianorum* edition.[9] The only unexpected feature is the gap between the end of *referunt* and *et* on line 15 of the *recto.* This is not a natural break in sense: even so, despite discoloration, damage and creasing, the parchment between these two words appears to be a blank space of two to three characters in width and Hombert reports no variants. The extensive lacunae mean that there is little overlap with any variation in the textual tradition of this work which would assist with further determining the affiliation of this witness, which is now the oldest known direct evidence for this work by at least two centuries. The full transcription is as follows:

Frag. 5 recto undertext: Contra sermonem Arrianorum 18 (lines 20-30)

tri̤s̤ [esse asserunt in quibus honorem et]
auc̤t̤or[itatem filii constituunt iudi]-
3 can̤[ti]s̤ [officiosam uero aduocationem]
e[t con]solatio[nem SPS SCI ad dignitatem]
iudicis hoc̣ est DI̤ [unigeniti pertinere]
6 tamquam iudicis sit d̤[ignitas quod habe]-
at̤ a̤d̤uo̤ca̤t̤um s̤i̤c̤ṳ[t imperatoris est]
dignitas qu[o]d̤ s̤[ecundum suas imperiales le]-
9 ges̤ i̤ṳ[dicaturu]m i̤ṳ[dicem mittit]
qua sṳ[a cogitatione carnali tamen na]-
tur[ae diuersitatem de qua inter nos et]
12 ips̤[os maxima quaestio est in his tribus]
pers[onis demonstrare non possunt]
c̤um eni̤[m a]d̤ h̤[uma]no[s mores ista re]-
15 [f]erunt et ab h̤ṳ[mani generis]

[9] Aurelius Augustinus, *Contra Arrianos Opera*, ed. Pierre-Marie HOMBERT, Turnhout, 2009 (CCSL, 87A).

Frag. 5 verso undertext: Contra sermonem Arrianorum 18 (line 40) to 19 (line 2)

[enim potest in rebus humanis ut] qui iu-
[dex fuerit etiam imperator fiat] ḥoc
3 [isti in illa trinitate nec imperatoris]
[unico filio praestare di]gṇantṵ[r] q̣[uo]d
[si forte ex humani iuris] uel consuẹtudi-
6 [nis formula maies]ṭatis criṃẹn etiam
[in filio nimium reformi]ḍant ạduocato
[certe puto quod concedere de]beant ṵṭ
9 [ad iudiciariam po]ṭẹṣṭ[atem aliq]ṵạndo
[perueniat ne hoc quidem uolunt de]ṭẹ-
[rior ergo est quod absit in illa trini]ṭạṭẹ
12 [quam in generis humani mortalitate cond]i̤-
[tio porro scriptura sancta qua]e istos **19.**
[diuinos actus non differen]ṭị̣ạ [p]ọtesta-
15 [tum sed operum ine]f̣f̣ạbị̣lịtạ[te] metit[ur]

The additional leaf of *De sermone domini* identified by Outhwaite (T-S AS 139.1) supplements the readings of this manuscript already provided elsewhere in Mutzenbecher's edition. This fragment contains text from *De sermone domini* 2.24.80-81, with the *recto* extant for lines 1857-1863 (*lupos* to *inuentis*) and the *verso* for lines 1877-1882 (*faciant* to *quasdam*). It therefore originally came between MS Add. 4320c and 4320a. As with the other passages in this manuscript, the text here aligns with witnesses of the α-group rather than the β-group reflected in the premodern editions of this work: on the *recto* the extant letters support *ouium* rather than *ouibus* in line 1860 and *quod* rather than *quia* in line 1862; the reading *contegunt* and not *tegunt* in line 1861 is clear; the *verso* begins with the full text of the biblical lemma which is abbreviated in witnesses to the β-text. There are two variants from Mutzenbecher's editorial text. On line 10 of the *recto*, the six letters after *bus* do not correspond to the expected shapes for *inuentis*, and this word is followed by *in* rather than *cognoscamus*. It therefore seems likely that in this witness there was an additional word between *quibus* and *inuentis*. At line 1878, *quod* rather than *qua* is a simple error caused by the attraction of the relative to the following word (*gaudium*) rather than the more distant main noun (*proprietas*).[10] *Quod* is found in ten of the thirteen manuscripts used by Mutzenbecher for this passage, including five of the six members of the α-group, and is therefore likely to have been early. The full transcription is as follows:

[10] This is correctly identified by Outhwaite, "St Augustine in the Genizah".

T-S AS 139.1 *recto undertext: De serm. dom.* 2.24.80-81 (lines 1857-1863)

[ouinos lupo]s ụ[idere non possunt hi]
[ergo non s]ụnt fr[uctus de qui]bu[s cogno]-
3 [sci arbore]ṃ ṃonet ista eṇim cum [bono]
[animo in] ueritate fiunt proprịạẹ̣ sunt
[ouiu]m ues[t]e[s] cum autem malo in erṛ[o]-
6 [re non] aliud quam lupos conteguṇ[t]
s[ed non] ịdeo debent oues odisse [ues]-
timeṇṭụṃ [suum] qụoḍ p̣[eru]ṃqụ[e illo]
9 se occult[ant lupi qui sunt ergo fructus qui]- **81.**
bus .....is in[---]
[---]

T-S AS 139.1 *verso undertext: De serm. dom.* 2.24.81 (lines 1877-1882)

[---]
[---]
3 [ut fa]cian[t] ụobis homin[es haec et]
[uos fa]çịṭẹ̣ illis ex ista proprie[ta]ṭẹ̣
uerbi q]uod gaudium non dic[i]t[u]r nisi
6 [in bonis] etiam propheta loquitur
[no]n est gaudere iṃp[i]is dicit ḍ[NS]
[ita quo]d posit[a est fi]des [non quae]-
9 [cumque utique sed uera fides et ce]tera
[quae hic posita sunt ha]ḅeṇṭ qu̇[a]sda¯
[---]

Producing a complete transcription of the other three leaves of *De sermone domini* leads to one correction to Mutzenbecher's edition, which may be of importance for her account of the early history of this work's transmission. In lines 1940-1942, the biblical lemma (Matthew 7:22) consists of three parallel clauses:

> *nonne in nomine tuo prophetauimus,*
> *et in nomine tuo daemonia eiecimus,*
> *et in nomine tuo uirtutes multas fecimus?*

Scribal error due to eyeskip between the similar beginnings and ends of these clauses is clearly a possibility: according to Mutzenbecher, all witnesses to the β-group and the early editions omit the end of the first and beginning of the second clause (*prophetauimus* to *tuo*), as do manuscripts *G* (the Cambridge fragments) and *L*. However, closer inspection of MS Add. 4320a *recto* shows that this fragment definitely reads *prophetauimus* (probably with *f* for *ph*). Instead, the error made by this copyist was to omit the whole of the second clause (*et in nomine tuo daemonia eiecimus*), after which sufficient letters are extant to be sure that the third clause is there

in full. Unreported by any previous editor is a correction in the right hand margin of line 15: the word *nomine* in small uncial letters and a brown ink both similar to that of the first hand indicates that the omission was noticed and corrected, although the rest of the correction is illegible due to damage to the parchment. The wider importance of this correction is that it is one of two readings in which – according to Mutzenbecher – the Cambridge fragments agree with the β-group, allowing her to date that revision of the text to some time around the year 500.[11] The other reading is *alias* rather than *illas* in line 2010: although I have adopted this in my transcription, the first and third letters of this word are very unclear and I am not confident that there is sufficient space between what I take to be the initial *a* and the previous word (*ad*). If further examination of MS Add. 4320b, perhaps through multispectral imaging, were to confirm *illas* rather than *alias*, that would remove all connections between this manuscript and the witnesses of the β-group and might thereby prompt a reconsideration of the date of this revision.[12]

The identification of all the substantial surviving fragments of MS Add. 4320 permits a renewed appreciation of the original manuscript. Rather than simply bringing together *De sermone domini in monte* and *Sermo* 118, this document has now been shown to be a collection of a variety of Augustine's works including at least one further sermon and *Contra sermonem Arrianorum*. Such selections of multiple writings are paralleled among other early Augustine manuscripts: the famous fifth-century St Petersburg manuscript comprises *Ad Simplicianum, Contra epistulam Fundamenti* and *De agone christiano* as well as the first two books of *De doctrina christiana*, (St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, lat. Q.v.I.3); a seventh-century Verona manuscript contains *De agone christiano, De fide* and Augustine's *Epistula ad Hieronymum* (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare 33 [31]); an extensive parchment and papyrus codex copied in France in the late seventh century contains a selection of Augustine's sermons and letters (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 11641; Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève MS Lat. 16 [97], St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, lat. F.I.1). One may wonder whether such "omnibus editions" had any connection with the collected works of Augustine in the library at Hippo, whose contents were carefully documented by Possidius in his *Indiculum*. In the case of Augustine's sermons, the composition of early collections is of particular interest. Although Burkitt could not read the lengthy introduction before *Sermo* 118, the new images suggest that it begins *incipiunt sermones*,

[11] Mutzenbecher, *De sermone domini*, pp. xxxi-xxxiv.

[12] Nevertheless, Mutzenbecher notes that Eugippius' assembly of extracts from Augustine, made at the turn of the sixth century, also appears to reflect readings characteristic of the β-group.

and the recovery of more text might shed light on the principles behind this selection: is it simply coincidence that both *Sermo* 118 and *Sermo* 225 were both preached following the liturgical reading of the opening verses of the Gospel according to John? Apart from the substantial collections of Augustine's sermons in the late Middle Ages, there does not appear to be any other example of these two homilies being transmitted together. Alternatively, the inclusion of *Contra sermonem Arrianorum* in this codex might indicate an anti-Arian theme which is also common to both these sermons.[13]

Finally, the subsequent travels of this manuscript raise intriguing questions too. How did a luxury codex of Augustine's writings come to be reused some three or four centuries later for writing Hebrew masoretic lists before being deposited in the genizah in Cairo? Might still more pages come to light from the same document? All its surviving portions offer the earliest evidence for each of the works now known to have been contained in this codex, which seems to have featured an unparalleled collection of Augustine's writings. These few fragments are valuable not only for their text but also for the light they shed on a fascinating document, whose survival hints at a rich and remarkable history.

Summary

This article offers a re-examination of the palimpsest fragments from a sixth-century codex of Augustine which were found in the Cairo Genizah and are now held in Cambridge University Library. The three largest fragments, with the shelfmark MS Add. 4320a–c, have already been identified as containing the end of *De sermone domini* and the beginning of *Sermo* 118. More recently, a smaller fragment of this manuscript was discovered in the Taylor-Schechter collection, also with text from *De sermone domini* (T-S AS 139.1). A full transcription of this fragment is published here for the first time. In addition, this article identifies the undertext on the two remaining substantial fragments of this manuscript (MS Add. 4320d). These contain part of *Sermo* 225 auct. and *Contra sermonem Arrianorum*, which means that they provide the oldest surviving witness to these works by several centuries. In addition to the *editio princeps* and images of these fragments, the article offers a small correction to Mutzenbecher's edition of *De sermone domini* and briefly considers the nature of the original codex as a compilation of multiple writings by Augustine.

H. A. G. Houghton
ITSEE, University of Birmingham, UK
H.A.G.Houghton@bham.ac.uk

[13] I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers of this article for this suggestion.

Plate 1. Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 4320b (*recto*). This represents a typical page of the manuscript, showing the wide margins. It contains the end of *De sermone domini* with an *explicit* in double-height capitals, followed by a rubricated introduction and the beginning of *Sermo* 118. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Plate 2. Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 4320d, fragment 4 ("*verso*" and "*recto*"), containing part of Augustine, *Sermo* 225 auct. 1-2. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Plate 3. Cambridge, University Library, MS Add. 4320d, fragment 5 (*recto* and *verso*), containing part of Augustine, *Contra sermonem Arrianorum* 18. Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

El códice Paris, lat. 5600 y cinco exposiciones anónimas

Javier Soage

(*Trier*)

El códice Paris, lat. 5600 (*P*) ha sido utilizado en numerosas ocasiones a lo largo del último siglo, pero ha venido careciendo hasta hoy de una descripción detallada. La que aquí se ofrece, surgida de sucesivos trabajos con el manuscrito, incide en los notables paralelos de sus contenidos con otros volúmenes misceláneos de los siglos VIII al X.

1. Contenidos de Paris, lat. 5600

B. Bischoff (*Katalog* 3, 4384-4385) dividió *P* en dos unidades codicológicas, a saber, fol. 1r-85v (*Katalog* 3, 4384) y fol. 94r-175v (*ibid.* 4385), cuya elaboración situó a principios y a finales del siglo IX, respectivamente, acaso en la Francia occidental. Su catálogo, en cambio, no hace mención de los fol. 86r-93v.

El criterio paleográfico permite dividir el volumen en cuatro unidades: la primera, fol. 1r-85v, de estética uniforme, aun con cambios bruscos de tinta; la segunda, fol. 86rv, de caligrafía más estilizada; la tercera, fol. 87r-93v, con evidentes señales de desgaste en el vuelto del último folio; la cuarta y última, fol. 94r-175v, de caligrafía bastante más ruda que todos los ejemplos anteriores.

La primera unidad está dedicada a vidas de santos y mártires. Trae buena parte de la *Vita sancti Columbani abbatis* (fol. 1r-62v, *CPL* 1115; aprox. *MGH* scr. rer. 4, 1-130), la *Passio Aucaunensium martyrum* (fol. 63r-70v, *CPL* 490), con un cambio de letra y tinta importante; y la *Passio Laurentii* (fol. 70v-77v, *CPL* 2219). Esta última acusa una breve interrupción en el fol. 71v, donde se copian por error las primeras líneas de la siguiente entrada, la "Omelia sancti Ysidori in dedicatione sancti angeli Michaelis, quod est III Kl. Octobris" (fol. 77v-80r, repitiendo las líneas ya copiadas en fol. 71v)[1]. Se siguen tres entradas dedicadas a Martín de Tours:

[1] C. Gaetani, *Sanctorum trium episcoporum... vitae et actiones*, Romae, 1606, pág. 51 (el impreso trae 45), párr. 2-pág. 53, párr. 1. Más testimonios: Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica

la tercera epístola de Sulpicio Severo (fol. 80r-83r, *CPL* 476), el capítulo 43 del primer libro de la *Historia Francorum* de Gregorio de Tours (fol. 83r-83bisv, *CPL* 1023) y un pasaje del tercero de sus *Miraculorum libri VIII* (fol. 83bisv-86v, *CPL* 1024, párr. 4-6)[2]. Este último texto se extiende sin solución de continuidad a la segunda unidad codicológica (fol. 86rv). Otra mano, acaso tardía, empieza a copiar a continuación el himno "O quam glorifica luce coruscas" de Ubaldo de Saint-Amand (*c.* 840-930)[3], pero abandona al poco, dejando en blanco el resto del vuelto.

La tercera unidad copia un sermón sobre la concepción de María (fol. 87r-90v, *PL* 39, col. 2107), un florilegio sobre la virginidad (fol. 90v-91v) tomado del *Liber scintillarum* (*CPL* 1302, cap. 13, entradas 1, 2, 4-6, 10-17, 19-27) y parte de un léxico latino a dos columnas para la letra 'r' (fol. 91v-93v)[4].

La cuarta y última parte, mucho más variada, se abre con dos obras preceptivas: el *De correctione rusticorum* de Martín de Braga (fol. 94r-103r, *CPL* 1086) y una versión abreviada del anónimo *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum* (fol. 103v-114v, *CPL* 1163). Se siguen dos cadenas sobre la avaricia (fol. 114v) y la usura (fol. 114v-115v) y una breve exposición sobre las buenas y malas obras apoyada en Deut. 27, 11-28, 8 (fol. 115v-117r)[5]. Estos tres últimos opúsculos se ofrecen editados en apéndice.

Vaticana, Vat. lat. 3836, fol. 91v-93v; *ibid.*, Vat. lat. 1269, entre los fol. 127r-137r; Montecassino, Archivio dell'Abbazia, MS 75; *ibid.*, MS 236.

[2] Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 557 ofrece una selección de textos muy semejante a la de estos primeros folios de *P*.

[3] D. Schaller, E. Könsgen, *Initia carminum latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum*, Göttingen, 1977, nº 19097 (ed. *Analecta hymnica* 51, pág. 146).

[4] Los siguientes ejemplos bastarán para ilustrar el carácter del léxico: "resultant: reclamant, resonant // reuulsus: euulsus // reicit: deposuit [...] rubor: uerecondia // robor: rotitudo // rubor: in faciem homines // rudentes: funes uelorum nauium // rubus: lionum spinosum // rediuiuum: a morte uetustate reuocamus [...] rimatur: diligenter inspicit inquirit succisum // recisum: succisum p**acorabit a te omnis // remicerus: quadrupes in nasu cornu aben(s) // remigium: gubernationem". Abundan las *probationes pennae*, que en ocasiones no hacen sino repetir palabras de la lista.

[5] La secuencia del *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum*, las dos cadenas y la exposición apoyada en el Deuteronomio se encuentra igualmente en la segunda parte del MS London, British Library, Cotton Nero A II (fol. 14r-29v), mútila por delante y por detrás. Tras la interrupción del último fragmento se sigue una breve exposición sobre Lc. 16, 19-31 (fol. 30rv), también conservada en *P*, fol. 164rv. Dado el estado actual de Cotton Nero A II, resulta imposible determinar la extensión original del paralelo entre ambos manuscritos, y cabe atenerse al texto conservado. Versiones más extensas de los primeros cuatro textos se conservan en una compilación compartida por los MSS Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, C 64 (fol. 8r-19r, 19rv, 21rv, 105r-106v) y London, British Library, Arundel 213 (fol. 1r-4r, 4rv, 5v-6r, 51v-52r). Acerca de esta colección y su relación con el MS Cotton Nero A II, véase L. J. Dorfbauer, "Der Codex Zürich, Zentralbibliothek C 64 und seine Bedeutung für die Überlieferung von Fortunatians Evangelienkommentar"; e id., *Fortunatianus redivivus. Bischof Fortunatian von*

Vienen luego dos extractos del *Codex Theodosianus* (fol. 117r-118r, *CPL* 1795) referentes a la observación del domingo (CTh 2, 8, 19, interpretatio; CTh 8, 8, 3, interpretatio). Debajo se lee una compilación de cuarenta y dos sentencias de diverso interés: las treinta primeras provienen de las *Sententiae* de Sexto en la traducción latina de Rufino (fol. 118r-119r, *CPL* 198h)[6]; las restantes no tienen origen conocido[7]. Se siguen una versión breve de la epístola de Jerónimo a Cipriano (fol. 119r-121r, Hier. epist. 140, *CPL* 620)[8] y una sucesión de citas bíblicas y patrísticas iniciadas por las letras 'b', 'c', 'q' y 'r' (fol. 121r-125v; fol. 123v en blanco)[9]. Se ofrece entonces una versión muy alterada de la segunda carta de ps.-Clemente (fol. 125v-129v, *CPG* 1008)[10].

Aquileia und sein Evangelienkommentar, Berlin – Boston, 2017 (*CSEL* extra seriem), págs. 113-160, esp. págs. 126-143.

[6] De acuerdo con la edición de H. Chadwick, *The Sentences of Sextus*, Cambridge, 1959, se trata de las sentencias siguientes: 41, 54, 75, 80, 88, 149, 161, 175, 184, 236, 243[2], 261, 265[2] ("cessa a cibo dum adhuc desideras cibum"), 270, 280[1], 286, 298, 301, 314, 317, 345, 358, 367, 368, 377, 378, 392, 397, 434, 426[2] ("non lingua sapientis principaliter deo placita est sed actus"). Cabe señalar que las sentencias 75, 161, 184, 270, 345, 378 y 434, todas ellas presentes en esta secuencia, se suceden en Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40, fol. 10r-13r y Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 15, fol. 88r-90v, precedidas de las sentencias 34 y 40 de la lista de *P*, transcritas en la nota siguiente.

[7] Las doce entradas ajenas a las *Sententiae* de Sexto leen así: (31.) scire te oportet quod summi laboris est conponere mores qui tibi apti sint; (32.) seruire uiciis multo est grauius quam tirannis; (33.) emendare se ipsum melius est antequam proximum; (34.) inpossibile est liberum esse cui uicia dominantur. (cfr Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40, fol. 11r); (35.) grandis possessio mentis est mansuetudo et lenitas animae admirari; (36.) neque fortitudinem stulti oportet neque prudentes infirmitatem despici; (37.) ex reuerentia praesto est ueneratio, aderit autem odium per timorem; (38.) ualere magis animo opta quam corporis; (39.) scito quia non solum luxuriosum esse malum, sed et luxuriosis admiscere malum est; (40.) inannis est ille sermo doctoris ex quo nullum animae uicium curatur. (Albi, Bibl. Munic., MS 40, fol. 11r); (41.) lex Dei non seruatur a malis, sed praeuaricatur; (42.) quanta fuerint in te uicia animae, tot et Domini †atrices† (cfr Sixt. sent. 75).

[8] Hier. epist. 140 (*CSEL* 56), 3-4, "moyses autem... oris ratio" (pág. 271, *lin.* 20-pág. 272, *lin.* 10); *ibid.* 4-5, "unde et hunc... se nouerit" (pág. 273, *lin.* 8-pág. 274, *lin.* 2); cfr *ibid.* 8, pág. 277, *lin.* 11-19: "quoniam mille anni ante oculos tuos domine tanquam dies una. breuis est omnium temporum longitudo in conspectu domini"; *ibid.* 8, "ex hoc loco... subsistere" (pág. 278, *lin.* 3-6); *ibid.* 21, "sunt aliqui liberi... diseretur" (pág. 289, *lin.* 5-16).

[9] Estos bloques de citas muestran afinidades regulares con los florilegios conservados en Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. Perg. CXII, fol. 3v-13r (L. Munzi, *Littera legitera. Testi grammaticali latini dell'Alto Medioevo*, Napoli, 2007, págs. 105-138) y Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230, págs. 550-563. El texto de *P*, aunque limitado a las cuatro letras en cuestión, lee un mayor número de citas, coherentes con el criterio de selección advertido en los florilegios más extensos.

[10] De acuerdo con la edición de P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, Leipzig, 1863, págs. 46-52, el texto de *P* no solo ofrece una redacción muy particular, sino que omite la sección central de la epístola (pág. 49, lín. 7 "quaprotper"-pág. 52, lín. 8 "percipiatis") y

Mayor interés suscitan los fol. 129v-132v, que reúnen cuatro textos breves de origen diverso. El primero, referido al arte de la salmodia, no es más que el capítulo 47 de la *Regula magistri* (fol. 129v-130v, *CPL* 1858). Tras este vienen dos textos anónimos de tintes gramaticales. El primero (fol. 130v-131r) recomienda el estudio de la gramática pese a sus orígenes paganos[11]; el segundo (fol. 131rv) trata del origen de las letras y acusa semejanzas con las enseñanzas de Isidoro de Sevilla y Julián de Toledo: "queritur quis primus litteras aebreorum, gregorum, latinorum et ceterarum gentium adinuenit... se unum ex eis in terra assiriorum uidisse". Se sigue, por último, el *Prologus S. Cyrilli de ratione paschae* (fol. 131r-132v, *CPL* 2291). El principal interés de estas cuatro obras reside en el paralelo exacto que se nos conserva en Paris, lat. 2817, fol. 101r-103r.

El paralelismo se interrumpe con la entrada inmediatamente posterior, compuesta por dos fragmentos del comentario de Jerónimo al profeta Jeremías (fol. 132v-133r, *CPL* 586)[12]. En cambio, se reanuda con las tres siguientes: el *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus* de Gennadio (fol. 133r-143r, *CPL* 958), una versión abreviada del *De haeresibus* de Agustín de Hipona (fol. 143r-151r, *CPL* 314) y el *Decretum Gelasianum* (fol. 151r-156r, *CPL* 1676). En este caso, el paralelo se puede leer en Paris, lat. 2787, fol. 2r-20v, un manuscrito hermano de lat. 2817, como más abajo se detalla.

Se sigue una versión abreviada de la *Homilia in diem sanctam paschae* (fol. 156r-159r, *CPPM* 2302), muy semejante a la de Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 281, págs. 13-21, pero ligeramente más breve[13]. Junto a esta se lee el sermón 33 de Cesáreo de Arlés (fol. 159r-162v, *CPL* 1008).

El volumen ofrece a continuación cinco breves exposiciones anónimas sobre sendas parábolas y, con ello, un segundo paralelo con Paris, lat. 2817 (fol. 99v-101r, esto es, precediendo al anterior). Se trata de las parábolas del hijo pródigo (Lc. 15, 11-32, fol. 162v-163r), de los trabajadores en la viña (Matth. 20, 1-16, fol. 163rv), de los cinco talentos (Matth. 25, 14-30, fol. 163v-164r), del hombre paralítico (Lc. 5, 17-26, fol. 164r) y del rico y

cuenta con algunas particularidades mayores que lo aproximan a la edición impresa en *PL* 56, col. 893-896. Asimismo, lee un texto propio relativo al bautismo de los enfermos tras "funditur" (pág. 47, lín. 14) y recurre a un cierre propio tras "accipiet" (pág. 52, lín. 16).

[11] Una transcripción completa: J.J. Contreni, "Learning in the Early Middle Ages", id., *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, Hampshire, 1992, pág. 12, n. 37 (traducción inglesa, *ibid.*, pág. 51). Se conserva una versión más breve en Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 59, fol. 257v, transcrita en V. Law, *Wisdom, Authority and Grammar in the Seventh Century. Decoding Virgilius Maro Grammaticus*, Cambridge – New York – Oakleigh, 1995, pág. 130, n. 11.

[12] Hier. in Ier. 3, 4 (*CCSL* 74), pág. 153, *lin.* 17-23; *ibid.* 3, 33, pág. 178, *lin.* 9-23.

[13] G. Partoens, "'Barbarae aetatis barbarus fetus'. An Early Medieval Sermon on Easter and its Relations with Other Texts", *Filologia Mediolatina* 25, 2018, págs. 175-231.

Lázaro (Lc. 16, 19-31, fol. 164rv). Más abajo se abundará en la tradición y el texto de estas exposiciones.

Cierran la colección una secuencia de fragmentos de los *Moralia in Iob* de Gregorio Magno (fol. 164v-175r, *CPL* 1708)[14] y unos apuntes sobre los llamados "días egipcios" (cfr *CPPM* 3.951-8*a*): "dies egipciagii qua omni tempore obseruandi sunt (*in mg.:* memento): nec sanguinem detrahas, nec medicamentum accipias ... december ubi facit dies III et dies XXIII, oportet te custodire propter multas causas"[15]. El vuelto del folio me resulta ilegible. Parece terminar con una lista de nombres y días, entre los que alcanzo a adivinar "Hioannes sol. I", "Bertinus dies VI" y "Meraldus dies II".

*

El registro anterior llama la atención sobre dos características de los contenidos de *P*, fol. 94r-175v. En primer lugar, buena parte de estos contenidos acusan paralelos complejos con otros mansucritos de los siglos VIII-X. En segundo lugar, los textos son en su mayoría extractos, reelaboraciones o abreviaciones de obras con tradición independiente conocida.

Antes de pasar a evaluar estas constataciones será provechoso resumir los contactos de *P*, fol. 94r-175v, advertidos hasta el momento. Los primeros folios (fol. 94r-117r) muestran contactos consistentes con ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek, C 64 y los MSS Arundel 213 y Cotton Nero A II de la British Library, muy especialmente con este último, que comparte asimismo la exposición sobre Lc. 16, 19-31 (*P*, fol. 164rv). Más adelante, los fol. 129v-164v presentan paralelos complejos con otros dos MSS de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, a saber, lat. 2817 (fol. 99v-103r) y lat. 2787 (fol. 2r-20v). Por último, la apertura y el cierre de esta sección de *P* (fol. 94r-114v y fol. 143v-144r) parecen coordinados con los de KASSEL, Universitätsbibliothek, 4º MS theol. 10.

Para el MS de Zürich y los dos de la British Library cabe remitirse al trabajo de Dorfbauer mencionado más arriba. En cuanto a los códices de París, valga lo siguiente.

[14] GREG. M. moral. (*CCSL* 143) 16, 9-10 (fol. 164v-166r); *ibid.* 16, 16 (fol. 166r-168r); *ibid.* 18, 22-23 (fol. 168r-169v); *ibid.* 18, 40 (fol. 169v-171r); *ibid.* 18, 54 (fol. 171r-174v); *ibid.* 19, 27 (fol. 174v-175r).

[15] El mismo texto, con carencias y sin el cierre "oportet te custodire propter multas causas", se lee en los últimos folios de KASSEL, Universitätsbibliothek, 4º MS theol. 10, fol. 143v-144r. Este manuscrito también copia en secuencia inmediata el *De correctione rusticorum* de Martín de Braga y el anónimo *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum* en su versión larga (cfr *P*, fol. 94r-114v).

2. El triplete de París

Según se lee en una ficha anónima custodiada en los archivos de la Bibliothèque nationale de France, los MSS lat. 2787 y lat. 2817 conformaron en origen un único códice junto con lat. 614A[16]. En efecto, todos ellos miden 215 × 135 mm y copian, con contadas excepciones, veintiséis líneas por página. Del mismo modo, acusan semejanzas ortográficas ("michi" y "nichil" de manera regular) y estéticas (títulos en versales rojas alineados a la derecha, capitales pequeñas con motivos vegetales). En un primer momento, B. Bischoff dató lat. 614A hacia la segunda mitad del siglo IX o entre los siglos IX y X (Ma. Studien 1, pág. 213). En el tercer volumen de su *Katalog*, pág. 28, se corrige esta datación y se opta por el siglo X, acaso en la Francia meridional. Los contenidos del triplete se pueden resumir como sigue.

El MS Paris, lat. 2787 se abre con la secuencia ya apuntada más arriba (*De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, *De haeresibus*, *Decretum Gelasianum*). Se siguen dos obras de Isidoro de Sevilla, a saber, los *Prooemia* (fol. 20v-31r, *CPL* 1192) y el *De ortu et obitu patrum* (fol. 31v-49r, *CPL* 1191). El recto de este último folio incluye un breve diálogo sobre las claves de la ciencia (Δ Quot sunt claues scientiae et claues scientiae quod sunt? Quattuor. Δ Quae? Assiduitas legendi, sedulitas interrogandi, contemptus facultatum, honor magistri). Al vuelto se lee una serie de bendiciones.

El MS Paris, lat. 2817 comienza con el *Liber differentiarum II* de Isidoro de Sevilla (fol. 1r-26v, *CPL* 1202). Trae luego un extenso florilegio con el encabezamiento "de diuersis sententiis" (fol. 26v-71r)[17] y un fragmento del *De uitiis et uirtutibus* de Halitgario de Cambrai (fol. 71r-77r, *PL* 105, col. 670-678). Los contenidos restantes son mucho más variados. Los fol. 77r-94r reúnen diversas exposiciones sobre el padrenuestro y el credo. Se siguen un párrafo sobre la cruz de Cristo (fol. 94r)[18] y buena parte de un popular catecismo iniciático (fol. 94r-98r)[19]. Vienen entonces unos

[16] La información de esta ficha ya fue apreciada por M.A. Andrés Sanz (*CCSL* 111A, pág. 141*).

[17] Señalada por G. Glauche, "Incipit clericalis vel monachalis sancti Hieronymi presbyteri. Katalogisierung und Forschung", *Bibliotheksforum Bayern* 22, 1994, págs. 141-147, esp. págs. 146-147. Apunta igualmente los siguientes MSS: London, British Library, Harley 5041, *saec.* VIII, fol. 1r-62v; Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2035, *saec.* IX, fol. 105v-150v; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 18545b, *saec.* XI, fol. 4r-12v; *ibid.* Clm 4601, fol. 82v-91r.

[18] Cfr M. Bayless, M. Lapidge, *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae* 372, Dublin, 1998 (Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 14); *uide etiam ibid.*, pág. 271.

[19] J. Soage, "The Mediaeval Question-and-Answer Collection *Sententiae de floratibus diuersis:* Standard and Non-Standard Versions", *Sacris Erudiri* 55, 2016, págs. 321-366.

apuntes sobre la formación de Adán (fol. 98rv)[20] y la naturaleza del paraíso (fol. 98v), estos últimos tomados de los *Origenes* de Isidoro (*CPL* 1186, lib. 14, 3, 2-4). Siguen dos oraciones no identificadas sobre la Trinidad, la pasión y la resurrección de Cristo (fol. 98v-99r y 99rv). Se suceden ahora los dos bloques paralelos con *P*, a saber, las cinco exposiciones sobre las parábolas presentadas más arriba (fol. 99v-101r) y los cuatro textos de diverso interés (fol. 101r-103r). Siguen una serie de homilías sobre los evangelios (fol. 103r-120v) y un encabezamiento sin texto: "incipit expositio eusebii, ambrosii et hieronymi", acaso referido a la breve cronología universal con que se abre lat. 614A.

El MS Paris, lat. 614A ha sido profusamente descrito por M.M. Gorman[21]. Sus contenidos más relevantes son los *Pauca problesmata* (fol. 3v-40v, 69r-75r, *Wendepunkte* 1) y la llamada *Carolingian miscellany* (fol. 91v-187r, *uide* n. 21). A propósito de esta última cabe señalar dos particularidades. En primer lugar, carece del *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, acaso por venir copiado en lat. 2817. En segundo lugar, su copia de las *Interrogationes de littera et de singulis causis*, combinada con la *Chronica sancti Hieronymi*, como en todos los testimonios de la miscelánea, incluye dos interpolaciones propias: la primera (fol. 179v-180r), parte de la exposición al Génesis (capp. 2-3) del *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum*, en la versión abreviada de *P* y Cotton Nero A II; la segunda, otra exposición al Génesis (cap. 4) de inspiración patrística, editada en apéndice. En cuanto a los textos de los fol. 1r-3v, que incluyen un fragmento del catecismo iniciático copiado en lat. 2817, véanse mis apuntes en "The Mediaeval Quaestion-and-Answer Collection" (pág. 333, n. 18). El texto del colofón, referido sin duda al *Liber differentiarum II* y al *De diuersis sententiis* de Paris, lat. 2817, puede leerse en el trabajo de M.M. Gorman, pág. 344.

La composición de *P*, y especialmente la de su cuarta unidad, parece haber dependido en buena medida de colecciones previas. Acaso el contacto más notable sea el que mantiene con Cotton Nero A II, pues *P*, pese a su fecha más tardía, no aqueja las mutilaciones de aquel. El cotejo de los textos compartidos, especialmente de la versión breve del *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum*, descarta la dependencia directa de *P* frente a Cotton Nero A II,

[20] Al respecto, Ch. D. Wright, "De Plasmatione Adam", L. DiTommaso, M. Henze, W. Adler (edd.), *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone*, Leiden, 2017 (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 26), págs. 941-1003.

[21] M. M. Gorman, "The Carolingian Miscellany of Exegetical Texts in Albi 39 and Paris lat. 2175", *Scriptorium* 51, 1997, págs. 336-355, esp. págs. 340-344 (reimpr.: M. M. Gorman, *Biblical Commentaries from the Early Middle Ages*, Firenze, 2002, págs. 476-494).

al tiempo que sugiere un alejamiento de *P* respecto al modelo común de ambos. En segundo lugar destacan los contactos continuados con el triplete conformado por Paris, lat. 2787, 2817 y 614A. En este caso, el cotejo de las exposiciones sobre las parábolas solamente apunta a una mayor proximidad del triplete con *P* que no con Cotton Nero A II. Por último, las similitudes que acusan *P* y Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, 4º MS theol. 10 en la selección y disposición de sus contenidos les confieren una cierta familiaridad. Ahora bien, el uso de dos versiones diferentes del *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum*, una obra de difusión bastante restringida, permite suponer que ambos manuscritos se hayan preparado en un entorno con intereses y recursos semejantes.

B. Bischoff situó la preparación de *P*, no sin dudas, en la Francia occidental. Los contactos apuntados hasta el momento, no obstante, sugieren vínculos con el flanco oriental del país. No en vano, el MS Cotton Nero A II fue elaborado en el norte de Italia (*Katalog* 2, 2421), región a la que también apuntan los contenidos de la restante tradición del florilegio, paleográficamente radicada en el sur de Alemania (*Katalog* 2, 2413)[22]. Por su parte, el triplete de París, según los apuntes de B. Bischoff (*Katalog* 3, pág. 28), podría haber sido preparado en el sur de Francia. El área dibujada por los anteriores testimonios, próximos a la cuenca del Ródano, se abre hacia el norte con Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, 4º MS theol. 10, preparado en el nordeste francés[23].

En este corredor situado en la frontera franco-alemana insisten, de manera independiente, varias obras compiladas en *P*. Tal es el caso de la *Homelia in die sancto Paschae*. Ya se ha señalado la proximidad de las versiones de *P* y Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 281, originario de la Raetia (*Katalog* 1, 1118); pero es que, además, el *codex vetustissimus* de la homilía, a saber, Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 213 (*CLA* 7, 922), proviene del centro en que se conserva. Por su parte, la selección de las *Sententiae* de Sexto apunta en la misma dirección, si se tienen presentes sus ya comentadas semejanzas con las secuencias de Albi, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 40 y Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 15. Por último, no se dejarán de señalar los extractos que *P* comparte con los florilegios de Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 230, probablemente un producto del mismo Sankt Gallen, y Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 112 (*CLA* 8, 1141), originario de Reichenau.

[22] L. J. Dorfbauer, "Der Codex Zürich", págs. 120-127.

[23] K. Wiedemann, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel I, 2 Manuscripta theologica. Die Handschriften in Quarto*, Wiesbaden, 2015, págs. 20-22.

Cabe apuntar que buena parte de los contenidos de *P* son versiones abreviadas, fragmentadas o alteradas de textos conocidos. No obstante, exceptuando los extractos puros, estas versiones no le son propias. Antes bien, las coincidencias de *P* con los MSS más afines comprenden tanto los textos intervenidos como los no intervenidos. Por tanto, cabe deducir que esta reelaboración no es obra del copista de *P*. Así, parece razonable afirmar que los contenidos de la cuarta parte de *P*, preparada, según B. Bischoff, en Francia occidental, beben de una tradición bien radicada en la cuenca del Ródano y el corredor fronterizo franco-alemán.

3. Las *Expositiunculae*

Los códices Paris, lat. 5600 y Paris, lat. 2817 comparten una secuencia de cinco breves exposiciones a las parábolas del hijo pródigo (Lc. 15, 11-32), de los obreros en la viña (Matth. 20, 1-16), de los cinco talentos (Matth. 25, 14-30), del paralítico (Lc. 5, 17-26) y del rico y Lázaro (Lc. 16, 19-31).

La quinta exposición se encuentra también en London, British Library, Cotton Nero A II, fol. 30r-31r, tras una pérdida material de extensión indeterminada. Los contenidos que se nos conservan antes de esta laguna coinciden plenamente con los de Paris, lat. 5600, fol. 94v-117r, pero resulta imposible determinar la pérdida de Cotton Nero A II.

Asimismo, las tres primeras exposiciones se conservan en Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 3754, cuatro folios ligados en origen a Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Fragm. 47 (*Katalog* 1, 339, Mondsee, IX$^{in.}$). El fragmento de Berlín es el testimonio más antiguo de la tercera recensión de la anónima *Expositio IV euangeliorum* (*Wend*. 11c; cfr *CPL* 631), de la que contiene Matth. 1, 18-Matth. 3, 4[24]. Los fol. 1r-3r del fragmento de Viena abundan en este mismo texto (cfr *PL* 30, col. 570C-571B, 576C-577B, 578). A su vez, los fol. 3r-4v, en pésimo estado de conservación, traen seis exposiciones evangélicas: las tres primeras (Lc. 13, 21, Lc. 15, 4 y Lc. 15, 11-31) se derivan de los *Commentarii* de ps.-Teófilo (*CPL* 1001)[25], basadas en gran medida en las *Expositiun-*

[24] B. Griesser, "Die Handschriften-Fragmente aus dem Berliner Ansegis-Kodex als Textzeugen der Expositio IV Euangeliorum des Ps.-Gregorius", *Natalicium Carolo Jax septuagenario oblatum I* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft 3) Innsbruck, 1955, págs. 137-142

[25] M. M. Gorman, "The Earliest Latin Commentary on the Gospels", *Augustinianum* 43, fasc. 2, 2003, págs. 253-312, esp. págs. 307-208, *lin.* 1105-1129.

culae de Ps.-Arnobius Iunior (*CPL* 240)[26]; las tres últimas exposiciones (Lc. 15, 11-32, Matth. 20, 1-16 y Matth. 25, 14-30) se corresponden con las tres primeras de las colecciones de París.

Las cinco *Expositiunculae* son muy sencillas. Solo la segunda parece mantener contactos con los *Commentarii* de ps.-Teófilo, en lo que respecta a la identificación de las horas con diferentes personajes de la historia bíblica (*lin.* 491-504, cfr ps.-Arnobius Iunior, *Expositiunculae*, págs. 288-289). Por lo demás, descarto contactos con las tres recensiones de la *Expositio IV euangeliorum*, las *Expositiunculae* de ps.-Arnobius Iunior, los *Commentarii* de ps.-Teófilo y los *Commentarii* de Fortunatianus Aquileiensis (*CPL* 104). Hago imprimir los textos, precisamente, por su originalidad y por lo que pudiesen aportar al estudio de colecciones semejantes.

Sumario

El presente artículo ofrece, en primer lugar, una descripción detallada y actualizada de los contenidos de Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5600, *saec.* IX^{med}. El grueso de la descripción procura arrojar luz sobre el aparente carácter compuesto del volumen, al tiempo que se propone señalar un contexto de compilación. Para ello se explotan los contactos más significativos y de mayor envergadura de cada una de sus partes con otros manuscritos coetáneos, especialmente en lo que concierne a las obras anónimas. En segundo lugar, se presenta el estudio y la edición de cinco breves *Expositiunculae* inéditas sobre otras tantas parábolas o relatos neotestamentarios (Lc. 15, 11-32, "el hijo pródigo"; Matth. 20, 1-16, "los obreros en la viña"; Matth. 25, 14-30, "los cinco talentos"; Lc. 5, 17-26, "Jesús y el paralítico"; Lc. 16, 19-31, "el rico y Lázaro"). La tradición de esta colección es compleja y desigual; su apogeo, bastante limitado, parece ceñirse al siglo IX. En cuanto a su texto, pese a lo sencillo de la exégesis, parece original: así, queda descartado por el momento cualquier contacto con obras reconocidas. En apéndice se imprimen varios textos anónimos de imbricada tradición textual a propósito del Génesis (Gen. 4, 1-7), el Deuteronomio (Deut. 27, 11-28, 8) y los pecados de la avaricia y la usura, todos ellos, en contraste con las *Expositiunculae*, de acusado carácter compilatorio.

[26] K.D. Daur (ed.), Arnobius Iunior, *Opera minora*, 1992 (*CCSL* 25A), págs. 245-320, esp. pág. 301, *lin.* 178 - pág. 302, *lin.* 193. *Vide etiam*, L.J. Dorfbauer, "Neues zu den *Expositiunculae in evangelium Iohannis evangelistae Matthaei et Lucae* (CPL 240) und ihrem vermeintlichen Autor 'Arnobius Iunior'", *Revue Bénédictine* 124, 2014, págs. 65-102, 261-297; y L. J. Dorfbauer, J. J. Contreni, "An Unidentified Epitome of the *Expositiunculae in Euangelium Iohannis euangelistae Matthaei et Lucae* (*CPL* 240) and Scholarship in the Margins at Laon in the Ninth Century", *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 28, 2018, págs. 49-93.

Summary

The main aim of this article is to provide a detailed and up-to-date content description of manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5600, *saec.* IX^{med}. Most observations seek to shed light on the apparently composite nature of the volume and on the context of its compilation. To this end, attention is drawn to the most significant contacts of each part to further contemporary manuscripts, with special regard to anonymous works. This is followed by a study and edition of five unedited short *Expositiunculae* on five parables or New Testament stories (Lc. 15, 11-32, "the prodigal son"; Matth. 20, 1-16, "the workers in the vineyard"; Matth. 25, 14-30, "the talents"; Lc. 5, 17-26, "the healing of a paralytic"; Lc. 16, 19-31, "the rich man and Lazarus"). The manuscript tradition of this collection is complex and irregular, and its quite modest peak seems restricted to the ninth century. As for its exegesis, however simple, it seems original: every contact to known works is excluded for now. Two appendixes offer some anonymous texts of imbricated textual tradition on Gen. 4, 1-7, Deut. 27, 11-28, 8, and the sins of greed and usury, all of them of a clear compilatory nature, in contrast to the *Expositiunculae*.

Javier Soage
(Independiente)
soageot@gmail.com

CONSPECTVS SIGLORVM

P	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 5600, IX$^{med.}$, fol. 162v-164v (exp. 1-5)
T	PARIS, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 2817, X, fol. 99v-101r (exp. 1-5)
W	WIEN, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Ser. n. 3754, Mondsee IX^{1}, fol. 3v-4v (exp. 1-3 incomp.)
N	LONDON, British Library, Cotton Nero A II, norte de Italia^{2} VIII^{ex}/ IX^{in}, fol. 30r-31r (exp. 5)

~	*ponitur pro uocibus in lemmate*
non leg.	*non legitur*

[1] Incipit expositio euangelii
(Lc. 15, 11-32)

Homo qvidam habvit dvos filios. Iste homo Deus Pater intelligitur. Habens dvos filios. Hoc est duo populi Iudaeorum et gentium. Advlescentior. Vocatione, non aetate. Portionem svbstantiae. Libertatem arbitrii. Abiit in regionem longinqvam. Hoc est in infidelitatem. Facta est fames valida. De uerbo Dei. Vni civivm. Diabolus intelligitur. Misit illvm in villam svam. Hoc est in cupiditatem saeculi. Pascere porcos. Hoc est peccatores. Siliqvas. Diuitias saeculi. Mercenarii. Populus Iudaeorum qui propter mercedem seruiebant. Peccavi in caelvm. Quia habitationem caeli habuerat. Et coram te. Non solum Adam in paradiso, sed omne genus humanum in mundo. Cecidit svper collvm eivs. Quando Christus carnem adsumpsit. Oscvlatvs est evm. Quia pacem dedit Ecclesiae. Dixit servis svis. Virtutes caelorum. stolam. Inmortalitatis intelligitur. Annvlo. Gratia Spiritus Sancti. In manv. In operibus sanctorum. Calciamenta. Exempla sanctorum. Vitvlvs. Christus intelligitur. Saginatvs. Quia diuis est in misericordia. Mortvvs fverat. Propter peccatum. Resvrrexit. Propter fidem Trinitatis uel poenitentiae. Filivs senior in agro. Quia legem tenebat. Avdivit symphoniam et choro. Clamauerunt "Osanna, fili Dauid". Vnvs de servis. Vnus de prophetis. Rogabat introire. Hoc est in Ecclesiam. Cvm amicis epvlare. Hoc est cum peccatoribus. Explicit.

Trad. text.: *P T W*

3 quidam] *s.l. P* **5** uocatione non aetate] uocationem nona aetate *P T* **6** abiit] ~ autem *W* **7** dei] domini *W* ciuium] ciuis *P*, ciuius *T* **11** habuerat] -nt *W* **17** propter[1]] pro *P*, *om. W* **20** hoc] *interruptus W*

[2] Expositio euangelii de operariis in uineam conductis (Matth. 20, 1-16)

Homo paterfamilias. Deus pater. Primo mane. De principio mundi usque ad Noe. Vinea. Mundus intelligitur. Operarii. Abel et Enoch. Conventio. †Prosio†. Denarivs. Vita aeterna. Hora tertia. Noe cum filiis suis. In fvtvro. In mundo. Hora sexta. Abraham et reliqui patriarchae. Hora nona. Moyses et Aaron et Iesus uel prophetae. Hora vndecima. Omne genus humanum quando Christus uenit. Sero. In fine mundi. Procvrator. Christus. Respondit vni. Quasi omnibus. Tolle qvod tvvm est. Serua quod accepisti. Occvlvs neqvam. Hoc est inuidiosus. Bonvs svm, quia reddidit unicuique secundum opera sua.

Ita et moralem sensum. Paterfamilias. Christus aut unusquisque praedicator intelligitur. Primo mane. In baptismo. In vineam. In Ecclesiam. Conventione. Fidem Trinitatis. Hora prima. Infantia. Hora tertia. Pueritia. Hora sexta. Adulescentia. Hora nona. Perfecta aetas. Vndecima. Senectus. Otiosi. Hoc est in uoluptatibus saeculi. Explicit.

Trad. text.: *P T W*

1 expositio – conductis] ~ in uineam *P*, de operarios conductos in uineam *W* **3** homo] modo *W* **4** abel et enoch] abel enoch *W* **5** conuentio prosio] *forsan* c. promissio, *om. W* **6** futuro] foro *W* **11** reddidit] reddit $P^{a.c.}$ *W*, redidit $P^{p.c.}$ **12** moralem] mortalem *P T* $W^{a.c.}$ **16** uoluptatibus] -luntatibus *W*

[3] Expositio euangelii de quinque talentis (Matth. 25, 14-30)

Hic homo Christus intelligitur. Vocavit servos svos. Apostolos ut praedicarent. Tradidit illis bona sva. Donum Spiritus Sancti. Vni dedit qvinqve talenta. Id est quinque sensus corporis: uisum, auditum, gustum, odoratum, et tactum. Alii dvo. Sapientiam et opera. Alii vnvm. Sapientiam tantum. Fodit in terram. In suam carnem. Abscondit pecvniam. Quia non seruauit bonum naturae. Piger. Quia non impleuit mandatum. Nvmvlariis. Qui audiunt uerbum et implent in opere. Qvi habet. Fidem et opera. dabitvr illi. Sapientiam. Qvi non habet. Fidem et opera. Tollitvr illi. Sapientiam. Explicit.

Trad. text.: *P T W*

1 talentis] -ta *P T* **3** suos] *om. W* **4** illis] *om. W* **5** gustum] *interruptus W*

[4] ⟨Expositio euangelii⟩ de homine paralitico (Lc. 5, 17-26)

Hic homo paraliticus figuram humani generis tenet. Viri qvattvor. Creaturae unde factus est homo, frigidum et calidum, humidum et siccum. Et spiritaliter: Qvattvor. Virtutes quae portabant illum, id est prudentia, temperantia, fortitudo, et iustitia. Paraliticus erat humanum genus quia non habebat fidem. Non invenientes qva parte illvm inferrent prae tvrba. Hoc est turba daemonum uel turba uitiorum per malas uirtutes intelliguntur. Cvm lecto. Cum corpore. Explicit.

Trad. text.: *P T*

3 humani generis] *edidi*, humanum genus *P T* **5** quae] *edidi*, qui *P T*

[5] ⟨Expositio euangelii⟩ de diuite et Lazaro (Lc. 16, 19-31)

Hic diuis populus iudaicus intelligitur. INDVEBATVR PVRPVRA ET BYSSO. PVRPVRA. Vestes regales; per byssum uestes sacerdotales intelliguntur. LAZARVS. Populus gentilis. CLAMAT AD IANVAM. Hoc est foras legem. VLCERIBVS PLENVS. Hoc est peccatis. MENSA. Lex litterae. MICAS. Sensus Scripturae. CANES. Sancti praedicatores. LINGEBANT. Osculabant. SINVM ABRAHAE. Requies intelligitur. DIVIS SEPVLTVS EST IN INFERNO. Hoc est in terra. Sepulcrum pro memoria ponitur. CHAOS MAGNVM FVIT. Inter Iudaeos et gentibus, hoc est lex. CHAOS MAGNVM. In futuro uel discretio merito, hoc est potestas Dei. Et secundum historiam ualles intelleguntur. IN DOMVM PATRIS MEI. Hoc est in legem. QVINQVE FRATRES. Fuerunt sub quinque libros Moysi uel quinque sensus corporis. Explicit.

Trad. text.: *P T N*

3 induebatur] -ntur $P^{a.c.}$ **5** lazarus] eleazarus *N* clamat] clamabat *N* hoc est] id est *N* **6** peccatis] -um *N* **10** merito] -ti *N*

APÉNDICE I

El siguiente texto constituye la segunda interpolación propia de Paris, BnF, lat. 614A al ítem 8 de la *Carolingian miscellany*, es decir, al compuesto formado por la combinación de las *Interrogationes de littera et de singulis causis*[1] y de la *Chronica sancti Hieronymi*[2]. La primera interpolación, parte del *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum* (*CPL* 1063), ofrecía una glosa parcial a los tres primeros capítulos del Génesis. Esta segunda interpolación expone Gen. 4, 1,2,4-7. Su texto combina enseñanzas del libro 15 del *De ciuitate Dei* de Agustín de Hipona (*CPL* 313), de las *Quaestiones hebraeae in Genesim* de Jerónimo (*CPL* 580) y de los *Moralia* de Gregorio Magno (*CPL* 1708).

[1] N. Everett, "The *Interrogationes de littera et de singulis causis* : An Early Medieval School Text", *Journal of Medieval Latin* 16 (2006), págs. 227-275.

[2] C. Munier, "La Chronique pseudo-hiéronymienne de Sélestat. Un schéma de catéchèse médiévale?", *Revue Bénédictine* 104 (1994), págs. 106-122.

Paris, lat. 614A, fol. 182rv:

Adam vero cognovit vxorem svam, qvae concepit et peperit Cayn, dicens: 'Possedi hominem per Devm'. Bene dixit 'possedi hominem' siue 'adquisiui'. Quare? Quia illis duobus ipse (*cod.* uitae) fuit nascendo homo additus primus. Rvrsvmqve peperit fratrem eivs Abel. Natus est igitur puer prior Cayn, malus et carnalis; posterior Abel, bonus et spiritalis. Quare itta? Quia *non prius quod spiritale est, sed quod animale est, et post quod spiritale est*.

Et respexit Dominvs ad Abel et ad mvnera eivs, ad Cayn et ad mvnera eivs non respexit; iratvsqve est Cayn vehementer. Vnde scire potuit Cayn quod fratris munera suscepisset Deus et sua repudiasset, nisi illa interpraetatio uera est, quam (*cod.* quia) Theodocion [incpies] posuit: et inflamauit Dominus super Abel et super sacrificium eius, super Cayn uero et super sacrificium eius non inflamauit. Ignem autem ad sacrifitium deuorandum solito uenire de caelo et in dedicatione templi sub Salomone legimus, et quando Helias in monte Carmelo construxit alttare. Et respexit Dominvs ad Abel et ad mvnera eivs, ad Cayn vero et ad mvnera eivs non respexit, nisi quia unius bona opera erant, alterius uero mala, Iohanne apostolo manifestante: *Non*, inquid,

1/2 Gen. 4, 1 **4** Gen. 4, 2 **5/6** I Cor. 15, 46 **7/8** Gen. 4, 4-5 **15/16** nisi – mala] cfr I Ioh. 3, 12 **16/18** I Ioh. 3, 12

2 possedi – adquisiui] cfr Hier., *Quaest. hebr. in Gen.* 4, 1 **3** illis – primus] Avg., *Ciu.* 15, 15, lin. 16-18 **4/6** natus – spiritale est[2]] cfr Avg., *Ciu.* 15, 1, lin. 32-36 **7/14** et[1] – alttare] Hier., *Quaest. hebr. in Gen.* 4, 4-5, lin. 13-22 **16/24** iohanne – explendis] Avg., *Ciu.* 15, 7, lin. 33-42

sicut Cayn, qui ex maligno erat, et occidit fratrem suum, et cuius rei gratia occidit, nisi quia opera illius maligna fuerant, fratris autem eius iusta, unde datur intelligi propterea Deus non respexisse [182v] siue inflammasse in munus eius, quia hoc ipsut male diuidebat, dans Deo aliquid suum, sibi autem se ipsum, quod omnes faciunt qui non Dei sed suam sectantes uoluntatem, id est non recto, sed peuerso corde uiuentes, [o] offerunt tamen Deo munus quo puttant eum redimi, ut earum non opitulentur sanandis prauis cupiditatibus, sed explendis. IRATVSQUE CAYN VEHEMENTER. Hoc peccatum maxime arguit Deus, id est tristicia de alterius bonitate, et hoc fratris.

DIXITQVE DOMINVS AD EVM: QVARE IRATVS ES ET CVR CONCIDIT VVLTVS TVVS? NONNE SI BENE EGERIS RECIPIES, SIN AVTEM MALE STATIM IN FORIBVS PECCATVM TVVM ADERIT, SED SVB TE ERIT APPETITVS EIVS ET TV DONABERIS ILLIVS. In foribus quippe peccatum adest cum in cogitationibus pulsat cuius appetitum subter est eique homo do⟨mi⟩natur si cordis nequicia inspecta cicius prematur (*cod.* praemitun) et priusquam ad duritiam crescat reluctanti mentis subiugittur. Delictum enim suum cycius animus senciat culpam thyrannidem sub iure suo poenitendo restringat. Potest aetiam set sic intelligi: SVB TE ERIT APPETITVS EIVS, id est ad ipsum hominem conuersionem esse debere peccati. et nulli alii quam sibi tribuere debere quod peccat. SVB TE ERIT APPETTITVS EIVS ET TV DO⟨MI⟩NABERIS ILLIVS, et de quo superius diximus.

26/28 Gen. 4, 6-7

24/25 iratusque – fratris] AVG., *Ciu.* 15, 7, lin. 52-54 **29/33** in foribus – restringat] GREG. M., *Moral.* 4, 19, v. 6, par. 36 **33/35** potest – peccat] AVG., *Ciu.* 15, 7, lin. 70-73

APÉNDICE II

En este apéndice se editan los tres textos breves compartidos por Paris, lat. 5600 (*P*) y Cotton Nero A II (*N*) tras el *Sermo seu instructio rusticorum*. Como se apuntó más arriba, los códices Arundel 213 (*A*) y Zürich, C 64 conservan versiones propias de todos ellos. Solo he podido acceder a Arundel 213, cuyas lecturas apunto en el aparato. En las dos cadenas, además, las principales diferencias entre los textos más breves y los más extensos vienen recogidas en un aparato propio.

~ *ponitur pro uocibus in lemmate*
non leg. *non legitur*

De avaricia – *Auarus non inpletur pecunia*. [Auaro] tam deest quod habet quam quod non habet. Hinc apostolus dicit: *auaritia nec nominetur in uobis sicut decet sanctos*. Et dicit: *auari regnum Dei non possidebunt*. Et alibi dicit: *auarus quod est idolorum seruitus*. Qui habet diuicias et non intellegit illas bene gubernare seruus est ad ipsas diuicias. Iuxta quod Dominus dicit: *non potestis Deo seruire et Mamone*. Fuerunt ergo serui ad ipsas diuicias diues purporatus, uel qui horrea destruere cupiebat, et maiora reaedificare, uel ille diues qui a Domino tristis recessit. Vnde propheta dicit: *dextera eorum dextera iniquitatis*. Sanctus Agustinus exposuit: quia inuerse uestierunt. Hoc quod debuerant [115r] habere in praesentiam pro sinistra fecerunt sibi dexteram, et receperunt in futurum sinistram pro dextera. Abraham et Iob uel ceteri habuerunt diuicias

1 Eccle. 5, 9 **2/3** Eph. 5, 3 **3** cfr I Cor. 6, 9 **4** Eph. 5, 5 **5/6** Matth. 6, 24 **6/7** diues – reaedificare] cfr Lc. 12, 18 **7/8** ille – recessit] cfr Marc. 10, 22 **8** Ps. 143, 8 **12/13** Cant. 2, 6

1/2 auaro – habet] Hier., *Epist*. 11, p. 464, *lin*. 17-18 **9** quia – uestierunt] Avg., *In psalm*. 143, 19

1 inpletur] -bitur *A* pecunia] -as *PC*$^{a.c.}$, -iis *C*$^{p.c.}$ **2** hinc] et *A* **3** decet sanctos] d. -us *P*, dicit -us *C* et dicit] *uacat C* **4** auarus] auar*** auaritia$^{s.l.}$ *A* habet diuicias] d. h. *C* et – illas] et non illas sapit *A* **5** ad – diuicias] ad ipsas *A*$^{a.c.}$, ipsarum *A*$^{p.c.}$ **6** diues] tantalus$^{s.l.}$ *A* **7** qui horrea] inorrea *P*, iorrea *C*$^{a.c.}$ uel] ut *A* **9** inuerse] -suum *PC*, -sum *A* uestierunt] uerterunt *P* **10** praesentiam] -te *A*$^{a.c.}$, -ti *A*$^{p.c.}$ et receperunt] ~ uel recipient$^{s.l.}$ *A* **11** abraham] et sancti patres nostri abraham *A* iob] iacob *P*$^{a.c.}$ uel] et *A*

sed pro sinistra non pro dextera. Sicut scriptum est: *leua eius sub capite meo et dextera illius amplexabitur me*. * Nunquid diuicias accuset aut condemnet scriptura, sed auaros homines. Beatus apostolus dicit: *qui habent tanquam non*
15 *habentes sint*, et reliqua. *

14/15 I Cor. 7, 29

13 amplexabitur me] ~ quid per sinistram nisi uita praesens et quid per dexteram nisi uita futura (cfr Greg. M., *In euang*. 21, 2) *A* **13/14** nunquid – homines] numquid diuitiae sunt (est *a.c.*) saccus ita ut contempnit scripturam sed propter auaros homines *A* **14** apostolus] paulus *A* **15** reliqua] ~ sanctus gregorius dicit non audemus uobis (nobis *a.c.*) praedicare ut omnia relinquatis sed si uultis tenendo omnia ita relinquetis ut res terrenas uos possedeatis non res possedeant uos (Greg. M., *In euang*. 36, 11) ut quicquid habetis ante mentes oculos uestros portendat non licet intueri (-re *a.c.*) quod non licet concupiscere, quia mater cunctorum uiuentium per oculos ad mortem uenit et Iudas p⟨er⟩didit internam cum exteriora uiuendo concupiuit (quia – concupiuit] Greg. M., *Moral*. 2, 21, 2) *A*

De vsvra – (1) Scriptum est: *non fenerabis fratri tuo ad usuram pecunias, nec fruges, nec quamlibet aliam rem. Fratre autem tuo absque usura id quod indiget conmutabis ut benedicat tibi Dominus Deus in omni tempore.* – (2) Nam si in paupertate euenerit acomodare et subleuare debeat, ne sit in paupertate. – (3) Et dicit: *si emeris seruum ebreum sex annos seruiet tibi, septimum dimittis eum liberum.* * – (4) Et Dominus per prophetam dixit: [*qui*] *pecuniam suam non dedit ad usuram et munera super innocentem non accepit.* – (5) Et alibi dicit: *usuram et superhabundantiam noli recipere.* Superhabundantiam, id est melioratam rem. [115u] Ergo unusquisque annonam et uinum amplius quam praestat non recipiat. * – (6) Et ipse Dominus dicit: *qui petit a te, da ei, et uolenti mutuari ne auertaris.* * – (7) Et cui Deus dedit intellectum uel sapientiam, hoc uindere non debet. * – (8) Iuxta quod Dominus dixit: *gratis accepistis, gratis date.* – (9) Et qui hoc uindere uoluerit, usura dicitur, et qui usuram non accipiunt, adhuc perfectionem indigent, ut dicitur: *frange esurienti panem tuum*, * et reliqua, quia *beatius est dare quam accipere.*

1/3 Deut. 23, 19-20 **5/6** Ex. 21, 2 **6/7** Ps. 14, 5 **8** Ez. 18, 17 **10/11** Matth. 5, 42 **12/13** Matth. 10, 8 **14** Is. 58, 7 **15** Act. 20, 35

Arundel 213 (*ordo*): (4), (2), (5), (7), (9 et qui hoc – usura dicitur), (8), (9 et qui usuram – panem tuum), (9 quia – accipere), (6), (1), (3)

---

1 scriptum est] et in deuteronomio ~ *A* ad usuram] *om. PC* pecunias] -a *PC*$^{a.c.}$ **2** fratre ... tuo] fratrem ... tuo *C*$^{a.c.}$, fratrem tuum *C*$^{p.c.}$ id] in *PC* **3** conmutabis] accommodabis *A* deus] ~ tuus *A* nam] et in lege moysi scriptum est *A* **4** paupertate] ~ frater tuus *A* euenerit] ue- *A* acomodare] ad commutare uel$^{s.l.}$ accomodare$^{s.l.}$ *A* debeat] -s *A*, -nt *C* **5** annos] -is *C*, anis *P* septimum] septennium *A*$^{p.c.}$ *peius* dimittis] -es *Cp.*c., et demitte *A* **6** liberum] ~ dum ipsa Veritas ait non veni legem soluere sed et implere (Matth. 5, 17) quia lex per Moysen data est, gratia et ueritas per Ihesum Christum facta est. ergo in melius commutata est gratia per Filium in nouo testamento quam lex per seruum (seruo *a.c.*) in ueteri (uetus *a.c.*) testamento *A* et – dixit] dauuit propheta dixit *A* **7** innocentem] -s *P* et alibi] ~ dominus per profetam *A* **8** noli] nolite *A* **9** melioratam] inme- *A* unusquisque] *post* uinum *A* annonam et uinum] anona et uino *A* amplius] *post* recipiat (*lin.* 10) *A* **10** recipiat] ~ quia propter ea Dominus sacerdotes de templo eiecit ementes et uendentes. et spiritus sanctus per Salomonem dixit m⟨a⟩ledictus (mediledictus *a.c.*) homo qui abscondit frumenta et benedictio super capta vendentium et prestantium (cfr Prou. 11, 26) *A* ipse] *non leg. A* a te] date *P*$^{p.c.}$ *peius* **10/11** uolenti mutuari] -te pimutare *P*, -te mutare *A*$^{a.c.}$, -te -re a te *A*$^{p.c.}$ **11** auertaris] ~ mutare hoc est in promutare *A* sapientiam] ~ et *A* **12** debet] dedit *P*, ~ ut dicitur eme sapientiam et noli vendere eam *A* iuxta – dixit] quia dominus in euangelio sic dixit *A* **13** et qui hoc] quia qui ipsam *A* usuram] -a *P*, -as *A* **14** accipiunt] -ient *P*, accepit *A* adhuc perfectionem] p. a. *A* indigent] intellegit *A* tuum] ~ et egenos uagosque qui$^{s.l.}$ sunt sine tecto induc in domum tuam et cum uideris nudum operi eum et carnem tuam ne dispexeris. et Dominus per Esaiam profetam dixit qui excutit manus suas ab omni (omne *a.c.*) munere iste in excelsis habitat (Is. 22, 15). est munus (manus *a.c.*) a manu et est munus ab ore et munus ab obsequio *A* **15** quia] et alibi dixit *A* beatius] -tus *Aa.c.* // dare] ~ magis$^{s.l.}$ *A* accipere] ~ explicit *C*

Legimvs in Devteronomio: *Iordane transmisso praecepit Moyses, Domino iubente, populum duodecim tribuum ut ascenderent alii super montem Garizim, alii super montem Hebal ut inferrent benedictiones et maledictiones, id est Symeon... manuum tuarum*, et cetera quae ibi scripta sunt, tam benedictiones quam maledictiones. Ergo quando unusquisque opera mala facit [117r] et mandata Dei non custodit uel alterius sine causa nocet et res alienas tollit malo ordine maledictionem super se firmatam habet. Iacobus apostolus dicit: *qui fraudatus est a uobis clamat et clamor ipsorum in aures domini sabaoth introiit*. Vnde Dominus peccatoribus in die iudicii dicturus erit: *discedite a me maledicti in ignem aeternum* et reliqua. Et qui bona opera faciunt et mandata Dei in omnibus custodiunt et alterius iuxta quod uires habent bona praebent. Vnde apostolus dicit: *bonum autem facientes non deficiamus, tempore enim suo metemus non deficientes, id est dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes maxime ad domesticos fidei*. Ergo benedictiones super se firmatas habent isti, quia membra Christi benedicent eos in praesentia, propterea audituri erunt: *uenite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum quod uobis praeparatum est ab origine mundi*.

1/4 Deut. 27, 11 - 28, 8 **7/8** Iac. 5, 4 **9/10** Matth. 25, 41 **12/14** Gal. 6, 9-10 **15/16** Matth. 25, 34

1 legimus – deuteronomio] item ubi supra *P*, in deuteronomium scriptum est *A* **1/4** iordane – symeon] praecepit moyses dicens stabat ad benedicendum dominum super montem gazarim iordanen transmissum simeon *A* **3** hebal] abul *PC* **4** cetera] reliqua *A* tam] *non leg. A* **5** quando unusquisque] *tr. P* **7** iacobus] ut ~ *A* **8** aures] -ibus *A* unde] quia *A* **9** erit] est *P* **10** et reliqua] qui praeparatus est diabulo et angelis eius *A* **11** unde] ut paulus *A* **12** tempore] *interruptus C* metemus] -amus *P* **13** id est] ergo *A* bonum] quod bonum est *A* maxime] ~ autem *A* **14** quia] qui *A* **15** praesentia] -te *A* erunt] ~ domino dicente *A* **16** praeparatum] paratum *A*

1 Timothy 2, 1 and the *Expositiones Missae* of Thomas Aquinas*

Innocent Smith, o.p.

(*Regensburg*)

1. The Structure of the Mass according to Thomas Aquinas

Throughout his writings, Thomas Aquinas draws frequently on the testimony of sacred scripture,[1] the insights of the Church Fathers,[2] and liturgical texts which were part of his daily prayer life as a Dominican friar.[3] In some cases, Thomas draws on all three sources at once, presenting a theological synthesis that is deeply rooted in scripture and the liturgical and theological traditions of the Church. One important area where this occurs is in Thomas's liturgical commentaries on the rites of the Mass.[4]

* Earlier versions of this article were presented at a September 2018 meeting of the Interuniversitäres Lektüreseminar zur älteren Liturgiegeschichte in Vienna and at *Initiation and Mystagogy in Thomas Aquinas: Theological, Philosophical, Liturgical and Pedagogical Perspectives,* Thomas Instituut, Tilburg University, Utrecht, in December 2018. I am grateful to the participants in those conferences, Timothy Bellamah, o.p., and the anonymous peer reviewers of *Sacris Erudiri* for their helpful feedback and suggestions.

[1] For a range of recent scholarship on Thomas's approach to scripture, see *Reading Sacred Scripture with Thomas Aquinas*, ed. by P. Roszak, J. Vijgen, Turnhout, 2015.

[2] For an introduction to Thomas and both Western and Eastern Church Fathers, see *Aquinas the Augustinian,* ed. by M. Dauphinais, B. David, M. Levering, Washington, DC, 2007, L. J. Elders, *Thomas Aquinas and His Predecessors*, Washington, DC, 2018, and *Thomas Aquinas and the Greek Fathers*, ed. by M. Dauphinais, R. W. Nutt, A. Hofer, Ave Maria, FL, 2019.

[3] For a brief description of the medieval Dominican liturgy, see I. Smith, "Dominican Chant and Dominican Identity", *Religions*, 5 (2014), pp. 961-971. For an overview of the place of liturgy in Thomas Aquinas's theology, see I. Smith, "Liturgical Prayer and the Theology of Mercy in Thomas Aquinas and Pope Francis", *Theological Studies*, 79 (2018), pp. 782-800 (at pp. 782-786).

[4] In addition to the three succinct commentaries which will be examined in this article, Thomas offers extended treatments of the structure of the Mass in the *expositio textus* of his commentary on IV Sent., d. 8 and in *STh* III, q. 83, aa. 4-5. These passages do not draw explicitly on the 1 Tim 2:1 tradition. While these passages deserve further study, helpful treatments include N. K. Rasmussen, "Saint Thomas et les rites de la Messe: Étude historique sur la Somme Théologique IIIa Pars, Q. 83, aa. 4 & 5", Unpublished Lectorate Dissertation, Le Saulchoir, 1965, and F. Quoëx, "Thomas d'Aquin, mystagogue: L'expositio missae de la

In three places in his corpus (In IV Sent., d. 15, q. 4, a. 3; In 1 Tim 2; and *STh* II-II, q. 83, a. 17), Thomas offers succinct commentaries on the structure of the Mass that link various parts of the Mass with the four types of prayer articulated in 1 Tim 2, 1.[5] In this verse, St Paul instructs Timothy about proper modes and intentions of prayer: "I desire therefore, first of all, that supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men: For kings, and for all that are in high station: that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all piety and chastity". In the Latin Vulgate translation of Jerome, the four types of prayer are given with the words *obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones*.[6] In his Epistle 149, Augustine of Hippo offers an exegesis of this verse which links it with the parts of the Eucharistic liturgy, a tradition of liturgical exegesis which Thomas Aquinas draws on and develops.

In this article, I analyze Thomas's three succinct accounts of the structure of the Mass that rely directly on 1 Tim 2, 1. I first give a detailed analysis of Thomas's use of this scriptural verse in connection with the Mass. I then explore the sources of Thomas's exegetical approach, comparing Thomas's use of the verse with that of Augustine, Haimo of Auxerre, and the *Glossa ordinaria*. I conclude with a summary of this study and suggestions for further research in this area.

2. The Role of 1 Timothy 2, 1 in Thomas's Understanding of the Structure of the Mass

Thomas gives succinct accounts of the structure of the Mass in three places in his corpus, in his *Scriptum* on the Fourth Book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard (composed in Paris 1252-1256),[7] his commentary on 1 Timothy (likely composed in Rome between 1265-1268),[8] and the *Secunda Secun-*

Somme de théologie (IIIa, q. 83, a. 4-5)", *Revue Thomiste,* 105 (2005), pp. 179-225, 435-472. I am grateful to fr. Pierre Januard, o.p., former director of the Bibliothèque du Saulchoir, for providing me with a copy of Rasmussen's dissertation.

[5] For a brief account of the exegetical tradition relating 1 Tim 2:1 to the liturgy, see E. A. McKee, "Calvin Never Changed His Mind – or Did He? Evidence from the Young Reformer's Teaching on Prayer", in *John Calvin, Myth and Reality: Images and Impact of Geneva's Reformer*, ed. by A. N. Burnett, Eugene, 2011, pp. 18-36 (at pp. 26-27).

[6] 1 Tim 2, 1: "obsecro igitur primo omnium fieri obsecrationes orationes postulationes gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus". See *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. by R. Weber, R. Gryson, 5th ed., Stuttgart, 2007, p. 1832.

[7] For the dating of Thomas's works, I have followed J. P. Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas: the Person and his Work,* Washington, DC, 2005; here at pp. 39-45, 424-425.

[8] The dating of Aquinas's commentaries on the epistles of St. Paul is complex and uncertain, but the material from 1 Corinthians 11 through Hebrews, which exists in a *reporta-*

dae of the *Summa theologiae* (composed in Paris *c.* 1271-1272).[9] In the two more "systematic" works, the *Scriptum* and *Summa theologiae*, Thomas incorporates 1 Tim 2 into his scholastic format of objections, replies to objections, and conclusions, in both cases giving a liturgical exegesis of the verse within his synthetic "corpus" or reply. In his commentary on 1 Timothy, which does not follow the scholastic disputed question format but is rather a running commentary on the scriptural text, Thomas likewise integrates the exegetical material into his broader commentary. In this section, I will first give a brief account of the context of each of these passages, following the chronological order in which they were written; I will then discuss several possible sources for Aquinas's treatment, including the *Glossa* and its sources.

a. In IV Sent., d. 15, q. 4, a. 3

In question 4 of his *Scriptum* on distinction 15 of book 4 of Lombard's Sentences, Thomas deals with prayer, addressing a series of seven topics ranging from the nature of prayer to the efficacy of prayer.[10] In the third article, Thomas addresses the *species* (kind, quality, or species) of prayer. In three *quaestiunculae*, Thomas describes three different traditional modes of distinguishing between species of prayer: first, the division found in 1 Tim 2, 1 (*obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones*), second, the division offered in the *De sacramentis* traditionally ascribed to Ambrose (*Dei laudem, supplicationem et postulationem et gratiarum actionem*),[11] and third, the division given in Hugh of St Victor's *De modo orandi* (*supplicatio, postulatio, insinuatio*).[12]

In his response to the first *quaestiuncula,* which deals directly with 1 Tim 2, 1, Thomas makes a distinction between integral and subjective parts of prayer, applying this distinction to the four parts of prayer described by Paul. After dealing briefly with all four, Thomas observes that the Gloss

tio by Reginald of Piperno, likely dates from Thomas' period in Rome from 1265-1268; see Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, pp. 254-255, 431-432.

[9] Torrell, *Saint Thomas Aquinas*, pp. 333, 426.

[10] Thomas Aquinas, *In IV Sent* d. 15, q. 4, ed. by M. F. Moos, vol. 4, pp. 725-762. See Thomas Aquinas, *Scriptum super Sententiis magistri Petri Lombardi*, ed. by M. F. Moos, vol. 4, Paris, 1947.

[11] Ambrose, *De sacramentis*, book 6, c. 5, *PL* 16, col. 459: "Prima ergo oratio laudem debet habere Dei: secunda supplicationem; tertia postulationem: quarta gratiarum actionem". (Moos mistakenly lists the column number as 479). It is interesting to note that Ambrose's text follows immediately upon a quotation of 1 Tim 2:1.

[12] Hugh of St. Victor, *De modo orandi*, c. 2, *PL* 176, col. 979: "Tres sunt species orationis, supplicatio, postulatio, insinuatio". This work is also known as *De virtute orandi*; see Hugh of St Victor, *L'œuvre de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, ed. by H. B. Feiss, P. Sicard, Turnhout, 1997-2000, vol. 1, pp. 126-160.

distinguishes the parts of the Mass in accordance with the four parts of prayer found in 1 Tim 2, 1:

> Et secundum hoc etiam ut Glossa ibidem dicit et partes Missae distinguuntur; quia ea quae ante consecrationem dicuntur, sunt quasi quaedam *obsecrationes*; eo quod fit commemoratio Christi et doctrinae ipsius et sanctorum ejus. Ea autem quae in consecratione dicuntur *orationes*, quia sacramentum quod illis verbis conficitur, in via nos adjuvat; unde et *viaticum* dicitur. Quae vero postea adduntur sunt *postulationes*, quia bona aeterna postulantur et mortuis et vivis. Quae autem post communionem dicuntur, *gratiarum actiones* sunt.[13]

b. In 1 Tim 2, 1

In his first lecture on chapter 2 of his commentary on 1 Timothy, Thomas returns to the fourfold division of the Mass while commenting on 1 Tim 2, 1:

> Similiter in missa est obsecratio usque ad consecrationem corporis et sanguinis, quia in eis est commemoratio sacrorum ex quibus est fiducia impetrandi. In mysterio consecrationis est oratio, quia meditatio eorum quae Christus egit. In aliis vero usque ad communionem est postulatio pro vivis et mortuis, et pro se. In fine autem est gratiarum actio.[14]

In this context, there is no mention of the Gloss, despite the similarity of this treatment to that of the Sentences commentary which explicitly invoked the Gloss. Furthermore, Thomas provides his division of the parts of Mass after first using the fourfold division of prayers articulated by St Paul to describe a mode of analyzing individual liturgical orations, thus linking his division of the Mass to another form of liturgical exegesis.[15]

c. ST II-II, q. 83, a. 17, corpus

In the *Secunda secundae* of the *Summa theologiae,* Thomas returns once more to the four-fold division of the Mass in the final article of his question on prayer. Although this article closely parallels the article of the *Scriptum* discussed above, here Thomas focuses on 1 Tim 2, 1 without juxtaposing it with the divisions proposed by Ambrose and Hugh of St Victor,

[13] Thomas Aquinas, *In IV Sent* d. 15, q. 4, a. 3, qc. 1, co. (ed. by Moos, 4:743-744); I have removed Moos's inconsistently placed quotation marks and inline reference to the Migne edition of the Gloss (*PL* 114, c. 627).

[14] Thomas Aquinas, *In I Tim* 2, 1, lect. 1, § 56, ed. by R. Cai, p. 224. See Thomas Aquinas, *Super epistolas S. Pauli lectura*, ed. by R. Cai, 8th ed., 2 vols, Turin, 1953.

[15] Thomas Aquinas, *In I Tim* 2, 1, lect. 1, § 56, ed. by R. Cai, p. 224: "Unde iste modus orandi est in ecclesia Dei: *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus*, ecce ascensus mentis, qui est oratio, *qui dedisti ecclesiae tale beneficium*, ecce gratiarum actio, *praesta, quaesumus*, ecce postulatio, *Per Dominum*, ecce obsecratio".

instead presenting objections deriving from Origen and John Damascene. After offering a general treatment of the four species of prayer found in 1 Timothy, Thomas avers to the Gloss in offering a succinct treatment of the parts of the Mass:

> Et ideo dicit Glossa, I *ad Tim. 2*, [1], quod in missa obsecrationes sunt quae praecedunt consecrationem, in quibus quaedam sacra commemorantur; orationes sunt in ipsa consecratione, in qua mens maxime debet elevari in Deum; postulationes autem sunt in sequentibus petitionibus; gratiarum actiones in fine.[16]

Following this treatment, Thomas returns to the theme of analyzing individual orations in light of the four species of prayer, offering a similar analysis to that found in his commentary on 1 Tim.[17]

d. Comparison

A synoptic table of these three passages helps to show their similarities and differences:

	In IV Sent	*In I Tim* 2	*STh* II-II
Obsecrationes	Et secundum hoc etiam ut Glossa ibidem dicit et partes Missae distinguuntur; quia ea quae ante consecrationem dicuntur, sunt quasi quaedam *obsecrationes*; eo quod fit commemoratio Christi et doctrinae ipsius et sanctorum ejus.	Similiter in missa est obsecratio usque ad consecrationem corporis et sanguinis, quia in eis est commemoratio sacrorum ex quibus est fiducia impetrandi.	Et ideo dicit Glossa, I *ad Tim. 2*, [1], quod in missa obsecrationes sunt quae praecedunt consecrationem, in quibus quaedam sacra commemorantur;

[16] Thomas Aquinas, *STh* II-II, q. 83, a. 17, co. In the Leonine edition, this passage is printed with several phrases in italics, suggesting that these phrases are direct quotations from the Gloss: "Et ideo dicit Glossa, I *ad Tim. 2*, [1], quod *in missa obsecrationes sunt quae praecedunt consecrationem*, in quibus quaedam sacra commemorantur; *orationes sunt in ipsa consecratione*, in qua mens maxime debet elevari in Deum; *postulationes autem sunt in sequentibus petitionibus; gratiarum actiones in fine*". The Rusch edition of the *Glossa Ordinaria* does not have text corresponding with these phrases; in the absence of evidence to the contrary, I would posit that Thomas is paraphrasing the Gloss rather than quoting it directly. See *Glossa ordinaria*, In 1 Tim 2:1; in *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*, ed. by Rusch, Strasbourg, 1480/1481; vol. 4; available online at http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000066/Mon-typ-2-00011_412.tif.

[17] Thomas Aquinas, *STh* II-II, q. 83, a. 17, co.: "In pluribus etiam Ecclesiae collectis haec quatuor possunt attendi. Sicut in collecta Trinitatis, quod dicitur, *Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus*, pertinet ad orationis ascensum in Deum; quod dicitur, *qui dedisti famulis tui*, etc., pertinet ad gratiarum actionem; quod dicitur, *praesta, quaesumus*, etc., pertinet ad postulationem; quod in fine ponitur, *per Dominum nostrum*, etc., pertinet ad obsecrationem".

	In IV Sent	*In I Tim* 2	*STh* II-II
Orationes	Ea autem quae in consecratione dicuntur *orationes*, quia sacramentum quod illis verbis conficitur, in via nos adjuvat; unde et *viaticum* dicitur.	In mysterio consecrationis est oratio, quia meditatio eorum quae Christus egit.	orationes sunt in ipsa consecratione, in qua mens maxime debet elevari in Deum;
Postulationes	Quae vero postea adduntur sunt *postulationes,* quia bona aeterna postulantur et mortuis et vivis.	In aliis vero usque ad communionem est postulatio pro vivis et mortuis, et pro se.	postulationes autem sunt in sequentibus petitionibus;
Gratiarum actiones	Quae autem post communionem dicuntur, *gratiarum actiones* sunt.	In fine autem est gratiarum actio.	gratiarum actiones in fine.

All three treatments agree in positing that the first section of the Mass comprises the prayers and rites that come before the consecration, but each treatment describes this section with different terminology and nuance. While the *Scriptum* and *Summa* refer simply to the consecration, the commentary on 1 Tim draws attention to the "consecration of the body and the blood". More significantly, each treatment describes this section as a "commemoratio", but differs from the others in its description of what precisely is being commemorated. For the *Scriptum*, remembrance is made of "Christ, of his doctrine and of his saints" (*eo quod fit commemoratio Christi et doctrinae ipsius et sanctorum ejus*). For the commentary on 1 Tim, remembrance is made of "holy things by which faith is requested" (*commemoratio sacrorum ex quibus est fiducia impetrandi*). For the *Summa,* finally, remembrance is made of "certain holy things" (*quaedam sacra commemorantur*). Of the three, the *Scriptum* provides the most direct reference to an element of the liturgy, namely the reading of the Gospels and writings of the saints (presumably here meaning the Old and New Testaments); the scriptural commentary emphasizes the earlier part of the liturgy as a request for faith; the *Summa* is semantically related to the other two, while expressing itself in relatively vague language.

Likewise, the three presentations agree in identifying "orationes" with the consecration but they differ in their emphasis. In the *Scriptum,* Thomas speaks of the consecration as prayers that are spoken (*in consecratione dicuntur orationes*) and emphasizes the assistance which the Eucharist provides for those who are *in via* (on the road of life). Thomas draws attention in this context to what he presumably takes to be an etymologi-

cally linked alternate name for the Eucharist, "viaticum" (*quia sacramentum quod illis verbis conficitur, in via nos adjuvat; unde et* viaticum *dicitur*).[18] In the commentary of 1 Tim, Thomas emphasizes that the consecration is itself a mystery (*mysterio consecrationis*) and suggests that the consecration is a form of prayer (*oratio*) because it involves meditating on the things that Christ did, namely the institution narrative (*In mysterio consecrationis est oratio, quia meditatio eorum quae Christus egit.*) Because of this emphasis on meditation rather than on speaking the prayers of consecration, the suggestion to meditate on the action of Christ could be equally applicable to anyone participating in the Eucharist, not only the priest-celebrant. In the *Summa,* Thomas suggests that the consecration is the part of the Mass in which the mind ought to be especially elevated to God (*orationes sunt in ipsa consecratione, in qua mens maxime debet elevari in Deum*), which corresponds with the definition offered early in the response of the same article of prayer as the "ascensus intellectus in Deum".

In the case of "postulationes", the *Scriptum* and scriptural commentary agree in emphasizing the role of prayers for the living and the dead, while the *Summa* offers a vaguer description of "the petitions which follow". In each case, Thomas is referring to the prayers that follow the consecration both within and after the Roman Canon, although in the first case he appears to be referring especially to the commemoration of the dead (*Memento etiam*) and the prayers for living sinners (*Nobis quoque peccatoribus*) which follow the institution narrative. In the *Scriptum*, Thomas emphasizes that "eternal goods" are requested for the dead and the living (*bona aeterna postulantur et mortuis et vivis*). In the scriptural commentary, which is the only one of the three sources that specifies an ending point for the section of the Mass under consideration (*usque ad communionem*), Thomas adds that some prayers are made for the priest himself (*pro se*) in addition to the prayers for the living and the dead. The reference to prayer for the priest himself could refer to any or all of the prayers pronounced by the priest before receiving communion, several of which (such as *Haec sacrosancta*, *Domine Iesu Christi*, and *Corpus et sanguis*) pray that the priest himself will be protected and brought to eternal life.[19] The *Summa* is the least precise of the three accounts, although it accurately assesses the var-

[18] Thomas makes a number of references to the Eucharistic title "viaticum" throughout the Sentences and Summa: e.g. *In IV Sent*, d. 8, q. 1, a. 1, qc. 3, obj. 2 and co.; *In IV Sent*, d. 8, q. 1, a. 3, qc. 2, obj. 3 and ad 3; *STh* III, q. 73, a. 4 corpus; *STh* III, q. 73, a. 6, obj. 3; *STh* III, q. 79, a. 2, obj. 1 and ad 1. In *STh* I-II, q. 105, a. 4, co., Thomas also uses the word "viaticum" with reference to the command found in Deut 15, 13 that those released during the Sabbatical Year should not go empty handed.

[19] In the Dominican liturgy revised in the early 1250s by Humbert of Romans which Thomas would have prayed for much of his priesthood, these prayers are recited after the *Ag-*

ied character of the prayers which follow the consecration in the Roman Canon.

In the case of the final species of prayer, "gratiarum actiones", the three accounts are similarly vague, although the *Scriptum* is here the most liturgically specific in naming the prayers said "post communionem", whereas the scriptural commentary and *Summa* are essentially identical in mentioning thanksgiving done at the end of the Mass (*in fine*).

Thomas's three presentations of the structure of the Mass correspond in their overall shape but differ in many details. One way of accounting for this similarity of shape is to consider the influence of the *Glossa ordinaria* on Thomas's analysis of the Mass. As Thomas explicitly states in the *Scriptum* and the *Summa*, this division of the Mass into four parts relies on the account given in the *Glossa ordinaria* on 1 Tim 2, 1. In fact, the *Glossa* in turn relies on a commentary on 1 Tim 2, 1 by Haimo of Auxerre (active 840-860), who follows in the tradition of a commentary on this verse offered by Augustine in his Letter 149. I will now turn to a consideration of the reception of this text of Augustine in the medieval tradition in order to trace the sources of Thomas's articulation of the Mass in conjunction with 1 Tim 2, 1.

3. The Place of 1 Tim 2, 1 in the Augustinian Tradition

a. Augustine of Hippo

Thomas's analysis of the Mass in light of the four types of prayer described in 1 Tim 2, 1 is part of a tradition of scriptural and liturgical exegesis that dates back at least as early as the fifth century. In the year 413, bishop Paulinus of Nola (354-431) wrote to Augustine of Hippo (354-430) with a series of questions regarding the psalms, the letters of Paul, and the Gospels. In this letter he requested that Augustine explain the significance of the different names for prayer offered in 1 Tim 2, 1:

nus Dei before the reception of communion by the priest; see Rome, Santa Sabina, Archivum Generale Ordinis Praedicatorum, XIV L 1, *Missale conventuale,* fol. 404r:

"Hec sacro sancta commixtio corporis et sanguinis domini nostri Ihesu Christi fiat michi et omnibus sumentibus salus mentis et corporis, et ad vitam eternam promerendam et capessendam preparatio salutaris: Per eundem Christum dominum nostrum. Amen".

"Domine Ihesu Christe fili dei vivi, qui ex voluntate patris cooperante spiritu sancto, per mortem tuam mundum vivificasti, libera me per hoc sacrum corpus et sanguinem tuum a cunctis iniquitatibus meis, et ab universis malis, et fac me tuis semper obedire mandatis, et a te nunquam in perpetuum separari: Qui vivis et regnas cum eodem patre in unitate eiusdem spiritus sancti deus: Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen".

"Corpus et sanguis domini nostri Ihesu Christi custodiant me in vitam eternam. Amen".

> Item, quod ait ad Timotheum: *Obsecro igitur primum omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones pro omnibus hominibus*, quaeso exponas mihi, quod discrimen sit in hac diuersitate uerborum, cum omnia mihi, quae gerenda dixit, orationis officio conuenire uideantur[20]

A few years later (around 415 or 416), Augustine responded to this request. After giving an extended treatment of the diversity of Latin translations of the four Greek words used by Paul in 1 Tim 2, 1 (*δεήσεις, προσευχάς, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίας*),[21] Augustine makes a connection between the types of prayer described in this verse and the offering of the Lord's table, stating that this typology is a common mode of interpretation in the Church:

> sed eligo in his uerbis hoc intellegere, quod omnis uel paene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in domini mensa, incipiat benedici, orationes, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit. [...] interpellationes autem siue, ut uestri codices habent, postulationes fiunt, cum populus benedicitur; tunc enim antistites uelut aduocati susceptos suos per manus inpositionem misericordissimae offerunt potestati. quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam uerbis ultimam commendauit apostolus.[22]

[20] Augustine of Hippo, *Epistulae 31-123*, ed. by A. Goldbacher, Vienna, 1898 (*CSEL* 34/2), p. 731.

[21] For the range of early Latin translations of this verse, see, *Epistulae Ad Thessalonicenses, Timotheum, Titum, Philemonem, Hebraeos*, ed. by H. J. Frede, Freiburg, 1975 (Vetus Latina 25/1), pp. 436-441. In brief, *δεήσεις* appears as *obsecrationes, deprecationes, precationes,* or *supplicationes*; *προσευχάς* appears as *orationes* or *adorationes; ἐντεύξεις* appears as *postulationes, deprecationes, precationes, petitiones,* or *interpellationes*; and *εὐχαριστίας* appears as *gratiarium actiones* or *gratiarum actionem*. In the Vulgate (ed. by Weber, 1832), the following words appear: "obsecrationes orationes postulationes gratiarum actiones".

[22] Augustine of Hippo, Epistula 149, 16, in *Epistulae 124-184*, ed. by A. Goldbacher, Vienna, 1904 (*CSEL*, 44), pp. 362-363. In order to draw attention to the similarity of Augustine's commentary to Aquinas's use of this passage, I have omitted with the passage above Augustine's extended comment on the word "orationes": (*CSEL* 44:362-363): "ad quem intellectum etiam uerbi Graeci origo nos adiuuat; nam eam quam dicunt ευχην raro ita scriptura ponit, ut intellegatur oratio; sed plerumque et multo usitatius uotum appellatur ευχη, προσευχην uero, quod uerbum ita positum est, unde tractamus, semper orationem uocat. unde hanc uerbi originem, sicut superius dixi, nonnulli minus erudite intuentes προσευχην non orationem sed adorationem dicere uoluerunt, quae potius προσκυνησις dicitur; sed quia oratio interdum uocatur ευχη, adoratio putata est προσευχη. porro si usitatius, ut dixi, in scripturis uotum appellatur ευχη, excepto nomine generali orationis ea proprie intellegenda est oratio, quam facimus ad uotum, id est προς euchn. uouentur autem omnia, quae offeruntur deo, maxime sancti altaris oblatio, quo sacramento praedicatur nostrum il-

Following the *Vetus Latina* version of 1 Tim 2, 1 with which he was familiar, Augustine analyzes this verse utilizing the following Latin words for the types of prayer: *precationes* (in place of the Vulgate *obsecrationes*), *orationes, interpellationes* (which he acknowledges varies from Paulinus's *postulationes*), and *gratiarum actio*.[23] Aside from this linguistic variation, however, Augustine's treatment bears a striking resemblance to the mode of interpretation offered by Thomas Aquinas. Thomas, like Augustine, associates the first type of prayer described by St Paul with the opening section of the Mass and the second type with the offering of the Eucharist itself, although Thomas's focus on the consecration is perhaps narrower than Augustine's description of the offerings being blessed, sanctified, and broken for distribution. Furthermore, it is significant that Augustine includes the prayers up to the Our Father in his discussion of the second type of prayer, thus including an aspect of the liturgy that Thomas links to the third type of prayer.[24] Augustine and Thomas differ further in their explanation of the third type of prayer; for Augustine, the intercession or petition has to do with the blessing of the people by the bishop, whereas for Thomas this type of prayer has to do with the prayers following the consecration and preceding communion. Despite this difference, Augustine and Thomas agree in associating the final type of prayer with thanksgiving which is made after the reception of communion.

It is difficult to say for certain whether Thomas directly knew this passage of Augustine, or whether he is quoting it by means of a later source inspired by or quoting from Augustine. Thomas appears to reference another passage of this epistle elsewhere in the *Secunda secundae,* which

lud maximum uotum, quo nos uouimus in Christo esse mansuros, utique in compage corporis Christi. cuius rei sacramentum est, *quod unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus*. ideo in huius sanctificatione et distributionis praeparatione existimo apostolum iussisse proprie fieri προσευχας, id est orationes uel, ut nonnulli minus perite interpretati sunt, adorationes, hoc est enim ad uotum, quod usitatius in scripturis nuncupatur ευχη".

[23] In Letter 149, 12, Augustine uses "deprecationes" in place of "obsecrationes", (cf. *CSEL* 44:359), whereas in Letter 149, 16 he uses "precationes" (*CSEL* 44:362); likewise, in the earlier passage Augustine, like the Vulgate, uses "gratiarum actiones", whereas in the later passage he uses the singular "gratiarum actio".

[24] For a treatment of the available evidence (mostly from Augustine's own writings) concerning the celebration of the Eucharist at Hippo in Augustine's time, see R. M. Jensen, J. P. Burns, "The Eucharistic Liturgy in Hippo's Basilica Major at the Time of Augustine", in *Augustine through the Ages*, ed. by. A. D. Fitzgerald, Grand Rapids, 1999, pp. 335-338. It should be noted that the place of the Our Father in the Roman liturgy was moved by Gregory the Great from immediately before communion to immediately after the canon of the Mass; cf. J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, trans. F. A. Brunner, Notre Dame, IN, 2012, vol. 2, pp. 278-280.

raises the possibility that he may have been familiar with the whole letter.[25] On the other hand, Augustine's mode of interpretation found a wide diffusion in later commentaries and florilegia, including important collections by Eugippius (sixth century) and the Venerable Bede (eighth century).[26]

b. Glossa ordinaria

Although it is not clear whether Aquinas had direct knowledge of Augustine's account of 1 Tim 2, 1, two of Thomas's uses of this verse make explicit reference to the interpretation offered of it in the Gloss.[27] The marginal Gloss on the Pauline epistles, a part of the *Glossa ordinaria* perhaps composed by Anselm of Laon before his death in 1117 or by his followers after his death, presents an abbreviated version of Augustine's commentary on this passage in a format derived partially from the Carolingian exegete Haimo of Auxerre (fl. 840-860).[28] Although Haimo does

[25] Cf. Thomas Aquinas, *STh* II-II, q. 159, a. 1, ad 2: "Hoc autem quandoque fit solum secundum signa exteriora, secundum fictionem. Unde haec est *falsa humilitas:* de qua Augustinus dicit, quia in quadam epistola, quod est *magna superbia,* quia scilicet videtur tendere ad excellentiam gloriae". The editors of the Leonine edition, who place "falsa humilitas" and "magna superbia" in italics, identify this as "Epist. CXLIX, al. LIX, cap. II", adding a cross-reference to "de Sanct. Virginit., cap. XLIII" (*Editio Leonina*, vol. 10, p. 293). The Gilby edition of the Summa offers the further specification of *PL* 33, 642, which includes paragraphs 27-30 of Letter 149; see Thomas Aquinas, *Well-Tempered Passion: 2a2ae. 155-170*, trans. T. Gilby, Cambridge, 2006 (Summa Theologiae 44), 92. Neither "falsa humilitas" nor "magna superbia" appears directly in this passage of Augustine, but Thomas is likely paraphrasing Augustine's "affectans humilitatem" (Letter 149, 27; *CSEL* 44:373).

[26] On Augustinian florilegia, see E. Dekkers, "Quelques notes sur des florilèges augustiniens anciens et médiévaux", *Augustiniana* 40 (1990): 27-24; cf. J. T. Lienhard, "Florilegia", in *Augustine through the Ages*, ed. A. D. Fitzgerald, Grand Rapids, 1999, pp. 370-371; A. Lane, "Anthologies", in *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, ed. by K. Pollmann, W. Otten, Oxford, 2013, vol. 2, pp. 536-540; *Flores Augustini. Augustinian florilegia in the Middle Ages*, ed. by J. Delmulle, G. Partoens, Leuven, forthcoming (*Spicilegium sacrum Louaniense. Études et documents*, 57). While further research is needed on Thomas's use of florilegia, a valuable contribution has recently been made by M. S. Hahn, "Augustine in the Teaching of Thomas: Aquinas's Reception and Use of *Contra Faustum Manichaeum*", Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2018.

[27] For an overview of contemporary scholarship on the *Glossa ordinaria*, see L. Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary*, Leiden, 2009; for Smith's account of Anselm's involvement in the Pauline gloss, see pp. 19-20. For a detailed review and critique of Smith's work, see A. Andrée, "Laon Revisited: Master Anselm and the Creation of a Theological School in the Twelfth Century", *The Journal of Medieval Latin,* 22 (2012), pp. 257-281 (especially pp. 267-279); Andrée critiques Smith's account of the authorship of the Gloss, drawing attention to the lack of clarity on the precise role played by Anselm in the composition of the *Glossa ordinaria*.

[28] Haimo of Auxerre, In 1 Tim 2:1, *PL* 117, col. 788: "Obsecro igitur primo omnium fieri obsecrationes, orationes, postulationes, gratiarum actiones, pro omnibus hominibus, pro regibus, et omnibus qui in sublimitate constituti sunt. Beatus Apostolus dirigens

not quote Augustine directly, his analysis of four parts of the Mass in connection with the four types of prayer described in 1 Tim 2, 1 corresponds closely with Augustine's, as the following table demonstrates:

	Augustine	Haimo
Obsecrationes / Precationes	sed eligo in his uerbis hoc intellegere, quod omnis uel paene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut **precationes** accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in domini mensa, incipiat benedici,	Nam **obsecrationes** sunt quidquid praecedit in missarum solemniis, usque ad illum locum ubi incipit sacerdos consecrare mysteria corporis et sanguinis Domini, inquiens: Te igitur, clementissime Pater, petimus.
Orationes	**orationes**, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit.	**Orationes** sunt quas fundit sacerdos in consecratione Eucharistiae usque ad fractionem corporis Domini, videlicet quando particulam quamdam sacerdos in calicem ponit.
Postulationes / Interpellationes	**interpellationes** autem siue, ut uestri codices habent, **postulationes** fiunt, cum populus benedicitur; tunc enim antistites uelut aduocati susceptos suos per manus inpositionem misericordissimae offerunt potestati.	**Postulationes** sunt benedictiones episcopales, quas dicit episcopus super populum, invocans nomen Dei super illum, quod tractum est ex Veteri Testamento. Per Moysen namque dixit Dominus sacerdotibus: Invocabitis nomen meum super filios Israel et ego benedicam eis (Num. VI).

haec verba Timotheo, in illo tradidit omnibus episcopis et presbyteris, omnique Ecclesiae formam quomodo deberent missarum solemnia celebrare, et pro omnibus hominibus orare; quam formam vel exemplum omnis Ecclesia modo retinet. Nam obsecrationes sunt quidquid praecedit in missarum solemniis, usque ad illum locum ubi incipit sacerdos consecrare mysteria corporis et sanguinis Domini, inquiens: *Te igitur, clementissime Pater, petimus*... Orationes sunt quas fundit sacerdos in consecratione Eucharistiae usque ad fractionem corporis Domini, videlicet quando particulam quamdam sacerdos in calicem ponit. Postulationes sunt benedictiones episcopales, quas dicit episcopus super populum, invocans nomen Dei super illum, quod tractum est ex Veteri Testamento. Per Moysen namque dixit Dominus sacerdotibus: *Invocabitis nomen meum super filios Israel et ego benedicam eis* (Num. VI). Gratiarum actiones sunt laudes quas communicato populo refert sacerdos Deo Patri, qui dignatus est mysteria corporis et sanguinis Filii sui dare eis ad salutem et redemptionem". Although the PL attributes this commentary to Haimo of Halberstadt (d. 853), it is now widely acknowledged that it belongs instead to Haimo of Auxerre. For an overview of Haimo of Auxerre's commentaries on Paul, see I. C. Levy, "Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles in the Carolingian Era", in *A Companion to St. Paul in the Middle Ages*, ed. by S. R. Cartwright, Leiden, 2013, pp. 145-174 (at pp. 159-168).

	Augustine	Haimo
Gratiarum actiones	quibus peractis et participato tanto sacramento **gratiarum actio** cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam uerbis ultimam commendauit apostolus.	**Gratiarum actiones** sunt laudes quas communicato populo refert sacerdos Deo Patri, qui dignatus est mysteria corporis et sanguinis Filii sui dare eis ad salutem et redemptionem.

Given the lack of a direct quotation (with the subsequent possibility of identifying omitted phrases), it is impossible to judge whether Haimo was averring to Augustine's Letter 149 in its original context or whether he may have encountered this mode of understanding the order of the Mass through an intermediary source. Nevertheless, Haimo's version was in turn adapted by the compilers of the *Glossa*:

> Obsecro. Hactenus de pseduo apostolis, hic de orationibus. Haymo: Thimotheo haec verba dirigens, in illo omni ecclesiae formam tradidit, quomodo debeat missarum solemnia celebrare et pro omnibus supplicare. Primo omnium. Aug. Haymo: Id est, ante omnia fieri obsecrationes. Ordo missae hic ostendiur, quod est speciale genus orationis. Obsecrationes vel precationes, id est, illa quae fiunt iuxta vel ante consecrationem. Orationes, in ipsa consecratione. Postulationes, vel interpellationes, quasi ex debito, ut quod hic geritur: in aeterna vita perficiatur, ut cum populus ab episcopo benedicitur. Gratiarum actiones de peractis, quae totus concludunt quasi totum fit a deo, ut benedicamus domino. Vel obsecrationes sunt adiurationes pro rebus difficilibus, ut pro conversione impii, pro removendis malis. Orationes ut quando iam conversis virtutes et bona orantur. Gratiarum actiones de omnibus generaliter. Postulationes ut quando iam iustis gloria caelestis orat.[29]

After a line apparently by the glossator himself which describes the transition from the first to the second chapter of 1 Timothy, the Gloss explicitly quotes Haimo to the effect that Paul hands on to the Church a form for the solemn celebration of the Mass. This quotation is adapted somewhat from Haimo's comment, rearranging and summarizing his observation:

[29] Glossa ordinaria, In 1 Tim 2:1; in *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria*, ed. by Rusch, Strasbourg, 1480/1481; vol. 4; available online at http://archive.thulb.uni-jena.de/ufb/rsc/viewer/ufb_derivate_00000066/Mon-typ-2-00011_412.tif.

Haimo	Gloss
Beatus Apostolus dirigens haec verba Timotheo,	Thimotheo haec verba dirigens,
in illo tradidit omnibus episcopis et presbyteris, omnique Ecclesiae formam	in illo omni ecclesiae formam tradidit,
quomodo deberent missarum solemnia celebrare, et pro omnibus hominibus orare;	quomodo debeat missarum solemnia celebrare et pro omnibus supplicare.
quam formam vel exemplum omnis Ecclesia modo retinet.	

In the following sections, the Gloss follows Haimo's articulation of the relationship between the four words of 1 Tim 2, 1 and the parts of the Mass, simplifying his language but retaining the substance of his identifications. In the case of the Gloss's treatment of "orationes", it appears that the Gloss has made recourse to Augustine (or one of the later authors who quoted his work), as the Gloss goes beyond Haimo's sole analysis of the word "orationes" in order to add "postulationes" as an alternative, a word from Augustine's letter that was not utilized by Haimo.

4. Reception of the Gloss on 1 Tim 2, 1 by Thomas Aquinas

Having already described the similarities and differences between the three articulations of Thomas's fourfold division of the Mass, I will now consider direct reliance on the Gloss in one of these discussions, that of *In IV Sent*, d. 15, q. 4, a. 3.

	Haimo	Glossa	Aquinas *In IV Sent*
Obsecrationes	Nam obsecrationes sunt quidquid praecedit in missarum solemniis, usque ad illum locum ubi incipit sacerdos consecrare mysteria corporis et sanguinis Domini, inquiens: *Te igitur, clementissime Pater, petimus.*	Obsecrationes vel precationes, id est, illa quae fiunt iuxta vel ante consecrationem.	Et secundum hoc etiam ut Glossa ibidem dicit et partes Missae distinguuntur; quia ea quae ante consecrationem dicuntur, sunt quasi quaedam *obsecrationes*; eo quod fit commemoratio Christi et doctrinae ipsius et sanctorum ejus.
Orationes	Orationes sunt quas fundit sacerdos in consecratione Eucharistiae usque ad	Orationes, in ipsa consecratione.	Ea autem quae in consecratione dicuntur *orationes*, quia sacramentum quod illis

	Haimo	Glossa	Aquinas *In IV Sent*
	fractionem corporis Domini, videlicet quando particulam quamdam sacerdos in calicem ponit.		verbis conficitur, in via nos adjuvat; unde et *viaticum* dicitur.
Postulationes	Postulationes sunt benedictiones episcopales, quas dicit episcopus super populum, invocans nomen Dei super illum, quod tractum est ex Veteri Testamento. Per Moysen namque dixit Dominus sacerdotibus: *Invocabitis nomen meum super filios Israel et ego benedicam eis* (Num. VI).	POSTULATIONES, vel interpellationes, quasi ex debito, ut quod hic geritur: in aeterna vita perficiatur, ut cum populus ab episcopo benedicitur.	Quae vero postea adduntur sunt *postulationes,* quia bona aeterna postulantur et mortuis et vivis.
Gratiarum actiones	Gratiarum actiones sunt laudes quas communicato populo refert sacerdos Deo Patri, qui dignatus est mysteria corporis et sanguinis Filii sui dare eis ad salutem et redemptionem.	GRATIARUM ACTIONES de peractis, quae totus concludunt quasi totum fit a deo, ut benedicamus domino.	Quae autem post communionem dicuntur, *gratiarum actiones* sunt.

In each case, the Gloss presents an abbreviated paraphrase of Haimo's commentary, which is in some cases taken up directly by Thomas while in others serving merely as a general outline for Thomas's treatment. In the case of "obsecrationes", the Gloss's paraphrase is somewhat ambiguous, obscuring the nature of Haimo's division: for Haimo, this first section of the Mass covers everything before the *Te igitur* of the Roman Canon, whereas in the paraphrase of the Gloss the first part of the Mass appears to include everything up to the words of consecration, although it may be the case that the author of the paraphrase intends to follow the same division as Haimo. Thomas's division seems to follow that of the Gloss rather than that of Haimo, although the same ambiguity remains as to whether the consecration is understood to include the whole of the Roman Canon or merely the words of institution. In addition to taking the words "ante consecrationem" from the Gloss, however, Thomas adds the observation

that this opening part of the Mass includes the "commemoratio Christi et doctrinae ipsius et sanctorum ejus". This may be a reference to the proclamation of the readings of the Epistle and Gospel, although it could also potentially include other liturgical texts such as the Creed and the Preface. Although Thomas explicitly acknowledges the Gloss as a source in this passage, he clearly does not feel bound to restrict his treatment to the ideas articulated in that source.

In the case of "orationes", the detailed description of Haimo (describing both the consecration itself and the placing of a fraction of the host in the chalice) is reduced by the Gloss to a terse reference to the "consecration itself". For Haimo, given his reference to the "Te igitur" as the *terminus ad quem* of the first part of the Mass, the "consecratio[ne] Eucharistiae" appears to include the section of the Roman Canon that precedes the institution narrative. Given the reference to the placing of the fraction in the chalice, however, it is clear that for Haimo this second part of the Mass extends beyond the limits of the Roman Canon, thus including the *Pater noster* and embolism. The Gloss's terse description of the "consecration itself" does not provide further clues as to the extent of the liturgy that the second part of the Mass includes. Thomas's use of the plural "ea ... quae in consecratione dicuntur" in his treatment of "orationes" may indicate that he intends to include the first section of the Roman Canon in his consideration here, but here too he is somewhat ambiguous. Just as in the preceding section, however, Thomas goes beyond his source by stating that the Eucharist is called "viaticum" because it aids us in this life, an observation that is not found in Haimo or the Gloss.

In the case of "postulationes", Haimo comments on the blessing of the people offered by bishops; the Gloss likewise follows his lead, although in different language. In this case, it seems that Haimo is not only following the tradition of Augustine, who speaks of the blessing of a bishop in this circumstance, but also witnessing to his contemporary liturgical practice.[30] Thomas, on the other hand, omits any reference to a blessing, perhaps due to its absence in the liturgy as commonly celebrated in the thirteenth century, and instead interprets "postulationes" in light of the prayers themselves.

In the case of "gratiarum actiones", Haimo refers generally to prayers made by the priest on behalf of the people, while the Gloss states that thanksgiving applies to the whole Mass in general (*omnibus generaliter*). Thomas, on the other hand, applies this species of thanksgiving to the prayers said after communion, which includes the postcommunion prayer

[30] For the episcopal (and at times priestly) blessing following the Consecration and Our Father in the medieval liturgy, see Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2, pp. 294-297.

itself, a genre of oration that often enunciates the theme of appreciation for the gift of the Eucharist which has just been received.

In this treatment of the parts of the Mass, then, Thomas is directly and explicitly reliant on the *Glossa Ordinaria*, which in turn transmits the ideas of the ninth-century commentator Haimo of Auxerre, who in turn is deeply influenced by Augustine's Letter 149. Nevertheless, Thomas's division of the Mass differs in important ways from these two sources, especially in his treatment of the third and fourth parts of "postulationes" and "gratiarum actiones".

5. Conclusion

In this study, I have shown the connection between a passage of Augustine's Epistle 149, adapted versions of Augustine's exegesis found in Haimo of Auxerre and the *Glossa Ordinaria*, and three of Thomas Aquinas's descriptions of the Mass. Thomas Aquinas benefitted from this tradition of interpretation while remaining free to adapt it to his own needs. In two of his three uses of the basic Augustinian model of interpretation, Aquinas refers to the Gloss as his source; in the third, he makes no mention of his source but still draws on its insights. Further research should be devoted to tracing the diffusion and influence of Augustine's Letter 149 and the use of a four-fold interpretation of the Mass on biblical exegesis and liturgical exegesis in the patristic and medieval periods.

Summary

Thomas Aquinas frequently refers to 1 Tim 2, 1 in his discussions of the liturgical structure of the Mass. In his use of this verse, Thomas draws on a tradition of liturgical exegesis dating to Augustine of Hippo which pairs the four types of prayer named by Paul with the different parts of the Mass. This essay first analyzes the three main passages where Thomas draws on this tradition. It then describes the original context of Augustine's articulation of this tradition and traces the reception of Augustine's exegesis in Haimo of Auxerre and the *Glossa Ordinaria*. It concludes with a comparison of the *Glossa Ordinaria* and Thomas Aquinas's writings, showing how Thomas benefitted from this tradition of interpretation while remaining free to adapt it to his own needs.

Innocent Smith, o.p.
Fakultät für Katholische Theologie, Universität Regensburg
innocent.smith@opeast.org

The Prayer Life of a Fifteenth-Century English Priest: Winchester College MS 48

Anne Bagnall Yardley
(*Madison, NJ*)

Jesse D. Mann
(*Madison, NJ*)

Winchester College MS 48 [hereafter: WC48] is a Book of Hours produced in England in the early fifteenth-century.[1] It was donated to the Winchester College Library in 1608 by John Lant, MA, a physician and organist at Winchester Cathedral who had studied at Christ Church, Oxford.[2] Lant's Oxford connections are quite possibly an important link

[1] For a description of Winchester College MS 48 and its contents, see N. R. Ker, et al., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols, Oxford, 1969-2002, vol. 4, pp. 632-634. On Winchester College Library, see W. Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library before 1750", *The Library*, 5th series, 9, no. 1 (1954), pp. 1-16 (citing this MS at p. 15).

[2] We are very grateful to Richard Foster, librarian at Winchester Cathedral, for information about WC48 and for his wonderful hospitality and assistance with this project. According to Foster, "As a youth he [John Lant] had been a chorister at Christ Church, Oxford. He owned at least one other manuscript – a gospel lectionary originally commissioned by Cardinal Wolsey – which he left to Christ Church. He also gave Christ Church a printed book with two pastedowns from a 15th century processional with musical notation. It certainly seems possible that he was attracted to our Book of hours by the music within it" (email communication 20 January 2016). Lant is listed as a tenant in Oxford in 1595; see E. Chance, C. Colvin, J. Cooper, C. J. Day, T. G. Hassall, M. Jessup, N. Selwyn, *A History of the County of Oxford,* vol. 4: *The City of Oxford,* ed. by A. Crossley and C. R. Elrington, London, 1979, British History Online, accessed May 13, 2018, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/oxon/vol. 4. And, he is included among the students enrolled in Christ Church, Oxford in 1564-1565; see C. W. Boase, A. Clark, eds, *Register of the University of Oxford*, vol. 2 (1571-1622), part 2*: Matriculations and Subscriptions*, Oxford, 1887, p. 13 [nr. 135]. This same John Lant apparently sold Postmasters' Hall (Oxford) to Thomas à Wood, father of Oxford historian Anthony à Wood, in 1608; see J. Skelton, *Oxonia antiqua restaurata*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1823, vol. 2 (no pagination), https://books.google.com/books?id=-41LAAAAcAAJ&pg=PA1715&lpg=PA1715&dq=john+lant+oxford&source=bl&ots=uR99NeqpJs&sig=Vmkv0 p._uN4bT1RHJfogMABvrgto&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwj4vaO4zvHbAhUHuVkKHczFAkI4ChDoAQgqMAE#v=onepage&q=john%20lant%20oxford&f=false.

in the earlier provenance of the manuscript; however, there is no documentary evidence about the manuscript's original owner.

Artistically, WC48 is a modest book. It lacks the miniatures that grace many Books of Hours, but uses floral borders to distinguish sections and decorated initials to further delineate new sections of the manuscript. Still, there are several features of this manuscript that make it stand out among Books of Hours, most notably the presence of musical notation for the Office of the Dead,[3] the exuberant cadels[4] in the Office of the Dead, the variety and uniqueness of its litanies, the presence of gradations of feasts in its calendar, the extensive collection of prayers, and the large number of verse texts.

Much scholarship on medieval Books of Hours has focused on the book as a lay person's devotional manual and on the beautiful artistic programs in many of the volumes.[5] Although some scholars have noted that monastics and priests also owned these books, scant attention has been paid to identifying such volumes beyond those that include a name or institutional association. A principal aim of this article is to suggest that WC48 was made for a cleric and that certain internal elements indicate clerical ownership. A second aim is to analyze the contents of WC48 with a focus on its seemingly unique components. Lastly, we reflect on what WC48 might reveal about the devotional life of a fifteenth-century English priest. As Matthew Wranovix has recently observed, fifteenth-century priests did indeed read and their reading certainly "influenced their sense of themselves and their devotional preferences".[6] In contradistinction to G. W. Bernard's assessment that "there seem to have been few priests of exemplary devotion

[3] To date we have located only twelve English Books of Hours of the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century that include musical notation in any part of the volume. For more on this theme, see S. Schell, "The Office of the Dead in England: Image and Music in the Book of Hours and Related Texts, c. 1250- c. 1500", Ph.D. diss., University of St Andrews, 2009, https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/bitstream/handle/10023/2107/SarahSchellPhDThesis.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y.

[4] *Cadella* or cadel seems the most appropriate term to use for the drawings on fols 68r-95v. According to the online glossary from the British Library, "A cadel is a calligraphic decorative extension to the ascending or descending strokes of letters, usually on the first or last lines of a page. They sometimes feature human or animal heads". https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/GlossC.asp, accessed July 11, 2016. We plan to discuss these cadels separately in a forthcoming article.

[5] For an introduction to the extensive literature on Books of Hours, see the bibliography in R. Clemens and T. Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies,* Ithaca, NY, 2007, pp. 288-289. See also S. Hindman's introduction to *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, ed. by S. Hindman and J. H. Marrow, Turnhout, 2013, pp. 5-16.

[6] M. Wranovix, *Priests and Their Books in Late Medieval Eichstätt*, Lanham, MD, 2017, p. 123.

within the late medieval English church",[7] we argue throughout this essay that a careful reading of WC48 depicts a priest with a strong interest in a vibrant, varied, and musical devotional life in service to Christ, to Mary, and to a host of other saints. Further study of Books of Hours belonging to clerics might well encourage scholars of the English priesthood to make a claim similar to the one Wranovix makes in regard to the clergy of late medieval Eichstätt, namely that "the same social processes driving the emergence of the proverbial more confident and assertive laity of the late Middle Ages also encompassed the clergy".[8]

1. WC48 – A Priest's Volume?

As noted, even scholars who have recognized that Books of Hours sometimes belonged to monastics and clerics – and not just to laypeople – have made little attempt to specify the distinctively "clerical" aspects of these books.[9] Eamon Duffy makes a passing reference to Lambeth Palace MS 474 as "made originally in the early fifteenth century for a priest, and containing prayers appropriate only for use by a cleric", but he provides no specific indication of what those prayers are.[10] In her comments on a thirteenth-century French Book of Hours, Adelaide Bennett offers two criteria

[7] G. W. Bernard, *The Late Medieval English Church: Vitality and Vulnerability before the Break with Rome,* New Haven, 2012, p. 85.

[8] Wranovix, *Priests and Their Books* (n. 6), pp. xv-xvi.

[9] See, e.g., N. Morgan, "Books for the Liturgy and Private Prayer", in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. by N. Morgan, R. M. Thomson, Cambridge, 1998, vol. 2, p. 306. "The most popular of these books used for private prayer was the book of Hours, whose texts were excerpted from the Breviary, and which first appeared in England as a separate book in the middle of the thirteenth century, and by 1400 had become the most common prayer book of the laity, although it was also used to a lesser extent by priests and members of religious orders". Virginia Reinburg identifies multiple priest owners of French Books of Hours but does not characterize the contents of those volumes; see V. Reinburg, *French Books of Hours: Making an Archive of Prayer, C. 1400-1600,* Cambridge, 2012, p. 61. For more background on clerical book ownership in the late Middle Ages, see J. Shinners, "Parish Libraries in Medieval England", in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.*, ed. by J. Brown, W. P. Stoneman, Notre Dame, IN, 1997, pp. 207-230; C. Cross, "York Clergy and Their Books in the Early 16th-Century", in *The Church and Learning in Late Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, ed. by B. Dobson, C. M. Barron, J. Stratford, Donington, 2002, pp. 344-354; A. Hunt, "Clerical and Parish Libraries", in *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by E. Leedham-Green, T. Webber, Cambridge, 2009, vol. 3, pp. 400-419; and Wranovix, *Priests and Their Books* (n. 6). These authors remind us of the important distinction between private and institutional book ownership.

[10] E. Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570,* New Haven, 2006, p. 100.

when she writes "his [i.e., the owner's] confession before the altar and the notated hours of the Virgin indicate his clerical status".[11] However, such distinctions in the scholarship are rare, and indeed even the attribution of Books of Hours to priests is not common. Although there are no overt indications of ownership in WC48, we examine first the ways in which this volume seems clearly made for a priest or a member of a religious house. We then further argue, based on a careful reading of its contents, that the original owner of this MS was a priest.

From the beginning of the manuscript there are clues that the owner cared about liturgical distinctions far beyond the typical lay owner. The calendar which opens the volume (fols 1-6v) pays careful attention to liturgical issues. Most months of the calendar indicate clearly not only red-letter feast days but also other gradations of feasts – duplex, nine lessons, or three lessons. Additionally some three-lesson feasts carry a further distinction of *cum reg choro*, a slight variation of *cum regimine chori*, or *cum nocturno*.[12] These distinctions indicate attention to communal festal celebrations.

Similarly, the Hours of the Virgin offer variations on the antiphons for Advent, Christmas and "other times" (*in alio tempore*). Matins changes according to the day of the week with one set of psalms and antiphons for Sunday-Monday-Thursday, one for Tuesday-Friday, and one for Wednesday-Saturday. One set of lessons and responsories is offered for Advent and Christmas and one for other times. The Book of Hours is often described as containing a simple, unchanging liturgy that lay people can offer.[13] How-

[11] See A. Bennett, "A French Cleric's Prayer Book-Hours of the Early Thirteenth Century", in *Tributes to Nigel Morgan: Contexts of Medieval Art: Images, Objects and Ideas,* ed. by N. Morgan, J. M. Luxford, and M. A. Michael, London, 2010, pp. 28-29: "In sum, the richly decorated Vienna miscellany attests its use by a well-to-do male religious. It is a florilegium of multi-purpose prayers – confessional, apotropaic, intercessory, remedial, and prescriptive – alluding to his spiritual needs. These are considered personal because they were recorded and selected in a handbook for his own use. Twenty-three individual prayers, and five collects in the commendation of the soul and the office of the dead identify the supplicant as masculine. Yet, some texts could also be intended for communal duties. His confession before the altar and the notated hours of the Virgin indicate his clerical status".

[12] *Cum regimine chori* is a designation applied to simple feasts, distinguishing whether or not they are moved to a different day when they fall on a Sunday or conflict with a more important feast. According to Mantello and Rigg, "the designation *cum regimine chori* meant that the cantor was to assign *rectores chori*, varying in number and dignity with the feast, to chant and intone certain elements of the office"; see F. A. C. Mantello, A. G. Rigg, eds, *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, Washington, DC, 1996, p. 160. *Cum nocturno* refers to the psalms that are said in the festal nocturne.

[13] See, for example, R. S. Wieck, "The Book of Hours", in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. by T. J. Heffernan and E. A. Matter, Kalamazoo, 2001, pp. 473-513, at p. 474: "Books of Hours were easy, even enjoyable, to use. The core text, the Hours of the Virgin, remained basically the same every day".

ever, the version in WC48, while by no means unique, contains a more complex version of the hours than a typical lay Book of Hours. According to Charity Scott-Stokes, "this means that if a book of hours prescribes seasonal variations in the Little Office it was probably compiled for use in a religious house".[14]

The litanies in WC48 also point towards ownership by a priest or member of a religious order. The general litany (fols 51r-55v) includes a segment that varies for each day of the week inserted after St Stephen.[15] In this way, nearly two hundred seventy-five saints are included in the owner's devotional life. While this form of litany is far from unique, it is much more likely to be found in breviaries than Books of Hours.[16] Additionally, there is an extensive litany to Mary as well as a twenty-three stanza metrical litany (Appendix A). The liturgical complexity of this Book of Hours suggests ownership by monks, nuns or priests.

We turn now to some of the clues that lead us to postulate specifically that the original owner of the volume was a priest. The forms of the prayers and confessions refer to a male supplicant throughout. For example, on fols 114v-115r one of the prayers accompanying the Psalter of St Jerome begins *Omnipotens sempiterne et misericors deus clemenciam tuam suppliciter deprecor me famulum tuum N.* Another indication of male ownership is found in the prayer of confession to Mary on fol. 122r that reads: *Sanctissima gloriossisima et piissima dei genitrix virgo Maria. Ego N. indignus peccator*. These male forms are consistent throughout the manuscript. While male pronouns are the default pronouns, Books of Hours owned by women regularly substitute female forms.[17] Thus it seems very unlikely that the volume was made for a woman, either lay or monastic.

[14] C. Scott-Stokes, *Women's Books of Hours in Medieval England: Selected Texts Translated from Latin, Anglo-Norman French and Middle English with Introduction and Interpretive Essay*, Cambridge, 2006, p. 6, with n. 12.

[15] Specifically, these inserts are found as follows: feria iii fols 55v-56v; feria iiii fols 56v-57v; feria quinta fols 57v-58r; feria sexta fols 58v-59r; and sabbato fols 59r-59v.

[16] See C. Wordsworth and F. Procter, *Brevarium ad usum ecclesiae Sarum*, Cambridge, 1876-1886, vol. 2, pp. 250-260. Other fifteenth century English examples, as described in Ker et al., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (n. 1) include: Ampleforth, Ampleforth Abbey Library MS 192 (Horae); Colchester, Colchester and Essex Museum MS 213.32 (Breviary); Manchester, Chetham's Library MS 6717 (Psalterium, Horae, etc.) – connected to Godstow Abbey; and Saffron Walden, Town Library MS E. 1104/3476 (Manuale, Preces, etc.).

[17] See, e.g., the fifteenth century French Book of Hours (Use of Lisieux, for female patron) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (accession no. 12.390), https://www.mfa.org/collections/object/book-of-hours-use-of-lisieux-for-female-patron-53345.

At the very end of WC48 there is a poem in honor of St Frideswide that is specifically written from a cleric's perspective. The opening lines praise Frideswide as the mother of clerics:

Salve sancta femina salus infirmorum

Salve lux oxonie mater clericorum[18]

(Hail holy woman, health for the infirm

Hail light of Oxford, mother of clerics)

The six stanzas close with an alliterative plea for the saint to be patroness to a simple cleric (*Ergo clero vulgo vero virgo sis patrona*). WC48 dates from the early fifteenth-century, the time when Frideswide, long the patron saint of Oxford, became the patron saint of Oxford University as well.[19] Perhaps the presence of this (possibly unique) poem at the end of the volume indicates that it was written to celebrate the occasion of claiming Frideswide as patron saint of the university (see Plate 1).

While this poem offers one internal indication of clerical ownership, the section of prayers beginning on fol. 116r strongly supports the contention that the volume belonged to a priest. These five prayers are primarily intended to be said before mass. The opening rubric *Oracio sancti Ambrosii dicenda ante missam* introduces the prayer entitled *Si tantum domine reatum nostre delinquencie cogitamus*. In other sources, this prayer is known to be specifically for the priest.[20] It is followed by a prayer with the simple

[18] WC48, fol. 148v. The term *clericus* could be used in the sense of a literate person whether priest or not. See the discussion of the terms *clericus* and *litteratus* in M. T. Clanchy, *From memory to written record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1993, pp. 226-230. However, cleric seems a likely translation in this context. For the complete text of the poem, see Appendix C. Although *mater* likely has Frideswide as its referent, it may also refer to Oxford as well.

[19] S. L. Reames, "The Legend of Frideswide of Oxford, an Anglos-Saxon Royal Abbess: Introduction", *TEAMS: Middle English Texts Series* (2003), accessed 3 July 2018, https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/reames-middle-english-legends-of-women-saints-legend-of-frideswide-introduction: "Early in the fifteenth century Oxford University joined the town in claiming her [i.e., Frideswide] officially as its patron. In 1434, Archbishop Chichele endorsed a petition from the clergy asking that her feast day (October 19) should be celebrated thenceforth throughout the Province of Canterbury; in most churches, however, this order seems to have elicited little more than the addition of her name to the calendar". See also R. W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*, Cambridge, 2009, p. 440.

[20] *PL* 158, col. 926C *Oratio XXIII 'ad idem faciendo'*. This refers back to the rubric "*pro sacerdote celebraturo*", Migne's edition attributes these prayers to Anselm of Canterbury. Giacomo Baroffio includes the prayer in his extensive listing of prayers, a source which has been very useful in finding references to the prayers in this volume. Baroffio cites a fifteenth century Book of Hours (Paris, BnF, Lat. 1072) that includes the prayer with the rubric *Oratio sacerdotis ante missam brevis et utilissima*. See G. Baroffio, *Corpus Italicum Precum: Ma-*

rubric *oracio eiusdem*. This prayer, *Miserator et misericors deus paciens,* is identified elsewhere as *Oracio beati Ambrosii in qua pro suis peccatis veniam postulat*.[21] The next prayer in the series, *Proiectis domine nobis in condempnacionem operum nostrorum,* is found in the Gregorian sacramentary as an "*apologia sacerdotis*".[22] *Apologiae* are prayers recited by the priest privately, usually before celebrating mass. As Bryan Spinks notes, "certain missals have a large number of private *apologiae* prayers for the priest prior to the public rite, and these proliferated in the eleventh century, but then declined and transmuted into a core preparation with a Confiteor and absolution".[23] The fourth prayer in the sequence *Mordacis consciencie stimulus* is preceded by the rubric *oracio cotidiana dicenda* and is also listed as an *apologia* in the Gregorian sacramentary.[24] The final prayer in this set is the prayer often attributed in manuscripts – as it is here – to St Ambrose but generally considered by scholars to have been written by Jean of Fécamp (twelfth century).[25] The prayer *Summe sacerdos et vere pontifex* is 221 lines long in our manuscript and normally is to be said by the priest before celebrating mass.[26] Significantly, these prayers sometimes make explicit reference to the sacerdotal status of the orant.[27]

In aggregate, these five prayers confirm our sense that this manuscript belonged to a priest. The presence of these prayers grouped together, outside the context of a missal, indicates that this volume almost certainly was compiled for a priest to serve as his private prayer book. If, as Spinks suggests, the official use of *apologiae* had coalesced into just a few official prayers, it is possible that the earlier traditions were carried forward in less official prayer collections like this one.

teriali per una storia del sentimento religioso in Italia, http://www.hymnos.sardegna.it/iter/iterliturgicum.htm.

[21] *PL* 101, col. 546. This is part of Alcuin's daily office.

[22] J. Deshusses, *Le Sacramentaire Gregorien: Ses principales formes d'apres les plus anciens manuscrits*, vol. 3: *Textes complementaires divers,* Fribourg, 1971-1982 (Spicilegium Friburgense, 28), pp. 264-265, #4378.

[23] See B. D. Spinks, *Do This in Remembrance of Me: The Eucharist from the Early Church to the Present Day*, London, 2013, p. 233. On *apologiae*, see also J. A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum sollemnia)*, trans. F. A. Brunner, New York, 1951-1955, vol. 1, pp. 78-80; and see, F. Cabrol, "Apologies", in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. by F. Cabrol, Paris, 1920-1953, vol. 1, part 2, cols 2591-2601.

[24] Deshusses, *Sacramentaire Gregorien* (n. 22), vol. 3, p. 266, #4383.

[25] See the discussion of this prayer in A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Age latin*, Paris, 1932, chapter 7.

[26] *PL* 158, cols 921-925 *Oratio XXIX* (*Facienda a sacerdote ante missam*).

[27] See, e.g., WC48, fol. 118r: *Doce me indignum servum tuum quem inter cetera dona tua eciam ad officium sacerdotale vocare dignatus es*.

Finally, we propose that the presentation of the Office of the Dead in WC48 – its music and its rubrics – indicates that this is a priest's volume.[28] Found on fols 68r-95v, the notated Office of the Dead offers the most visually and aurally stimulating section of WC48. Starting with the full-page frame on fol. 68r, this section of the manuscript takes the reader into the rich medieval tradition of the recitation of Vespers, Matins, and Lauds for the dead. These offices, recited daily in monasteries and nunneries as well as by secular priests, formed an important part of virtually all Books of Hours. The recitation of this office on behalf of someone who had died helped memorialize them and, it was believed, bring them closer to heaven. WC48 is one of a small number of fifteenth-century English Books of Hours that include music for this office. Monastics and clerics had many opportunities to sing the office and were trained in reading music, so the presence of music suggests that the manuscript could have been made for them.

The rubrics in the Office of the Dead suggest even more strongly that a priest owned WC48. Some Books of Hours have almost no rubrics in the Office of the Dead beyond the identification of genres (e.g. antiphon, responsory).[29] Others have rubrics that are similar to those found in the printed 1531 breviary, giving distinctions based on whether the body is present or not and identifying prayers for specific categories of people (bishops, brothers and sisters, for the general public) as well as for specific occasions (anniversary, thirty days after death, etc.).[30] In comparison, the rubrics in WC48 are much more extensive – nearly as extensive as those found in the Sarum manual (for priests) printed in the sixteenth-century.[31] These rubrics offer more complex liturgical variations than are usually found in versions of the Office of the Dead in Books of Hours.

[28] For more on the Office of the Dead, see Schell, "The Office of the Dead in England" (n. 3), introduction and chap. 1.

[29] See, e.g., Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 1063, http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/pageturn.html?id=MEDREN_9941542793503681.

[30] See, e.g., Mount Angel Abbey, St Benedict, Oregon, MS 0027, https://www.mountangelabbey.org/ms0027/. For the common rubrics found in the Sarum Office of the Dead, see the edition of the 1531 Sarum Breviary in Wordsworth and Procter, *Brevarium ad usum ecclesiae Sarum* (n. 16), vol. 2, pp. 271-283.

[31] For an edition of the Sarum Manual based primarily on the 1543 Rouen edition, see A. J. Collins, *Manuale ad usum percelebris Ecclesie Sarisburiensis*, London, 1960 (Henry Bradshaw Society, 91). We have also examined two Sarum manuals in the collection of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM30986 and HM76262) and found the rubrics quite comparable to those in WC48. On HM 30986, see C. W. Dutschke, *Guide to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Huntington Library*, San Marino, 1989, vol. 2, pp. 693-696. As Morgan, "Books for the Liturgy and Private Prayer" (n. 9), p. 303, writes: "Parish priests also had to have a Manual which contained all the occasional services such

For a specific comparison, we look at the first lesson in Matins, and we compare WC48 with two roughly contemporary and readily accessible English Books of Hours. In University of Pennslyvania MS Codex 1063 there is no rubric and in Mount Angel Abbey MS0027 there is only an indication *lc. i* (first lesson). By contrast, in WC48, we read the following more elaborate instruction (fol. 74v):

> *Deinde dicat sacerdos in audiencia.* Et ne nos. *Chorus* Sed libera nos *similiter in audiencia. Quod per totum annum observetur in obsequiis mortuorum. Quiscumque nocturnus dicitur ante leccionem etiam in die animarum.*
>
> (Then the priest should say aloud: *Et ne nos*. Likewise, the chorus should say aloud: *Sed libera nos.* This should be observed throughout the year in the office of the dead. Each nocturn is to be said before the reading, even on All Soul's Day).

A layperson praying the Office of the Dead at home or at church would not need the complex instructions found in WC48.

One further indication of the tailoring of the volume for a priest is the rubric found towards the end of the Commendatory Psalms that indicates *sine intervalo incipiatur Missa pro defunctis.* While this does not specifically name the priest, it is the priest who would then begin the mass.

Priests were expected to offer a daily recitation of the Office of the Dead, varied somewhat according to the liturgical calendar.[32] WC48 is not as fully rubricated as the Sarum manual, but most of the rubrics in WC48 are also found in the manual. Further study of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century manuscript manuals as well as manuscripts containing only the Office of the Dead would potentially offer additional insight into this aspect of WC48.

Musically and textually, the Office of the Dead follows the Sarum rite. In addition to the musical notation for the antiphons and responsories, there is notation for a versicle/response (fol. 74v) at the end of the third antiphon and a cue for the end of the first lesson (fol. 74v) leading into the first responsory chant. Such a cue allows the singer to make a smooth

as baptism, marriage, visiting of the sick, the last rites and the funeral liturgy. These books, which had to be portable, are small, and if decorated with illumination this is of quite simple type with ornamental initials and partial borders". The rubrics in the manuals are usually fairly extensive. According to Collins, *Manuale*, p. xi: "...in the wealth of rubrics lies the most precious feature of the printed Manuals".

[32] See J. Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians*, Oxford, 1991, p. 46. On the required daily recitation, see also Wieck, "Books of Hours" (n. 13), p. 509.

transition from the reading into the responsory chant. This same musical cue is given in the Sarum manual with a rubric following that reads *Eodem modo finiantur omnes lectiones praeter secundam.* (Let all the lessons except the second be finished in the same manner.)[33] The attention to the connection between readings and lessons and the provision of notation for several versicles make the volume well-suited to a priest.

In sum, there are many factors that lead us to our conclusion that WC48 was compiled for the use of a priest: the liturgical detail, the self-referential naming in a poem, the inclusion of prayers written specifically for priests, the rubrics consistent with those found in contemporary priests' manuals, and the presence of music.

2. The Contents of the Manuscript

Although the medieval Book of Hours contained certain standard elements, the contents of each volume varied according to the preferences of its owner. Roger Wieck uses the metaphor of an automobile to describe the role of accessory texts, likening the texts common to almost all Books of Hours to the basic or standard automobile, while equating the additional, ancillary prayers with personal choices of specialized décor and features.[34] Thus our examination of the contents of WC48 offers the opportunity to reflect on the specific choices and preferences of the priest for whom the volume was made. What choices has he made for additional texts in this volume? While many of the emphases that emerge – the intercessory power of the saints, Marian devotion, the passion of Christ – are aligned with lay devotional emphases, the unique embodiment of their expression in WC48 shows the theological and poetic sophistication of this priest's devotional life.

[33] Collins, *Manuale* (n. 31), p. 136. Since Collins does not reproduce the music (see Collins, *Manuale*, p. xxv), one can see this more clearly in W. G. Henderson, ed., *Manuale et processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae eboracensis*, Durham, 1875 (Publications of the Surtees Society, 63), p. 69*, https://archive.org/details/manualeetproces01minsgoog/page/n. 310. An appropriate termination is also given at the end of the second lesson in WC48 although not in the printed manual.

[34] R. S. Wieck, "Prayer for the People: The Book of Hours", in *A History of Prayer: The First to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by R. Hammerling, Leiden, 2008, p. 409. According to Duffy, *Marking the Hours* (n. 10), p. 30: "Before printing... the personal character of these books [i.e. Books of Hours] was often signalled by the inclusion of prayers specifically composed or adopted for their owners". For more on the customization of medieval manuscripts, see K. M. Rudy, *Piety in Pieces: How Medieval Readers Customized their Manuscripts*, Cambridge, Open Book Publishers, 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.11647/OBP.0094.

a. Litanies

The litanies in the volume are a fine example of this sophistication and complexity. As we noted above, the litany found on fols 51r-59v uses inserts for each day of the week to incorporate a much greater number of saints than usually found. Additionally, there are two further litanies in the volume that merit consideration here.

From the twelfth century onward, Marian litanies are sometimes found in Books of Hours.[35] As G. G. Meersseman has observed, the systematic list of Mary's names was nearly a genre of its own in the Middle Ages.[36] Yet, according to Nigel Morgan, "the Litany of the Virgin, as opposed to the Litany of the Saints, is very rarely found in English Books of Hours".[37]

WC48 contains a rather unusual and possibly unique Marian litany – unusual both in its form and length, if not in its function.[38] Introduced by

[35] On Marian litanies, see B. Fischer, "Litanies", in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, ed. by A. Rayez et al., Paris, 1976, vol. 9, cols 865-872; G. G. Meersseman, *Der Hymnos Akathistos im Abendland*, 2 vols, Fribourg, 1958-1960 (Spicilegium friburgense, 2-3), vol. 2, pp. 44 ff.; and A. M. Buono, *The Greatest Marian Prayers: Their History, Meaning, and Usage*, New York, 1999. On Marian litanies in medieval England, see N. Morgan, "Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century England", in *England in the Thirteenth Century*, Proceedings of the 1989 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. by W. M. Ormrod, Stamford, 1991, pp. 69-103 at p. 76; and idem, "Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England", in *England in the Fourteenth Centur*y, Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. by N. Rogers, Stamford, 1993, 30-53 at 41-42. On litanies more generally, see F. Cabrol, "Litanie", in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* (n. 23), vol. 9, cols 1540-1571; and P. Jeffrey, "Litany", in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. by J. R. Strayer, New York, 1982-1989, vol. 7, pp. 588-594. On Mary and prayer, see R. Fulton Brown, *Mary and the Art of Prayer: The Hours of the Virgin in Medieval Christian Life and Thought*, New York, 2018.

[36] Meersseman, *Der Hymno*s (n. 35), vol. 2, p. 31.

[37] N. Morgan, "English Books of Hours c. 1240-c. 1480", in *Books of Hours Reconsidered*, S. Hindman and J. H. Marrow, Turnhout, 2013, pp. 65-95 at p. 83. Morgan's comment might suggest that there was a single Marian litany, but of course there were many, as there were many litanies of the saints. We assume he is referring to the genre or category rather than to a specific text. But see his earlier statement, Morgan, "Texts and Images of Marian Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England" (n. 35), p. 41: "A devotion found rather more frequently in the fourteenth century is the Litany of the Virgin. This existed in various forms which were later to become standardized in the fifteenth century in the so-called Litany of Loreto". We note two additional fifteenth-century English Books of Hours that include a Marian litany: Bristol Public Library 11 fols 62r-66v (see Ker et al., *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries* (n. 1), vol. 2, pp. 204-207) and York Minster XVI K.6 fols 87v-90 (ibid., vol. 4, pp. 727-730).

[38] WC48, fols 60r-63r. N. R. Ker's description of the MS does not mention this litany. The folio wear on this litany might be an indication of the importance of this particular devotion to the owner. As K. M. Rudy has argued, evidence of wear to manuscript folios may reveal much about the reading habits of manuscript owners, especially owners of Books

a *Kyrie*, this litany takes the form of an abecedarian that ranges from A-Z before concluding with additional petitions drawing on Mary's intercessory powers and with several prayers.

This abecedarian begins with the formula *Sancta Maria* and ends with the formula *ora pro nobis*; in between is a Marian descriptor starting with *a, b, c* and so on through *z*. In keeping with what Dag Norberg has suggested was common practice, for the letter *k* WC48 uses a word beginning with the syllable *ca* (*karissima deo et hominibus*) and for *y* and *z* uses *ymnus* and *zelus*, respectively.[39] The letter *x* is omitted altogether. These more "troublesome" letters (*k, y, z*), and *q* as well, begin just a single verse, while all other letters initiate five descriptor verses. To take *c* as an example:

Sancta Maria **clavis** *paradisi ora pro nobis*
Sancta Maria **civitas** *dei ora pro nobis*
Sancta Maria **causa** *salutis ora pro nobis*
Sancta Maria **consolacio** *miserorum ora pro nobis*
Sancta Maria **columba** *dei ora pro nobis*

To reinforce the acrostic character of this abecedarian, the initial instance of each letter is decorated such that even a cursory glance at the relevant folios immediately highlights the alphabetic order (see Plate 2).[40]

The value of alphabetic order as a mnemonic aid has long been recognized. For our clerical reader of WC48, the abecedarian format of this litany almost certainly served as a mnemonic aid to his Marian devotion.[41]

of Hours. See K. M. Rudy, "Dirty Books: Quantifying Patterns of Use in Medieval Manuscripts Using a Densitometer", *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art,* 2 (2010), pp. 1-44, doi 10.5092/jhna 2010.2.1.1. Rudy has found that, not surprisingly, owners "gave extra attention to the texts and images that they [themselves] added to their books" (p. 26). Since this litany seems to have been rather unusual and may have been "added" or "commissioned" by the owner, this heavier usage would support Rudy's findings. The wear here is such that the owner may also have run his fingers over the words, thereby "touching" Mary in a sense.

[39] D. Norberg, *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, ed. by J. Ziolkowski, Washington, DC, 2003, pp. 50-51, with n. 15.

[40] On acrostics, including abecedarian acrostics, see P. S. Diehl, *The Medieval European Religious Lyric: An Ars Poetica*, Berkeley, 1985, who notes (p. 117): "...an acrostic speaks to the eye and not the ear. Scribes use illuminated or rubricated capitals to draw attention to its letters; these have the additional effect of clearly distinguishing the stanzas or lines of the text from each other". See also *Lexikon der Marienkunde*, s.v. "Abecedarius"; and M. Dana Rust, *Imaginary Worlds in Medieval Books: Exploring the Manuscript Matrix*, New York, 2007, chap. 1.

[41] On the alphabet as mnemonic aid, see Rust, *Imaginary Worlds* (n. 40), pp. 44 ff.; and M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed., Cambridge, 2008, pp. 135-152. On the mnemonic as one of the key functions of the medieval reading process, see K. Kerby-Fulton and D. L. Despres, *Iconography and the Professional Reader: The Politics of Book Production in the Douce Piers Plowman*, Minneapolis, 1999 (Medieval Cultures, 15), pp. 8 ff.

Even the arrangement of the alphabetic entries into groups of "fives" may have had mnemonic significance. In the fifteenth century, numbered or serial prayers, notably prayers to the Virgin including the Rosary, were extremely popular and widely disseminated in various forms.[42] Division into "fives" was seemingly common in the Middle Ages and could reflect well-known pentads such as the "Five Wounds of Christ", the "Five Joys of Our Lady", or the five vowels of the alphabet.[43] The thirteenth-century work *Ancrene Wisse* especially emphasizes "fives" in connection with the "Hail Mary" and Marian prayers.[44] One can easily imagine a reader of our litany combining alphabetical order with the repeated "fives" in order to remember and internalize this lengthy list of names for Mary.

The length of this litany deserves brief comment as it is unusually long for a Marian litany, and it presents an impressive list of descriptors or names for the Virgin. Umberto Eco may have it right when, in regard to Marian litanies, he writes,

> It doesn't matter whether the *virgo* is *potens* or *clemens*. What matters is being seized by the dizzying sound of the list. Just as in the litanies of the saints, it is not so much which of the names are present or absent as it is their rhythmic enunciation for a sufficiently long period of time.[45]

Of course, Eco's emphasis on the aural might suggest a public or liturgical, rather than private or devotional, reading of the litany; but scholars have increasingly questioned such a strict dichotomy between public and

[42] See A. Angenendt, Th. Braucks, R. Busch, Th. Lentes, and H. Lutterbach, "Gezählte Frömmigkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 29 (1995), pp. 1-71, at p. 41. An English "abridgement" of this essay is found in B. Jussen, ed., *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, trans. P. Selwyn, Philadelphia, 2001, chaps. 1-2. For more on praying by numbers, see R. Fulton, "Praying by Numbers", *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History,* 3 (2007), pp. 195-250; N. Largier, "Praying by Numbers: An Essay on Medieval Aesthetics", *Representations,* 104 (2008), pp. 73-91; and Diehl, *Medieval European Religious Lyric* (n. 40), pp. 113-116, who uses the term "enumerative composition". On the Rosary, see J. D. Miller, *Beads and Prayers: The Rosary in History and Devotion*, London, 2001; and especially A. Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: The Making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages*, University Park, PA, 1997.

[43] See Carruthers, *Book of Memory* (n. 41), p. 132.

[44] *Anchoritic Spirituality: Ancrene Wisse and Associated Works*, trans. A. Savage and N. Watson, New York, 1991, p. 63. Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose* (n. 42), pp. 41, 60, 98, 100, 112 makes repeated mention of Marian "fives". This may be a further example of the "overlap" that Eamon Duffy has seen between the "religion of the bead" and the "religion of the book". See E. Duffy, "Elite and Popular Religion: The Books of Hours and Lay Piety in the Later Middle Ages", in *Elite and Popular Religion*, ed. by K. Cooper, J. Gregory, Woodbridge, 2006 (Studies in Church History, 42), pp. 140-161, esp. 141-145.

[45] U. Eco, *The Infinity of Lists*, trans. A. McEwan, New York, 2009, p. 118.

private prayer, between reading aloud and reading silently.[46] Virginia Reinburg, for example, has suggested that "the Hours of the Virgin were probably read aloud, even by solitary devotees".[47] In the context of mnemonics, it is well to remember that medieval memory advice often recommends vocalized reading as an aid to memory and meditation.[48] Thus, our English cleric may well have engaged lips and ears, as well as eyes, as he recited this abecedarian litany.

WC48 also contains an unusual metrical litany (*litania metrica*) on fols 133r-134v (Appendix A and Plate 3). In this twenty-three stanza poem, rhyme and rhythm join to help the reader/orant memorize a list of nearly sixty saints presented in the common, hierarchical progression from Godhead to female saints. Whereas the impressive list of attributes in the Marian litany is organized alphabetically, the list of saints in this form of the litany impresses itself on the mind through the rhyme and rhythm. While some saints merit a whole quatrain for themselves, others are joined together in long chains of names. For example,

Augustine nobilis Patrici Brandane

Francisce Dominice Silvester Dunstane

Gregori Ieronime David Columbane

Frui digne facite me celesti pane

(Noble Augustine, Patrick, Brendan

Francis, Dominic, Sylvester, Dunstan

Gregory, Jerome, David, Columbanus

Make me worthy to enjoy the celestial bread)

[46] On the categories of prayer, see V. Reinburg's critique of J. Bossy, "Christian Life in the Later Middle Ages: Prayers", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 1 (1991), pp. 137-150 at pp. 148-150. According to Susan Boynton, "historians of medieval religion have increasingly demonstrated that any distinction between liturgy as a category of practices performed only in public and devotion as predominantly private is elusive indeed". See S. Boynton, "Prayer as Liturgical Performance in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century Monastic Psalters", *Speculum,* 82 (2007), p. 896. See also Duffy, "Elite and Popular Religion" (n. 44), pp. 152 ff. On oral and silent reading, see, e.g., P. Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages", *Scrittura e Civiltá,* 9 (1985), pp. 239-269; and H. Haug, "Le passage de la lecture oralisée à la lecture silencieuse: Un mythe?", *Le Moyen français,* 65 (2009), pp. 1-22.

[47] V. Reinburg, "Prayer and the Book of Hours", in *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life,* ed. by R. S. Wieck, New York, 1988, p. 41.

[48] See, e.g., Martinus Capella, cited in Carruthers, *Book of Memory* (n. 41), p, 215. See also Quintilian, *Institutes* 11.2.33. On Quintilian's influence on Capella and others, see F. A. Yates, *The Art of Memory*, Chicago, 1974, pp. 51-52.

Unlike a normative litany in which the phrase "ora pro nobis" follows each petition, in this verse the plea is to this group of saints collectively to "make me worthy to enjoy the heavenly bread". The litany ends with a full quatrain of intercession to the holy virgins:

Omnes sancte virgines vestram per precamen

Meorum peccaminum senciam levamen

Quod pater et filius atque sacrum flamen

In celis me collocent cum beatis amen

(O all you holy virgins through your prayers

May I experience [such] forgiveness for my sins

that the Father, Son, and Holy Flame

may place me with the blessed in heaven. Amen)

With its rhyme and rhythm, this litany lends itself to memorization and perhaps even musical performance. Taken together with the Marian litany, this metrical litany intensifies the expected devotional activity of the litany and moves it to a more powerful form of intercessory prayer.

b. Poetic Hymn-prayers

Another area of particular focus for the owner of WC48 is the prevalence of poetic hymn-prayers, like the metrical litany. It is surely not uncommon to have rhyming prayers in a Book of Hours, but the presence of eleven such poems, four of them possibly unique to the volume, indicates a particular fondness for them. Of the eleven texts, one is in honor of Frideswide, one the metrical litany, two on the passion of Christ, and seven devoted to Mary. Although we cannot presume that the four poems we have not located elsewhere were created for this manuscript, as items that were not regularly incorporated into Books of Hours, they do offer us a window into the devotional choices of the compiler of this manuscript. There are five such hymn/verse texts that Ker does not identify in his description of WC48. One of these, *Gaude summi creatoris sponsa gloriosa* (fols 135r-135v), is a version of the popular joys of Mary genre.[49] The metrical litany has been discussed above and is edited in Appendix A. In the appendices, we include editions of the other three "unrecorded" texts as well, and we briefly present them here.

[49] A version of this text from a manuscript dated 1440 is listed in F. J. Mone, *Hymni Latini medii aevi*, Freiburg, 1853-1855, vol. 2, pp. 193-194. Since WC48 dates from early in the fifteenth century, this could be the earliest recorded copy of this version.

c. "Unrecorded" Texts

Ave plena gratia poli imperatrix (Appendix B), takes sixteen verses to elaborate on Mary's qualities. In the first stanza alone she is celebrated as *imperatrix*, *mediatrix, piatrix*, and *gubernatrix*. Like the metrical litany, this poem is written in goliardic meter, a popular choice in the later Middle Ages.[50] Of the eleven hymn/verse texts in WC48, five are in this meter including three of the four texts not recorded elsewhere. This text celebrates Mary for her many qualities and ends with an intercession for the dead:

Pro defunctis filia peto salvatoris

Esto reis gloria in valle doloris

Ducens ad palacia veri creatoris

Amen dicat curia pie redemptoris.

(On behalf of the dead I beseech you, o daughter of the Savior

Be for the accused a glory in this valley of pain

Leading them to the palaces of the true Creator

May the court of the kind Redeemer say Amen)

Another apparently unique item in WC48 is the aforementioned appeal to St Frideswide for her patronage and her inclusion in the metrical litany (Appendix C).[51] Just as the presence of local saints in calendars helps identify a manuscript's provenance, this appeal to the patroness of Oxford suggests an Oxford connection and may identify our cleric as a university man. At any rate, mention of Frideswide should remind us that medieval devotion to saints mingled universal aspirations with local concerns.

The final of the four texts we have not found recorded elsewhere is *Ave corpus christi carum* (Appendix D), a seemingly unusual variant of the *Ave corpus Christi* prayer/hymn, which epitomizes many of the elements of our cleric's devotional life. This text is in the trochaic septenarius, the meter associated with the Victorine sequence and "the most common rhythmical hymn meter of the late Middle Ages".[52] The text of this rhymed and eminently singable prayer invokes the instruments of Christ's Passion, the well-known *Arma Christi* motif. In her important examination of the ico-

[50] See Norberg, *Medieval Latin Versification* (n. 39), p. 146; and Mantello and Rigg, *Medieval Latin* (n. 12), p. 109.

[51] For a slightly earlier "poetic hymn-prayer" to Frideswide, see the Roberts Hours (Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.6.2, fol. 26r), https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-II-00006-00002/53.

[52] Mantello and Rigg, *Medieval Latin* (n. 12), p. 108.

nography of this motif, Gertrud Schiller notes that "...the instruments of the Passion became important as substitute symbols and formed an independent group of themes of devotion and art".[53] Indeed, many Books of Hours depict the *Arma Christi* visually; ours paints this picture verbally instead. But regardless of the medium, a principal function of the *Arma Christi* was to foster *com-passio*, to promote corporeal identification with the suffering Christ through "reading" of text or image.[54]

Admittedly, the reader of the *Ave corpus Christi* prayer in WC48 could read the *Arma* in other ways as well: as a protective shield against sin or the Devil; as symbolic of his own iniquities; as individual moments in a larger soteriological narrative, etc. For John C. Hirsh, the *Arma Christi* illustrate both a sense of intimacy and a sense of spectacle, of prayerful recollection and of adoration.[55] Such options point to the simultaneously "devotional" and "liturgical" or "private" and "public" character of Books of Hours mentioned above.

While we have highlighted the apparently unique poems, the other seven poems also add to the priest's devotional repertoire. We cannot ignore the musical implications of such a trove of poetry. In his important work on the body and music in the Middle Ages, Bruce Holsinger uses the term "musicality" to describe not only notated music but also the various ways that music is implied through genre, image, or text.[56]

Thus each of these representations of music is itself part of the experience of sound for the medieval viewer. Emma Dillon suggests that "written and visual testimonies to somatic experience might themselves be considered a form of music".[57]

[53] G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman, 2 vols, Greenwich, CT, 1972, vol. 2, p. 191. On the *Arma Christi*, in addition to Schiller, vol. 2, pp. 184-229, see C. P. Hourihane, ed., *The Grove Encyclopedia of Medieval Art and Architecture*, Oxford, 2012, s.v., "Arma Christi" (with bibliography); and more recently L. H. Cooper, A. Denny-Brown, eds *The 'Arma Christi' in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture,* Farnham, Surrey, 2014, esp. chap. 1.

[54] See the pertinent comments in A. Bale, *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms, 1350-1500*, Cambridge, 2006 (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 60), p. 159. Bale's entire chap. 5 treats the *Arma Christi*.

[55] See J. C. Hirsh, *The Boundaries of Faith: The Development and Transmission of Medieval Spirituality*, Leiden, 1996 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 67), p. 129.

[56] See B. W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture*, Stanford, 2001, p. 199.

[57] E. Dillon, *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260-1330*, Oxford, 2012, p. 192. Dillon here is responding to Holsinger's contention that "music" goes far beyond specific pieces of music to a representation of sound. "The musics such treatises explicate are never autonomous and self-contained aesthetic objects; rather, they are components of a thoroughly embodied musicality that integrates theory, manuscript, performer, and listener into a cultural practice invested in the experiencing of sonority". See Holsinger, *Music,*

The musicality of WC48 is evident in other ways. Most obviously the manuscript includes notated music for the Office of the Dead (see fig. 4), but this is far from the only way in which music makes an appearance in the volume. As Holsinger notes, a devotional poem is a clear signifier of musicality. The many poetic texts in this manuscript through their rhythm, rhyme and possibility for sung rendition all awaken the aural senses. The musical training of a priest would allow him to enjoy singing these hymn-prayers as a special form of making his devotion audible and efficacious.[58]

3. The Devotional Life of a Cleric

Virginia Reinburg describes the Book of Hours as an "archive" of prayers. She consciously employs this term in a dual sense that presents the Book of Hours as an archive of the religious past for modern scholars and as an archive of prayer scripts for the medieval owners and users of such books.[59] The size of this prayer archive varies considerably from manuscript to manuscript. Some include very few prayers (or "accessories" in Wieck's metaphor) and others are fully loaded. WC48 belongs to this latter category as it includes over eighty-five prayers, nearly fifty of them contained in the last four quires of the volume. The rich archive that is WC48 makes this manuscript an ideal vehicle for a wide range of devotional acts and affects, from straightforward recitation of the Hours of the Virgin to intense personal focus on the wounds of Christ. While Books of Hours in general include such a range, WC48 offers especially compelling contents and presentation, customized to the usage of a priest.

Reading was, at least ideally, part of a priest's daily routine both as a sacerdotal duty and as a common leisure activity. According to John Mirk's *Manuale sacerdotis* (late fourteenth/early fifteenth-century), the "good" parish priest should read the Psalms daily and should engage "in silent devotional reading after Mass".[60] For our cleric, the set of prayers on

Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture (n. 56), p. 16. Many medievalists are currently working in the area of sound studies. For a summary of the current state of these studies, see S. Boynton et al., "Sound Matters", *Speculum,* 91 (2016), pp. 998-1039.

[58] The power of music to make prayer more efficacious is attested to by the many bequests in wills to pay for singers to sing services on behalf of the dead. For a discussion of this subject, see Schell, "The Office of the Dead in England" (n. 3), pp. 172-178.

[59] See Reinburg, *French Books of Hours* (n. 9), pp. 4-5. For an illuminating analysis of the concept of "the archive", see J. Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. E. Prenowitz, Chicago, 1995, who notes that "there is no archive without a place of consignation, without a technique of repetition, and without a certain exteriority" (p. 11).

[60] See P. Heath, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation*, London, 1969, p. 4; W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1955,

fols 116r-121v could serve both as *apologiae* to be prayed before his daily celebration of the Mass and as prayers to be read in his reflective time after Mass. As noted above, it was not so uncommon for parish clergy to own devotional books, including *Horae*.[61] For the owner of WC48, devotional reading – presumably slow, ruminative, and repetitive reading – was an integral part of his spiritual and prayer life.

According to Eamon Duffy, readers of Books of Hours "wanted prayers which helped them cultivate that intense relationship of affectionate, penitential intimacy with Christ and his Mother which was the devotional *lingua franca* of the late Middle Ages, and they wanted prayers which focused on their day-to-day hopes and fears".[62] Duffy's description aptly captures the tenor of the prayers found in WC48, including the more "personalized" accessory prayers. As indicated above, many of these accessory prayers accentuate and elaborate upon the Marian devotion common to all Books of Hours, both those belonging to laypeople and those belonging to clerics. Hence, WC48 provides further evidence for Duffy's claim that "... the Book of Hours is a bridging text, holding together rather than polarizing the conventions of lay and clerical piety, the belief systems and devotional practices of educated and ignorant, rich and poor, orthodox and marginal".[63]

Above, beneath and alongside Marian devotion and devotion to saints lies devotion to Christ, specifically to his humanity and his passion. As Duffy has observed, "In England, as elsewhere, the Bernardine tradition of affective meditation of the passion, enriched and extended by the Franciscans, had become without any rival the central devotional activity of all seriously minded Christians".[64] Books of Hours reflect this Christocentric piety, and scholars have long recognized the importance of the Hours of the Cross and other Passion-related prayers in these devotional books.[65] The clerical owner of Winchester MS 48 clearly shared this devotion to Christ and the Passion.

pp. 216-217; and S. Powell, "John to John: The *Manuale Sacerdotis* and the Daily Life of a Parish Priest", University of Salford, Manchester (2009), p. 120, accessed 20 July 2017, http://usir.salford.ac.uk/17913/2/Powell.pdf.

[61] See above n. 9. See further Heath, *The English Parish Clergy* (n. 60), 86-89; and A. Sutherland, *English Psalms in the Middle Ages, 1300-1450*, Oxford, 2015, pp. 10, 19.

[62] E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580*, 2nd ed., New Haven, 2005, p. 234.

[63] Duffy, "Elite and Popular Religion" (n. 44), p. 142.

[64] Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (n. 62), pp. 234-235; see also R. N. Swanson, *Religion and Devotion c.1215-c.1515*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 143.

[65] See, e.g., Wieck, "Prayer for the People" (n. 34), p. 405; and Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars* (n. 62), pp. 234 ff. See further, A. Wilmart, "Prières médiévales pour l'adoration de la croix", *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 46 (1932), pp. 22-65.

If we focus on the *Ave corpus Christi* prayer as one element in a larger prayer archive, we then return to the theme of memory and mnemotechniques.[66] Like the numerous epithets in the Marian litany, the individual "instruments" of the Passion serve as a list or inventory with mnemonic value. Viewed in this way, each *armum* (e.g., the crown of thorns, the bonds, the Jews' spit, the scourge, the wounded side and hands and feet, the nails) represents a discrete memory cue that, like the discrete elements (letters, words) in the Marian acrostics discussed above, implies or suggests a greater whole, namely the entire Passion story. Thus, one archival item points to a larger and even richer narrative archive.[67]

Although, or perhaps because, in the *Ave corpus Christi* the mnemonic cues are textual (and possibly aural if read or sung aloud), they certainly encourage, maybe even require, the creation of mental images. Just as the cadels in WC48 illustrate, illuminate, and interpret the texts they accompany with creative imagery, so too here the text itself produces creative imagery in the mind. As Douglas Gray has recognized, "images – whether visual images made by artists or craftsmen or mental images made by the words of writers – have such an important function in medieval devotion".[68] Images pictorial and mental abound in the devotional life of our cleric. In his prayer book visual image reinforces text, and text creates mental image.

Our cleric and the subsequent owners of this volume clearly had a very rich archive of prayers within the bounds of this one book offering scripts for various kinds of prayer, including apotropaic prayer, prayer of petition, prayer of adoration, and prayer aimed at transforming the orant into a more devout imitator of Christ. WC48 is a sophisticated book that brings clever visual exegesis and extensive musicality into dialogue with a rich collection of texts, all in service to the devotional life of a fifteenth-century English priest.

[66] On the connection between archives and memory, see C. Steedman, "The Space of Memory: In an Archive", *History of the Human Sciences,* 11 (1998), pp. 65-83.

[67] Helga Hajdu has called this the *pars pro toto* method; see H. Hajdu, *Das mnemotechnische Schriften des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1936; reprint ed. Amsterdam, 1967, p. 26. It is clearly related to the rhetorical practice of synecdoche advocated by the author (in the Middle Ages assumed to be Cicero) of the very influential *Rhetorica ad Herennium* whereby "a whole is known from a small part or a part from the whole". See [Cicero], *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.33.44-45, trans. H. Caplan, Cambridge, MA, 1954, pp. 340-341. On this same point in connection with a heraldic *arma Christi*, see K. A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours*, London, 2003 (British Library Studies in Medieval Culture), p. 176.

[68] D. Gray, *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyrics,* London, 1972, p. 41. On "creating images in the mind", see E. Honée, "Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: A Historical Perspective", in *The Art of Devotion in the Later Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500*, trans. M. Hoyle, Princeton, 1994, pp. 157-174 at pp. 170-172.

Summary

Winchester College MS 48 contains a Book of Hours produced in England in the early fifteenth century. This Book of Hours is notable for the presence of musical notation for the Office of the Dead, the exuberant cadels in the Office of the Dead, the variety and uniqueness of its litanies, the presence of gradations of feasts in its calendar, its extensive collection of prayers, and its large number of verse texts. The present article has three principal aims. First, we argue that, unlike most Books of Hours, WC 48 belonged to a cleric, and we discuss the evidence indicating clerical ownership. Secondly, we analyze the contents of WC48 with a focus on its seemingly unique components. And, thirdly, we reflect on what WC48 might reveal about the devotional life (i.e., the devotional practices and beliefs) of a late medieval English priest. In several appendices, we also present the "unique" texts found in this remarkable manuscript.

Anne Bagnall Yardley
Drew University
ayardley@drew.edu

Jesse D. Mann
Drew University
jmann@drew.edu

Appendix A

Litania Metrica

WC 48, fol. 133r-134v
Pater fili spiritus sancte tres persone
Deus unus ordinans cuncta racione
Patrem plaga precibus pro me fili bone
Sensus ut illuminet meos cum sermone

Christe rex piissime semper me tuere
Michi mea crimina velis indulgere
Te rogo per sanguinem quem fudisti vere
Crucis in patibulo mei miserere
Maria flos virginum velut rosa florum
Porta celi premia scala peccatorum
Michi viam prepares ad regna polorum
Viret ubi novitas omnis gaudiorum

Michael archangele tibi preces fundo
Pro me roga dominum vultu cum iocundo
Quatenus complaceam sibi corde mundo
Quod me regat protegat lacu de profundo

Gabriel et Raphael vobis me commendo
Me diebus omnibus in custodiendo
Regem regum sepius licet et offendo
Per vos veri faveat culpam remittendo

Ora pro me deprecor Iohannes baptista
Ne me fallat miserum vita brevis ista
Que seducit homines magis quam sophista
Iuves hinc me vivere David cum psalmista

/fol. 133v/

O princeps apostole Petre deo care
Tibi posse contulit solvere ligare
Quod absolvar viciis velis impretrare
Cum sanctis ut valeam christum collaudere

Noli me relinquere Paule desolatum
Cum Saulus extiteras zelasti peccatum
Te de lupo dominus fecit agnum gratum
Ob hoc per te senciam me propiciatum

Andrea cum Jacobo Philippe Mathee
Symon Iuda pariter et Bartholomee
Mathia cum Barnaba Thoma vie mee
Per vos stent ne merear[69] mala mortis ree

Marce Luca Iohannes vos evangeliste
Matheum pretetigi[70] tibi carum Christe
Mei sitis memores ne me mundus iste
Vincat nec diabolus tenens regnum triste

O beate Stephane prothomartir Christi
Qui pro lapidantibus preces porrexisti
Fac me resistere mundo precor isti
Quod salvetur spiritus ab inferno tristi

Laurenti sevissimas licet tollerasti
Penas in craticula deum non negasti
Te iuvante maneant renes mei casti
Quod in celo socius sim sancti Vedasti

[69] *corr. ad* reverear (?) *sup. lin.*
[70] This could be *pertetigi*, but the expression *pretetigi tibi* is better documented and makes better sense.

/fol. 134r/
Thoma martir inclite cantuariensis
Alvo matris obrute per acumen ensis
Ab inferni tenebris salva me condensis
Et fac pasci[71] splendide celicis immensis

Pro me pie supplica sancte Dionisi
Tui quoque socii christo non invisi
Quod intrare merear portas paradisi
Loci cuius incole nulli sunt elesi

O[72] celestes acies dulces innocentum
Claraque societas septem dormientum
Deo qui mellifluum canitis contentum
Prepellatis[73] eminus a me nocumentum

Clemens et Yppolite Sixte Marcelline
Vincenti Grisogono Cosma Clete Line
Corneli Christophore Marcelle Quintine
Per vos michi gaudia crescant sine fine

Nicholae pontifex per te clericalis
Dignitas extollitur et laus virginalis
Nautis naufragantibus dux remedialis
Michi semper subveni me defende malis

Augustine nobilis Patrici Brandane
Francisce Dominice Silvester Dunstane
Gregori Ieronime David Columbane
Frui digne facite me celesti pane

[71] pasci (?) *in marg.*
[72] corr. in MS
[73] for propellatis (?)

/fol. 134v/

Omnes sancti monachi simul et hermite
Sacerdotes dei doctores levite
Ad regnum suscipite me perhennis vite
Regnat ubi caritas et pax sine lite

Gloriosi martires atque confessores
Cherubyn et seraphyn throni celsiores
Omnes sancti celici sole clariores
Mei contra zabulon sitis adnitores

Maria de Magdalo dicta Magdalena
Katerina Brigida Lucia Serena
Praxedis Scolastica vestra prece plena
Christus michi gaudia praestet et amena

Christiana Felicitas Agnes Margareta
Fides Anastasia Petronilla Leta
Caritas spes castitas clara Frideswyde
Favete cum venerit michi mortis meta

Omnes sancte virgines vestram per precamen
Meorum peccaminum senciam levamen
Quod pater et filius atque sacrum flamen
In celis me collocent cum beatis amen

[Prayer]

Domine Ihesu Christi fili dei vivi concede michi misero peccatori, ut in fine vite mee corpus tuum sacratissimum vere possim recognoscere, fideliter adorare, salubriter accipere. amen.

Appendix B

Ave plena gratia poli imperatrix

WC48 fol. 128r-129v

Ave plena gratia poli imperatrix
Pelle precor uicia nostra mediatrix
Excute deformia turpium piatrix
Ne nos fallat hostis[74] viva gubernatrix[75]

Gaude mundo gaudium pariens maria
Stella navigancium pura maris via
Placa mater filium prece tua pia
Pacem vitam gaudium nobis haec da tria

/fol. 128v/
Nostra que diceris torrens puritatis
Stilla rorem miseris tue pietatis
Ne squalore canceris huius pravitatis
Devient a superis viis equitatis

Plena dei gratia mater illibata
Tolle quicquid gloria constitit elata
Quicquid iracundia profert inflammata
Quicquid consciam nutrit toxicata

Rex qui regit omnia dominus regnorum
In te sponsa regia preelegit chorum

[74] corr. in MS
[75] corr. in MS

Deprecare gaudia mater gaudiorum
Nobis et supplicia pelle delictorum

Tecum benignissima parens habitavit
Morte qui durissima captos relevavit
Manu potentissima mortis feras stravit
Vite clementissima suos liberavit

Benedicta civium heres supernorum
Extirpare cordium vicia nostrorum
Dolos infestancium pelle malignorum
Pacem da fidelium poli beatorum

Tui pudoris lilium recens et flos florum
Decus continencium papilla parvulorum
Splendor deviancium mater proscriptorum
Audi vota flencium culpas conmissorum

/fol. 129r/
Fulget in te iugiter forma puritatis
fferuet sed hoc leviter auctor caritatis
Requiescit dulciter sapor pietatis
Sublevando fortiter pressos a peccatis

Virgo mulieribus luces ut lucerna
Prebens deviantibus monita materna
ut a pravis actibus tendant ad eterna
Et a mundi fluctibus pergant ad superna

Salve sole clarior mater et puella
Cunctis sanctis sanctior uerbi dei cella

Astris cunctis purior pura maris stella
Thure dulci dulcior regia ficella

Benedictus omnium rector supernorum
Delegavit nuncium forte angelorum
Ave decus gencium decus terrenorum
Parie[n]s enim filium ducem celicorum

Ventris fructus oritur ex te radix mera
versa vice pascitur de te vitis vera
mundo salus redditur per te lux scincera
Te prestante territur infernalis fera

Gaude ventris viscera servans cum pudore
iuva nos puerpera pietatis more
Exeundo dextera de draconis ore
Vite confer munera mentis cum decore

/fol. 129v/
Salve salus omnium mater sublimata
Acta pelle criminum fraude perpetrata
Tui iubar virginum servi memorata
Veniam peccaminum impetra beata

Pro defunctis filia peto salvatoris
Esto reis gloria in valle doloris
Ducens ad palacia veri creatoris
Amen dicat curia pie redemptoris.

Appendix C

Salve sancta femina salus infirmorum

WC48 fol. 148v-149r

Salve sancta femina salus infirmorum
Salve lux oxonie mater clericorum
Salve flos mundicie forma perfectorum
Salve gemma glorie consors beatorum
Salve nimpha pertriunpha virgo valde fida
Salve rosa speciosa felix Frediswyda

Salve virgo tociens quot sunt campi flores
Quot in celis presidens sanctis dat honores
Quot includit accidens gradus aut colores
Quot producit occidens ventosve vapores
Salve clara salve cara dulcis et amena
Salve pura creatura felix filomena

Dona michi graciam virgo te laudare
Utinam sufficiam parum suspirare
Prothdolor deficiam scio causam quare /fol. 149r/
Quia ligat animam crimen heu amare
Ergo mentem insolentem virgo sic reformes
Emendatam emundatam christo quo conformes

Heu quid tibi supplico gravis tam peccator
Putridus homuncio falsus fornicator
Ecce plenus vicio sum prevaricator
Meo tamen modulo tuus sum amator

Plus amantem quam errantem ergo contempleris
Et errorem in amorem ducere digneris

Scio quod sis nobilis radix amorosa
Nec amantem despicis cum sis generosa
Ergo fac in singulis sit mens uirtuosa
Tibi quod placabilis sit hec mea prosa
Vellem vere complacere tibi flos benigna
Iuva motum et me totum curas a ruina

Ad hoc virgo nobilis deus te creavit
Et in vita meritis tantis decoravit
Ac in fine loculis istis te locavit
Quod sis nobis miseris quasi turris David
Ergo clero vulgo vero virgo sis patrona
Nos conducas et inducas celceque corona. Amen. Ora pro nobis beate
Frediswyda

Appendix D

Ave corpus christi carum

WC 48 fol. 142v

Ave corpus christi carum
Passum tormen hoc amarum
Noxas tollens seculi

Ave spinis coronatum
Vinctum sputum flagellatum
Pro salute populi

Ave sanguis preciose
Qui emanans graciose
Salvatoris latere

Ave ihesu cruentate
Clavis manus perforate
Hoc nos salvans munere

Ave pedum vulnus durum
Quod cruorem fundis purum
Limpha mixta flumine

Per has penas quas tulisti
Serva tua quos fecisti
Repletos dulcedine

Behind the Bishop's Back. The Middle and Lower Clergy in Late Antiquity

Papers collected by the *Presbyters in the Late Antique West* Project

Edited by Robert Wiśniewski

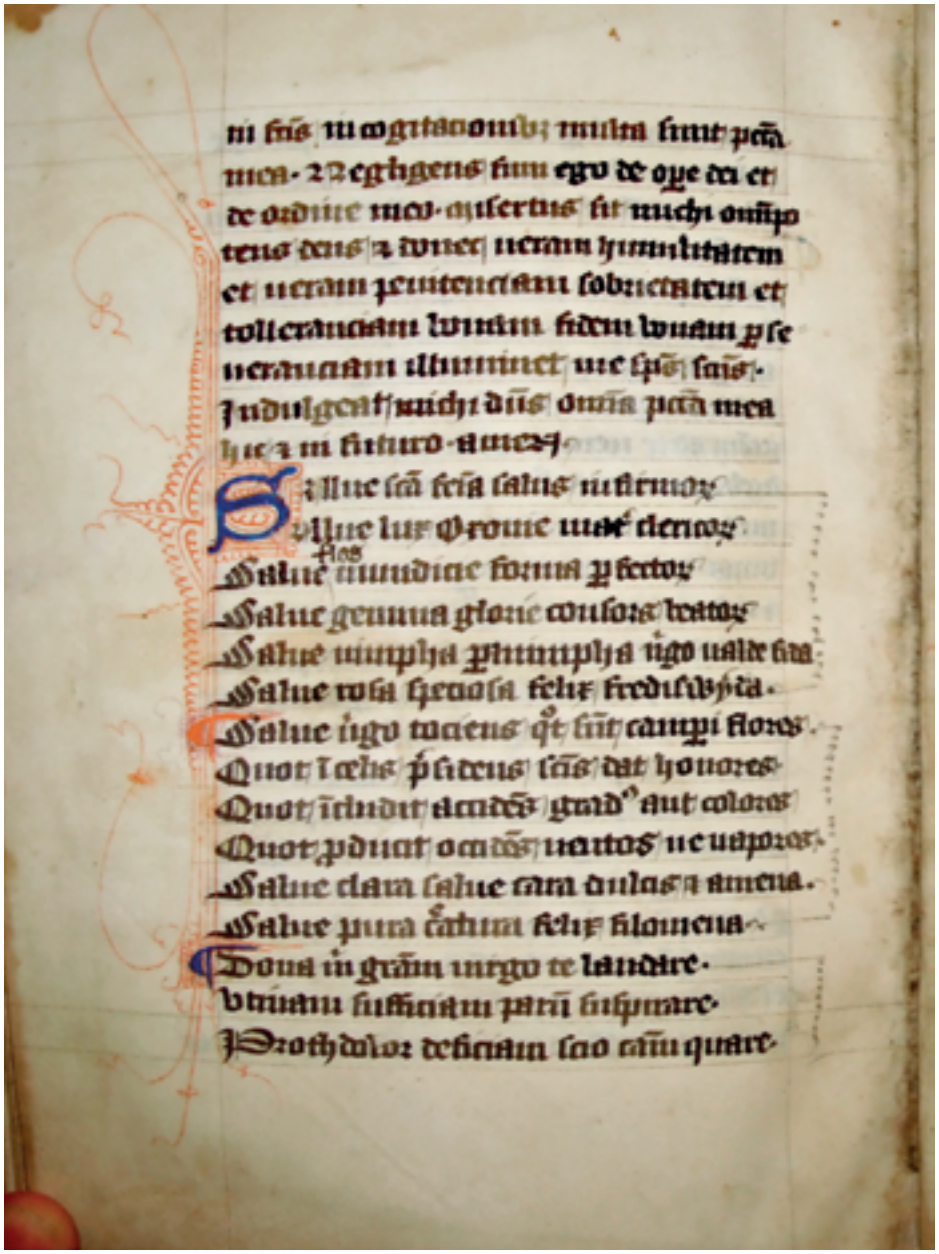

Plate 1: Winchester College MS48, fol. 148v
By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College

Plate 2: Winchester College MS48, fol. 60r
By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College

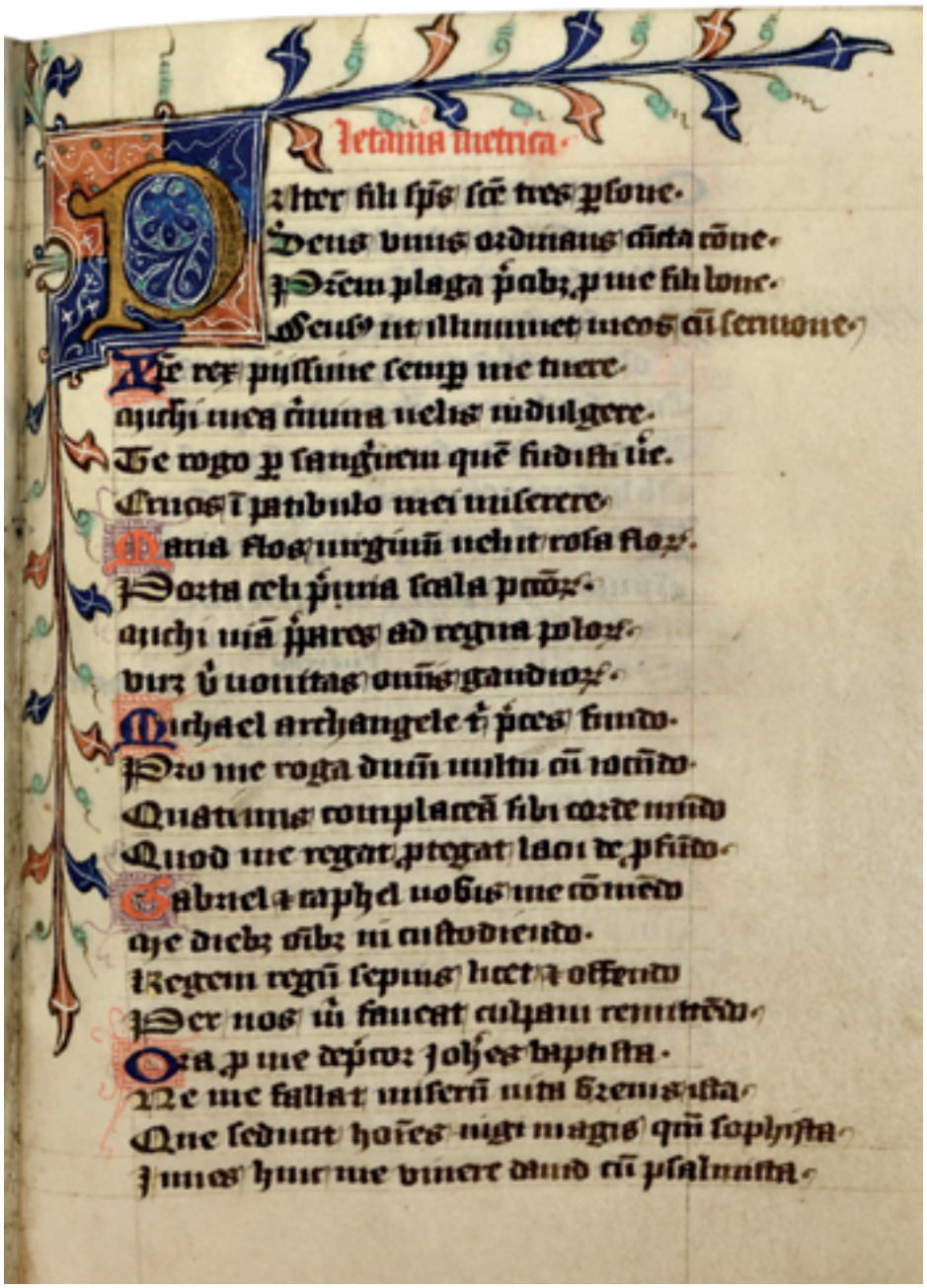

Plate 3: Winchester College MS48, fol. 133r
By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College

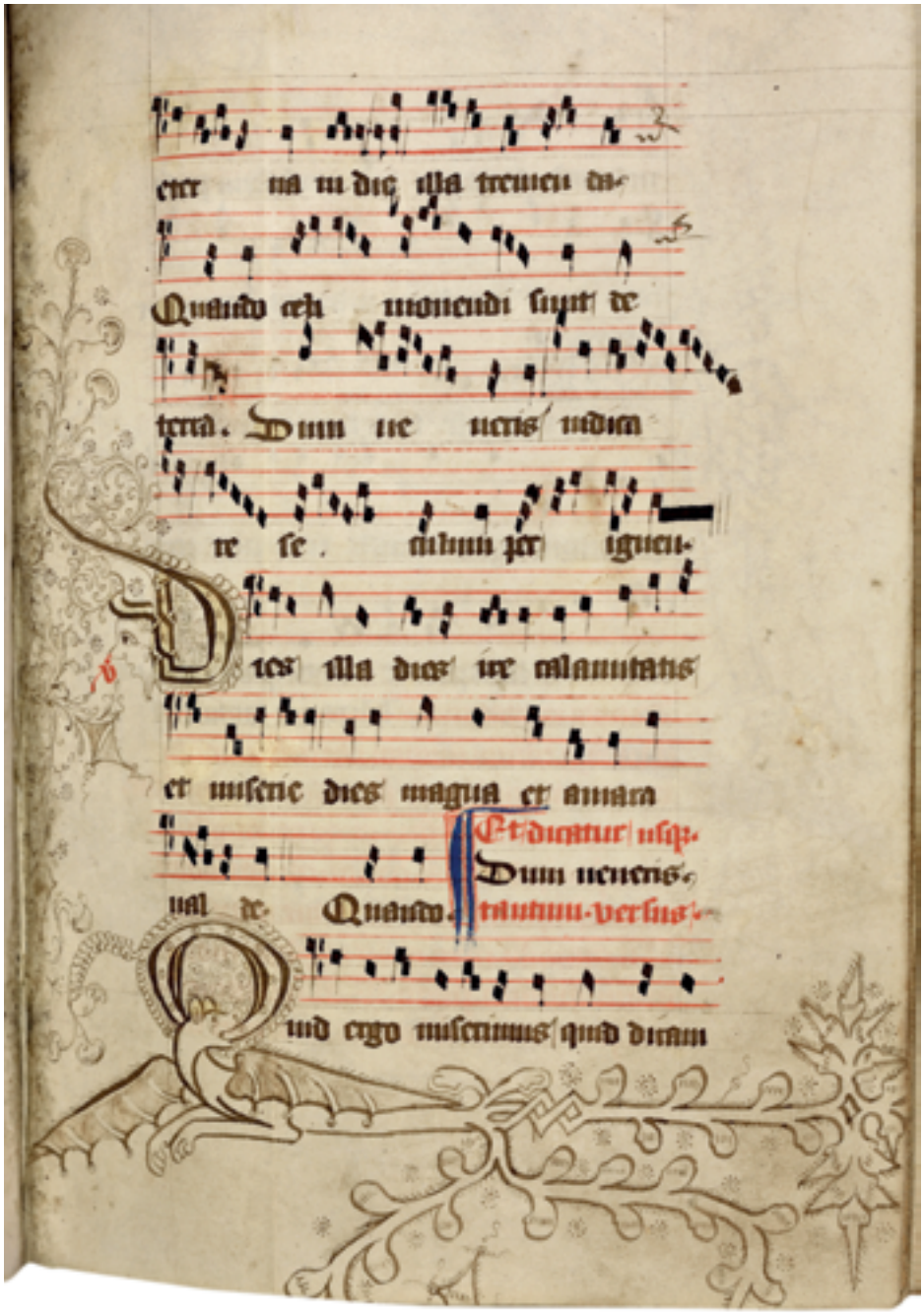

Plate 4: Winchester College MS48, fol. 86r
By permission of the Warden and Scholars of Winchester College

Introduction

Robert Wiśniewski
(*Warsaw*)

The following seven articles submitted to this volume have been authored by the participants of the sessions which the *Presbyters in the Late Antique West* Project organized in 2018 at the International Congress of Medieval Studies.[1] Those of us who then gathered in Kalamazoo work on different regions, periods, and aspects of Late Antiquity, but they share an interest in the complicated and yet fascinating history of the clergy. Usually, such interest is focused on the bishops, who were certainly the most important, powerful, and active members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and about whom our evidence tells us much more than about their subordinates. However, in the period we are dealing with in these articles, between the fourth and seventh centuries, the bishops were not the only actors in Christian communities. At their side, in most regions of Christendom presbyters celebrated the Eucharist, administered penance, preached, consecrated virgins, administered church property, and supervised lower clerical staff. Moreover, while in the third century every member of a local church had direct contact with the bishop, by the end of the seventh century, presbyters were the only *sacerdotes* that most average Christians were able to meet. They became the main workforce of the church. Despite the shortages of our evidence the history of these people can be written. The trail has been already blazed, especially for the East. In a wide and most interesting study of the clergy in Asia Minor Sabine Hübner showed the social background, resources, and diverse motives which made people enter the ranks of the clergy.[2] Similar studies based on the rich evidence from Egypt had been carried out by Ewa Wipszycka.[3] Thus for two large and important regions of the eastern Mediterranean the work is quite advanced. As for the West, a substantial study on diverse aspects of the life and function of the presbyters in Gaul in the Merovingian period has been published by Robert Godding.[4] Gregor Predel focused on the process of "sacerdolisation" (*Sacerdotalisierung*) of the presbyters, but, once again, limited his research to

[1] The project and the meeting have been supported by the National Science Centre (Poland) Grant 2013/10/E/HS3/00202.

[2] S. Hübner, *Der Klerus in der Gesellschaft des spätantiken Kleinasiens*, Stuttgart, 2005.

[3] E. Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church: People and Institutions*, Warsaw, 2015.

[4] R. Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, Brussels, 2001.

Gaul.[5] There are obviously other studies, dealing with specific issues, but in all there is still work to be done, especially if we want to figure out how local clergy functioned as a social group.

The seven articles aim to contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which the church was organised and functioned "behind the bishop's back". These ways, obviously, differed, especially in different moments and regions, and the studies from this section do not aim to paint a full picture of this phenomenon. They focus largely on the Latin West, although here and there the purview is widened and includes the Greek part of Christendom. But they also show that problems with running the local church and its clergy were common to various regions: if there were any clerical groups in late antique Christian communities which lived in perfect harmony, we can hardly see them in our sources. Rather, the evidence shows us that the harmony was usually difficult to achieve and maintain, the priestly authority was endangered and contested, and the ecclesiastical structure evolved to cope with these problems. These difficulties and challenges are a leading thread of this set of articles.

In the first of them, David G. Hunter studies a specific moment in the history of the Church of Rome, when, during the episcopacy of Damasus, the authority of the clergy was jeopardized because of the widespread opinion that clerics are not fully up to moral standards. Two authors deal with clerics in the monastic milieu, showing how challenging it was for a monastic superior to have a presbyter in his (Jerzy Szafranowski) or her (Juliette Day) community, and how these challenges were addressed by daily administration of the monastery or by structural changes in its functioning. Raúl Villegas Marin studies the relationships between clerics and monks from the opposite end, showing that the latter, when entering ranks of the clergy, were not necessarily welcomed with much enthusiasm by their non-monastic colleagues. Robert Wiśniewski deals with the order of precedence among holders of the same clerical grade and some problems which this order solved (or caused). Rebecca Devlin studies tensions between local presbyters and bishops, busily building their power in Visigothic Spain, while Thomas Deswarte takes a closer look at lower grades of an ideal clerical hierarchy which Isidore of Seville tried to construct in the same region and period.

Needless to say, these articles, either focused on a very specific time and place, or seeking to follow a wider phenomenon, do not pretend to cover the entire field of research. But they can bring us closer to understanding how late antique churches functioned on a daily basis.

[5] G. Pradel, *Vom Presbyter zum Sacerdos: historische und theologische Aspekte der Entwicklung der Leitungsverantwortung und Sacerdotalisierung des Presbyterates im spätantiken Gallien*, Munster, 2005.

Ambrosiaster and Damasus: A Presbyter's Perspective on Clerical Misconduct

David G. Hunter
(*Boston College, Chestnut Hill*)

In memoriam Marianne Sághy

During the past few years, largely in connection with the "Presbyters in the Late Antique West" project, I have explored different aspects of the status and identity of presbyters, in so far as these can be gleaned from the writings of Ambrosiaster. This anonymous author, who produced a *Commentary on the Epistles of Paul* and a collection of *Questions on the Old and New Testaments*, was active at Rome during the pontificate of Damasus (366-384), almost certainly during the latter part of his reign.[1] Ambrosiaster is a rich and largely unexplored resource for reconstructing a presbyter's perspective on the inner dynamics of the Roman church.[2] In this essay I will examine yet another side of clerical life on which he sheds light: namely, the misconduct of the clergy.

Ambrosiaster's thoughts on the clergy were innovative, and they have received lucid treatment both from Maurice Bévenot and, more recently, from Sophie Lunn-Rockliffe.[3] But neither devoted much attention to the context within which Ambrosiaster lived and wrote.[4] This is the topic I

[1] Ambrosiaster explicitly stated both that his location was in Rome and that Damasus was bishop (*rector*) of the church there. For a general introduction to Ambrosiaster, see D. G. Hunter, "The Significance of Ambrosiaster", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 17 (2009), pp. 1-26.

[2] During the 2016 International Medieval Congress in Leeds, I examined Ambrosiaster's discussion of tensions between presbyters and deacons, as these were evident in his *quaestio*, "Concerning the Boasting of the Roman Deacons", now published as "Rivalry between Presbyters and Deacons in the Roman Church: Three Notes on Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and *The Boasting of the Roman Deacons*", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 71 (2017), pp. 495-510. At the Leeds conference in 2017 I discussed Ambrosiaster's views on the monetary compensation of the clergy.

[3] M. Bévenot, "Ambrosiaster's Thoughts on Christian Priesthood", *Heythrop Journal*, 18 (1977), pp. 152-164; S. Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 106-126.

[4] In a later essay, however, Lunn-Rockliffe offered substantial reflections on the anti-Donatist and anti-Novatianist aspects of one of Ambrosiaster's *quaestiones*. See her "Bishops

will address here. My central argument is that Ambrosiaster's comments on the moral status of ordained clergy (especially presbyters and bishops) were influenced by crises in the church of Rome during the pontificate of Damasus. First, I will review some of the relevant observations of Ambrosiaster regarding the moral failings of clergy and then I will examine some aspects of clerical life during Damasus's reign that shed light on these observations. The writings of Ambrosiaster provide a unique perspective on a troubled period in the history of the church in Rome and reveal the efforts of one well-placed clergyman to defend the prerogatives of the clergy in the face of their misconduct.

1. Ambrosiaster and the Problem of Clerical Misconduct

One of the unique and most influential features of Ambrosiaster's treatment of the priesthood (*sacerdotium*), which he attributed both to presbyters and to bishops,[5] was the notion that a *sacerdos* is always a representative, that is, a *legatus* or *vicarius*, of a higher power. In one place he even described Christ and the Holy Spirit as *sacerdotes*, *legati*, and *vicarii* of God the Father.[6] He also described secular rulers as *vicarii dei*, in contrast to church rulers who were portrayed as *vicarii Christi* or *vicarii domini*.[7] Ambrosiaster employed the same notion of representation when he addressed the problem of the morality of the clergy. For example, when commenting on a passage from 1 Timothy 5:19 ("Do not admit a charge against a presbyter"),[8] Ambrosiaster observed:

on the Chair of Pestilence: Ambrosiaster's Polemical Exegesis of Psalm 1.1", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 19 (2011), pp. 79-99.

[5] The idea was innovative. See *Commentarius in epistulam ad Timotheum primam* 3:8-10, ed. by H. J. Vogels, Vienna, 1969 (*CSEL*, 81/3), p. 367; also *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* 101.5, ed. by A. Souter, Vienna, 1905 (*CSEL*, 50), p. 196.

[6] *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* 109.21 (*CSEL*, 50), p. 268: "Christus autem vicarius patris est et antestes ac per hoc dicitur et sacerdos. Similiter et spiritus sanctus missus quasi antestes sacerdos appellatus est excelsi dei ... sacerdotes igitur vel legati ideo dicuntur, quia illum in se ostendunt cuius legati sunt; sunt enim eius imago".

[7] *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* 106.17 (*CSEL*, 50), p. 243: "Haec ergo imago dei est in homine, ut unus factus sit quasi dominus, ex quo ceteri orirentur, habens imperium dei quasi vicarius eius, quia omnis rex dei habet imaginem". Cf. *Commentarius in epistulam ad Corinthios primam* 11:8, ed. by H. J. Vogels, Vienna, 1968 (*CSEL*, 81/2), p. 123: "Quasi ergo ante iudicem sic ante sacerdotem, quia vicarius domini est, propter reatus originem subiecta debet videri".

[8] The rest of the verse, "except on the testimony of two or three witnesses", was omitted by Ambrosiaster and may have been missing in his Old Latin version of 1 Timothy. Cf. B. M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, 2nd ed., New York, 2001, p. 575: "These words, found in all extant manuscripts of the passage, were absent from some

> Because the honor of this office is exalted – for men of this rank are vicars of Christ – for this reason an accusation against this person should not be easily received. For it should seem implausible that a man who is the representative (*antistes*) of God would be engaged in criminal behavior, just as it is quite plausible that an actor would live a disreputable life.[9]

It is clear that Ambrosiaster had a rather exalted notion of the status of clergy. He followed the lead of the Pauline text, but interpreted it in the light of his understanding of priesthood, namely that is, in matters of accusation against the clergy, benefit of doubt should be given to clergymen because of their status as *vicarii* and *antistes* of God.

Nevertheless, as he proceeded to the next verse in his commentary, Ambrosiaster acknowledged that the text admitted the possibility of a clergyman acting immorally. Commenting on 1 Timothy 5:20 ("As for those who persist in sin, rebuke them in the presence of all, so that the rest may also stand in fear"), Ambrosiaster noted:

> Although one should not easily believe a charge made against a presbyter, yet if it is proven or if it is obvious that he has engaged in inappropriate conduct, Paul commands that he be publicly rebuked, so that others may be struck with fear. This is beneficial not only for the ordained, but also for the laity. For when they see that a man of prominence is rebuked for his error, it is necessary that they should take this as a warning for themselves.[10]

Thus far, Ambrosiaster has stayed very close to the Pauline text. On the one hand, his elevated sense of clerical office echoed Paul's admonition to presume the innocence of the clergy, at least until they were proven guilty; on the other hand, he acknowledged the possibility of sin, even public sin, among the clergy, and he found reason to endorse the apostle's advice to rebuke ordained ministers for the benefit of the community.

Latin manuscripts known to Jerome, and perhaps also from the copies used by Cyprian and Ambrosiaster, who quote no farther than παραδέχου".

[9] *Commentarius in epistulam ad Timotheum primam* 5:19 (*CSEL*, 81/3), p. 284: "*Adversum presbyterum accusationem ne receperis.* Quoniam huius ordinis sublimis honor est – huiusmodi enim vicarii Christi sunt –, idcirco non facile de hac persona accusatio debet admitti. Incredibile enim debet videri istum, qui dei antistes est, criminose versatum, sicut credibile est scenicum esse turpissimum".

[10] *Commentarius in epistulam ad Timotheum primam* 5:20 (*CSEL*, 81/3), p. 285: "*Delinquentes autem coram omnibus argue, ut ceteri metum habeant*. Quomodo non facile credi debet de presbytero crimen, si probetur tamen aut sit manifestum, quia inreverenter versatus est, publice praecipit arguendum, ut ceteri terreantur; quod non solum ordinatis proficit, sed et plebeis (plebi). Quando enim vident dignitosum virum erroris causa corripi, necesse est ut sibi caveant".

But there is another place in Ambrosiaster's commentary on First Timothy where he seems to go beyond the strict letter of the biblical text and to reveal his own concerns about a problem within the clergy. Commenting on verses 9 and 10 of 1 Timothy 6, which treat the issue of wealth in rather general terms, Ambrosiaster applied the text specifically to the life of the *ecclesiasticus*, that is, to the person placed in a clerical office. The biblical text reads: "But those who want to become rich fall into temptation, into a snare, and into many senseless and harmful desires that plunge people into ruin and destruction. For the love of money is the root of all evils, and in their eagerness to be rich some have wandered away from the faith and pierced themselves with many pains". Rather than apply these verses to the faithful in general, as he did with the immediately preceding verses, Ambrosiaster suggested that they were especially applicable to the clergy:

> Nothing is so terrible and so pernicious as when a church official, especially one in high office, lusts for the riches of this world, since he becomes an obstacle not only to himself, but also to others. He gives people a bad example; it necessarily happens that many follow him into perdition. The greater the esteem in which he is held because of his office, the more he persuades others to imitate him, especially in this matter which in this life is so perilous. For avarice can be the beginning of all kinds of evil. That is why it is *the root of all evils*: because in order to satisfy its desires – which is impossible – it commits wickedness, homicide, unchastity, and every sort of crime, and it is not satisfied in the present life, because it is always desirous, and in the future it is condemned.[11]

Several aspects of this passage are noteworthy. First, as I have noted, Ambrosiaster went out of his way (and beyond the biblical text) to focus on the danger of avarice especially for someone in the higher ranks of the clergy. Second, he specified some of the evils to which the love of money might lead: *maleficia*, which I have translated as "wickedness", but which

[11] *Commentarius in epistulam ad Timotheum primam* 6:9-10 (*CSEL*, 81/3), p. 290: "*Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in temptationem et laqueum et desideria multa et inutilia et nociva, quae demergunt homines in exitium et in interitum. Radix enim omnium malorum est avaritia, quam quidam adpetentes erraverunt a fide et inseruerunt se doloribus multis.* 1. Nihil tam asperum tamque periculosum (perniciosum) est, quam si ecclesiasticus, maxime qui sublimis loci est, divitiis huius saeculi studeat, quia non solum sibi ipsi, sed et ceteris obest. Contrariam enim formam dat hominibus; necesse est enim multos imitatores eius existere ad perditionem. 2. Quanto enim honorificentior ordine est, tanto magis suadet imitandum se, maxime in hac re, quae in ista vita proclivis est; avaritia enim omnia mala potest admittere. Ideo radix omnium malorum est, quia, ut desideria sua expleant, quod inpossibile est, et maleficia et homicidia et obscenitatem et quicquid sceleris est perpetrat nec ad praesens secura, quia semper cupida, et futuro damnata".

could refer specifically to fraud or even to sorcery; *homicidia*, or murder; and *obscenitas*, which most likely refers to some form of sexual impurity. As we will see below, all of these vices – avarice, homicide, and sexual immorality – were charges that were directed against the Roman clergy during the pontificate of Damasus, and even against Damasus himself. For now, however, it is sufficient to note that Ambrosiaster seems to have been concerned about the problem of avarice, especially among clergy of high position, and about the scandalous impact of this vice on other Christians.

There is yet another feature of Ambrosiaster's discussion of clergy that is relevant to the issue of clerical misconduct. He pioneered the idea, later popularized by Augustine, that a clergyman's ritual actions were valid and efficacious, even if he was morally corrupt.

This, of course, was the question at the root of the Donatist controversy, which arose in North Africa in the early fourth century, although emphasis on the moral purity of the clergy was also a prominent feature of the Novatianist communities, which were active at Rome in the late fourth century. Ambrosiaster attacked both Donatists and Novatianists in his writings, often together,[12] and he also composed a lengthy *quaestio* against Novatian's view of the purity of the church, in which he developed the theory of priestly authority to which I have referred.[13] The presence of both Donastists and Novatianists at Rome must have been one factor that led Ambrosiaster to emphasize that the ritual efficacy of a priest's actions did not depend on his personal holiness.

But for the purpose of my argument here, it is significant that Ambrosiaster developed this view not only in his writings specifically directed against Donatists and Novatianists, but in other contexts as well without any reference to Donatists and Novatianists. For example, in his commentary on 2 Timothy 1:9 ("God called us with a holy calling, not in virtue of our works but in virtue of his own purpose and the grace which he gave us in Christ Jesus ages ago"), Ambrosiaster noted that, although the man chosen to govern the church is chosen to be a *dux sanctitatis*, "no one can be seen to be worthy to be a vicar of Christ, for all of those whom God chose were

[12] See, for example, *Commentarius in epistulam ad Corinthios primam* 14:16 (*CSEL*, 81/3), pp. 11-12, where Ambrosiaster stated that the Christian factions at Corinth that Paul encountered were like the Novatianists and Donatists in his own day: "Sic enim erant sicut nunc Novatiani et Donatiani, qui baptismum sibi vindicant, a nostris baptizatos reprobantes".

[13] Lunn-Rockliffe has persuasively demonstrated that Ambrosiaster's exegetical comments on the *cathedra pestilentiae* of Psalm 1:1 had in view Claudian, the contemporary Donatist bishop of Rome, as well as the Novatianist clergy. See the article cited in note 4 above. For Ambrosiaster's use of the "ex opere operato" argument, see *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* 102.31 (*CSEL* 50), pp. 223-224.

previously sinners". While compared to other persons, some clergy might be found worthy; in respect to the matter itself, everyone is unworthy.[14]

Similarly, in a note on 1 Corinthians 12:4 ("There are varieties of gifts, but the same Spirit"), Ambrosiaster observed that church offices, like the gifts of the Holy Spirit, are "not to be attributed to human merits, but to the grace of God for the glorification of his name":

> For just as the person who says "Jesus is Lord" speaks in the Holy Spirit, no matter what kind of person he is, so too the person who has been placed in the order of an ecclesiastical office possesses grace, whatever sort of person he is, although the grace is not his own, but belongs to the office through the agency of the Holy Spirit.[15]

In his Pauline commentary Ambrosiaster shows that he was keenly aware that clerical office and moral purity did not always go hand in hand, and he appears to have taken care to emphasize that the foundation of clerical or priestly authority is the grace of God and not the personal character of the minister.

A particularly telling example of this argument is found in his *Quaest.* 46, which discussed whether or not the biblical Samuel was a priest. Ambrosiaster argued here that a sharp distinction should be made between the personal holiness of the minister and the possession of church office:

> A prophet, even if he lives a holy life, cannot do what he knows he has not been authorized to do. For it is one thing to live a holy life and another to receive the power of some office. For just as a priest ought not to think that his way of life is approved by virtue of his office, so too the person whose behavior and life are holy ought not to claim the priesthood because of that.[16]

[14] *Commentarius in epistulam ad Timotheum secundam* 1:9 (*CSEL*, 81/3), p. 299: "*Et vocavit vocatione sancta*. Vocatio sancta est, cum electi sunt ad gubernandum populum sanctum dei; ad sanctam autem sine dubio vocatur, qui dux sanctitatis eligitur (eligitur sanctitatis). *Non secundum meritum nostrum*. Verum est quia, si ad liquidum quaeras, nullus hominum dignus potest videri vicarius esse Christi; omnes enim quos elegit prius fuerant peccatores. Quantum ergo ad conparationem ceterorum pertinet, hi digni inventi sunt, quantum vero (ergo) ad rem ipsam, omnes indigni sunt".

[15] *Commentarius in epistulam ad Corinthios primam* 12:4 (*CSEL*, 81/2), pp. 132-133: "*Divisiones autem gratiarum sunt*. Non hoc humanis meritis vult adscribit [sicut dixit], sed gratiae dei ad honorificentiam nominis eius. Sicut enim qui dicit dominum Iesum in spiritu sancto (sancto spiritu) dicit, qualisvis sit, ita et in loco ordinis officii ecclesiastici positus, gratiam habet, qualisvis sit, non utique propriam, sed ordinis per efficaciam spiritus sancti".

[16] *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* 46.7 (*CSEL*, 50), pp. 86-87: "... non tamen profeta, quamvis sanctae vitae sit, agere potest quod sibi scit minime esse concessum. Aliud est enim bene vivere et aliud potestatem alicuius officii accipere. Sicut enim, qui sacerdos est, non ex

Both in his Pauline commentary and in his *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti* Ambrosiaster seems to have been especially concerned to distinguish the authority of the *office* of the clergyman from the personal *holiness* of the clergyman. I suggest that the kinds of arguments Ambrosiaster is advancing would only have emerged in a context in which the authority of the higher clergy was threatened by the perception, if not the reality, of moral failure. While the presence of Donatists and Novatianists at Rome, along with their critique of the Catholic clergy, would have encouraged such arguments, I would like to suggest that there was another factor at work as well: Ambrosiaster's observation was also a commentary on the troubled pontificate of Damasus, which was a time of serious scandal and division within the church in Rome. In response to these crises, Ambrosiaster articulated a clear distinction between the authority of the priestly office and the claims of moral purity, a distinction that could preserve the authority of the office in the face of its moral failings.

2. Clerical Misconduct and the Pontificate of Damasus

We have many reasons to think that the late fourth century was not a happy time to be a clergyman in the city of Rome. The election of Damasus as bishop in 366 had been hotly contested and marred by sectarian violence; one hundred and thirty-seven people were killed in one clash between the supporters of Damasus and those of his rival, the deacon Ursinus, according to the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus.[17] As Marianne Sághy has argued, the opponents of Damasus may have had the upper hand, at least from a moral point of view. At least that is how they presented themselves. As Sághy has observed, "Ursinus, Damasus' erstwhile rival for the episcopacy, condemned the bishop for his being corrupted by the world, for his friendship with the secular authorities, and with women ... Austere and ascetical, the Ursinians cast themselves as the spotless, uncontaminated stock of Christians at Rome, uncorrupted by the world".[18]

eo vitam suam commendatam putare debet, ita et, qui sanctae conversationis et vitae est, non iam ex eo sibi sacerdotium vindicare debebit".

[17] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 27.3.11-13. On the conflict between Damasus and Ursinus, see J. Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 137-142; and M. Sághy, "*Scinditur in partes populus*: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome", *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), pp. 273-287, esp. 279-281.

[18] M. Sághy, "*Amator castitatis*: Pope Damasus and the Politics of Asceticism", *Studia Patristica*, 45 (2010): 49-53. The Ursinian perspective is represented in the document, "Quae gesta sunt inter Liberium et Felicem episcopos", preserved in the *Collectio Avellana* 1, ed. by O. Guenther, Vienna, 1895 (*CSEL*, 35/1), pp. 1-4. For a recent commentary on the *Collec-*

Damasus, by contrast, was dogged by serious accusations of corruption throughout his pontificate. In addition to murder, his Ursinian opponents accused him of gaining support by bribery, hiring gladiators, charioteers, and gravediggers to enforce his reign of terror.[19] Although the emperors sided with Damasus and Ursinus was exiled on several occasions, the followers of Ursinus continued to agitate on his behalf. They were responsible for bringing a capital charge against Damasus in the mid-370s, although it is not clear whether that charge was adultery, as stated by the *Liber pontificalis*, or something else.[20] As late as the year 383 or 384 two presbyters, Faustinus and Marcellinus, supporters of the dissident bishop Lucifer of Cagliari, petitioned the emperors with complaints of violent harassment by Damasus and his allies.[21] The petition received a favorable response from Theodosius, who offered protection to the dissident presbyters.[22]

In addition to these offenses, the pontificate of Damasus also was noted for luxury and avarice among the clergy. Reports of Roman clerics clamoring for the legacies of wealthy widows led to the imposition of several imperial sanctions, both during the reign of Damasus and shortly afterwards. One of these decrees was addressed specifically to Damasus by the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian in 370, forbidding clergymen to visit women, if their relatives objected, and banning clergy from accepting legacies from women.[23] Pagan critics of Christianity eagerly noted the foibles and moral failings of Christian clergymen. According to Jerome, when Pope Damasus urged the pagan Prefect of the City, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, to convert to Christianity, Praetextatus quipped: "Make

tio Avellana, see the collection of essays edited by R. Lizzi Testa, "La *Collectio Avellana* fra Tardoantico e Alto Medioevo", *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 39/1 (2018), pp. 9-297.

[19] *Collectio Avellana* 1.7, "Quae gesta sunt inter Liberium et Felicem episcopos" (*CSEL*, 35/1), p. 3: "Tunc Damasus cum perfidis invitat arenarios quadrigarios et fossores omnemque clerum cum securibus gladiis et fustibus et obsedit basilicam hora diei secunda septimo Kalendarum Novembrium die Gratiano et Dagalaifo conss. Et grave proelium concitavit".

[20] According to the document, *Hoc gloriae vestrae* 8, *PL* 13, col. 580, a letter of a council at Rome addressed to Gratian and Valentinian, the Ursinian faction recruited Isaac the Jew to seek the capital charge. The entry on Damasus in the *Liber pontificalis* specifies adultery, but does not mention Isaac. See the discussion in Lunn-Rockliffe, *Ambrosiaster's Political Theology*, 35-36.

[21] See the *Libellus precum* of the Luciferian leaders Marcellinus and Faustus, preserved in the *Collectio Avellana* 2 (*CSEL*, 35/1), pp. 5-44, together with the reply of Valentinian, Theodosius, and Arcadius in *Collectio Avellana* 2a (*CSEL*, 35/1), pp. 45-46.

[22] On Marcellinus, see entry 2356 in *Fasti Sacerdotum: A Prosopography of Pagan, Jewish, and Christian Religious Officials in the City of Rome, 300 BC to AD 499*, ed. by J. Rüpke and A. Glock, Oxford, 2008, p. 785; on Faustinus, see entry 1612, pp. 678-679.

[23] *Codex Theodosianus* 16.2.20, issued by Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, dated 370, and addressed to Damasus. See the similar decree at *Codex Theodosianus* 16.2.27.

me bishop of Rome, and I'll become a Christian at once".[24] Once again Ammianus provided an ironical perspective on the luxurious tastes of the Christian clergy at Rome:

> Bearing in mind the ostentation in city life, I do not deny that those who are desirous of such a thing ought to struggle with the exercise of all their strength to gain what they seek; for when they attain it, they will be so free from care that they are enriched from the offerings of matrons, ride seated in carriages, wearing clothing chosen with care, and serve banquets so lavish that their entertainments outdo the tables of kings.[25]

Ammianus went on to express his regret that the Roman clergy did not live in the manner of some provincial bishops, whose moderation in food, clothing, and demeanor distinguished them as God's true servants.[26]

But pagan critics, such as Praetextatus and Ammianus, were not the only ones to disparage the Roman clergy in the days of Ambrosiaster. During his stay at Rome in the years 382-385, the ascetic teacher Jerome denounced clerical conduct in even harsher terms than those of Ammianus. Jerome's notorious diatribes against the Roman clergy scandalized his contemporaries and were certainly a factor in his expulsion from the city by the Roman clergy shortly after the death of Damasus.[27] In his famous Letter 22 to the virgin Eustochium, composed in 384, Jerome had pointed the finger at clergy in Rome mocking their penchant for luxury:

> There are others (I am speaking of men of my own order) who are ambitious of obtaining the priesthood and the deaconate, that they may be able to visit women more freely. All they care about is dress: if they are well perfumed, if their shoes are not baggy because of a loose fold of leather. Their locks show traces of the curling iron, their fingers gleam with rings, and they take little mincing steps so that the wet streets may not bespatter their feet.[28]

Jerome went on to ridicule one specific clergyman who remained unnamed and whom he portrayed as a hater of chastity and fasting (*huic inimica castitas, inimica ieiunia*). The old man rose early each day to stick his head

[24] Jerome, *Contra Joannem Hierosolymitanum* 8, *PL* 23, col. 377.

[25] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 27.3.14; trans. J. C. Rolfe, *Ammianus Marcellinus: History*, vol. 3 (Loeb Classical Library, 300), p. 21.

[26] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae* 27.3.15.

[27] On the circumstances of Jerome's expulsion from Rome, see my discussion in *Marriage, Celibacy, and Heresy in Ancient Christianity: The Jovinianist Controversy*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 208-211.

[28] Jerome, *Ep.* 22.28.3-4, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna, 1910 (*CSEL* 54), p. 185; trans. C. C. Mierow, *The Letters of St. Jerome*, vol. 1 (Ancient Christian Writers, 33), p. 162.

into the bedrooms of married women and extort from them an attractive cushion or elegant table cover. These women, Jerome tells us, are afraid to deny him what he wants because he is such a notorious gossip. The language of the man is harsh and abusive. He indulges a taste for sleek spirited horses, and so on.

We might be tempted not to take such Jerome's satire very seriously. In a culture where rhetorical excess was commonplace in public discourse, we might assume that Jerome's antics did not make much of an impression. But this is a temptation we must resist. Jerome's attacks on the Roman clergy were remembered long after his departure from the city. Fifteen years later, around the year 400, in the midst of his bitter debate with Rufinus of Aquileia over the writings of Origen, Rufinus cited the passage I have just quoted as an example of Jerome's intemperate rhetoric. He also noted that Jerome's criticisms of the Roman clergy had encouraged hostile pagans to copy and to circulate Jerome's letter.[29] About the same time Jerome's ascetic ally, Sulpicius Severus, observed that most clerics hated Jerome "because he attacks their way of life and crimes".[30] The fact that both Jerome's friends and his enemies remembered and cited his attacks on the clergy is an index of the impact that these criticisms made in late fourth-century ecclesiastical circles.

This brings us back to Ambrosiaster. Jerome may have been an extremist, but his critique of clerical misconduct was symptomatic of deeper tensions between the traditional clerical orders and the new forms of ascetic and monastic life that were spreading in the west in the late fourth century. Monks were not without their critics, especially at a time when organized monastic communities were still a novelty in the west. But outstanding examples of ascetic renunciation – that is, the embrace of total sexual abstinence and the radical rejection of wealth and power – had begun to attract the attention and claim the allegiance of many Christians in the fourth century. This raised a profound question for the established clerical leadership. What was the basis of clerical authority and how could the clergy be defended against the charges of moral laxity, corruption, and assimilation to Roman culture – the charges that were directed against them by ascetics such as Jerome and that were so painfully evident in the papacy of Damasus?

Ambrosiaster's defense of the ritual authority of the clergy, based on their function as *vicarii*, *legati*, and *antistites*, that is, as "priests" (*sacerdotes*),

[29] Rufinus, *Apologia contra Hieronymum* 2.5, ed. by M. Simonetti, Turnhout, 1961 (*CCL*, 20), pp. 86-87.

[30] Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* 1.9, ed. by C. Halm, Vienna, 1866 (*CSEL*, 1), p. 161. In *Dial*. 1.21 Sulpicius again mentioned Jerome's attacks on the clergy.

appears to have been articulated in a context in which clerical misconduct was a serious problem, a context in which the moral stature of the bishop of Rome himself was widely questioned. As a presbyter dedicated to defending the institutional church, Ambrosiaster sought to ground the authority of the higher clergy in something more stable than the moral stature of any human being. Given the accusations against Damasus and the Roman clergy that were widely circulated, particularly regarding wealth and luxury, it is not surprising that Ambrosiaster should have emphasized that the love of money led to greater vices, such as violence, fraud, and sexual immorality. Whether or not he was alluding specifically to vices attributed to Damasus himself, it is clear that clerical misconduct – what was done "behind the bishop's back" or by the bishop himself – was a matter of concern to Ambrosiaster and shaped his account of priestly office in significant ways.

Summary

This essay examines the comments of the fourth-century Roman exegete, now called "Ambrosiaster", on the problem of misconduct of the clergy. In a manner that anticipated Augustine's arguments against the Donatists, Ambrosiaster argued that the authority of a church office could not be demeaned by the misconduct of any individual cleric. I argue that one context of Ambrosiaster's thinking on the problem of clerical misconduct was the troubled pontificate of Damasus and the numerous criticisms of the clergy that emerged at this time.

David G. Hunter
Boston College
david.hunter.2@bc.edu

Presbyters in Late Antique Women's Monasteries: Roles, Responsibilities and Conflicts

Juliette J. Day
(*Helsinki*)

1. Introduction

The literature of monasticism in late antiquity presents, as an ideal, the strict separation of men and women; however, in women's communities exceptions were generally made for two categories of men: workmen and presbyters.[1] Additionally, the sources indicate that the women's community was led by an autonomous female leader, normally chosen by the women themselves, whose authority extended to all areas of community life. A presbyter was obviously required to celebrate the Eucharist or provide already consecrated bread and wine, but as there was no established consensus about whether he also exercised leadership in spiritual or practical matters conflict with the female superior might ensue. The superior and the presbyter relied upon quite different sources of authority: for the superior, her authority was given by the community itself, whereas the presbyter was often under the authority of another, such as a male monastic leader, a bishop, or the monastery's patron. Even his episcopal ordination situated him within a hierarchical ecclesial structure which did not pertain in the women's monastery.

Although women's monasteries would have required the occasional presence of a presbyter, it is remarkable how rarely they are mentioned. The evidence we rely upon here could be described as "anecdotal" – that is, descriptions of relationships and incidents embedded in narratives, biographies and letters in which they may be only a minor theme. Additionally, the topic is touched upon in some monastic regulations among wide-ranging instructions for the ordering of the community. Many of these anecdotes and rules indicate that conflict between a presbyter and the supe-

[1] For the Pachomian women's monastery, see S. Elm, *'Virgins of God': The Making of Asceticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 1994, pp. 294-295; the same regulations are present in Caesarius of Arles, *Regula sanctarum virginum* 36.

rior could and did happen, especially where the proper jurisdiction of each role was not clearly defined or had been transgressed. It is not the type or location of the monastery which necessarily results in either harmony or discord between the presbyter and superior, but rather the type of relationships between male and female monastic leaders: harmony is evident where the roles of each are clear; discord when there is infringement of the jurisdiction of one or the other, or from ascetic anxiety about gender segregation, and of course personality must also have played a part.

2. Creating Harmonious Relationships between Presbyter and Superior

There was not always a conflict of roles in the monasteries, and this seems to have been especially the case when the female superior's authority was not challenged by the ecclesial and sacramental authority of the presbyter. The "anecdotes" presented here indicate that confusion about who exercised authority in the community could be eliminated if there was no designated presbyter, or if the position of the superior was uncontested.

It was not always considered necessary or beneficial to have an assigned or resident presbyter, particularly when the monastery was located in the centre of a city, close to an episcopal church, and when the bishop himself was a frequent visitor. The *Life of Olympias* describes her monastery being located at the southern corner of the Great Church in Constantinople, and asserts that "For no one from the outside, neither man nor woman, was permitted to come upon them, the only exception being the most holy patriarch John, who visited continuously and sustained them with his most wise teachings".[2] A similar situation was envisaged in Arles, according to the *Rule* which Caesarius provided for his community of nuns, who were also situated in proximity to a church. The *Rule* stated, "let no man enter the cloistered part of the monastery and the oratories, except bishops, the provisor and priest, the deacon and the subdeacon, and one or two lectors whose age and life commends them, and who are needed to offer Mass sometimes".[3] The sisters do not have an assigned priest and use the basilica

[2] *V. Olympiadis* 8, transl. by E. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom and Friends. Essays and Translations*, New York, 1979, p. 133. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τινα ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἢ ἄνδρα ἢ γυναῖκα εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτάς, εἰ μὴ μόνον τὸν ἁγιώτατον πατριάρχην Ἰωάννην, συνεχῶς εἰσερχόμενον καὶ ὑποστηρίζοντα αὐτὰς διὰ τῆς πανσόφου αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίας, ed. A.-M. Malingrey, Paris, 1968 (*SC*, 13*bis*), p. 422.

[3] Caesarius of Arles, *Regula sanctarum virginum* 36, transl. by M. C. McCarthy, *Caesarius of Arles: Rule for Nuns*, Washington, DC, 1960, pp. 182-183; ed. by G. Morin, Bonn, 1933 (*Florilegium Patristicum*, 34), p. 14: *Ante omnia propter custodiendam famam vestram nullus virorum in secreta parte in monasterio et in oratoriis introeat, exceptis episcopis, provisore et presbytero, diacono, subdiacono, et uno vel duobus lectoribus, quos et aetas et vita commendat,*

of St Mary and its clergy for the Eucharist; only "sometimes" (*aliquotiens*) will the clergy come to say Mass inside the monastery. Caesarius secured a papal bull in 523 to prevent future episcopal interference in this community, thereby permanently establishing the superior's autonomy. In Arles, as in Olympias' community, presbyters were only required for the Eucharist, but they did not necessarily have to enter the monastery.[4]

A most harmonious relationship is presented in Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Macrina*. Macrina is unchallenged as the spiritual and actual leader of the double monastery at Annisa, assisted by the deaconess Lampadion and Macrina's younger brother, the presbyter Peter, who, in addition to his sacramental duties, functioned as leader of the male community. Anna Silvas described this as "a rare situation not easily replicated".[5] The male and female sections of the monastery were certainly in regular contact with each other: at the very least, daily prayers were said together in the church, although they formed separate choirs which would imply that some physical distance was kept between them.[6] Silvas suggests that it is Peter's ascetic vocation and then his ordination as presbyter which transformed household asceticism into a monastic community.[7] Indeed Gregory indicates that this was a significant step:

> It was about this time that Basil, great among the saints, was designated prelate of the great church of the Caesareans and advanced his brother to the office of the priesthood in the presbyterate, consecrating him in the mystic rites himself. And thus their life made progress in greater dignity and holiness, now that their philosophy was augmented by the priesthood.[8]

Although his actual duties in relation to the women's community are not mentioned, the strong implication is that the addition of the Eucharist to their communal life was distinctly beneficial. But it is noteworthy that Peter has no liturgical role at Macrina's funeral, being supplanted by

qui aliquotiens missas facere debeant. Rule 36 also permitted workmen and slaves to enter when necessary and under the supervision of the provisor, who was himself to be supervised by the abbess in the inner monastery.

[4] See McCarthy, *Rule for Nuns*, pp. 66-67.

[5] A. Silvas, *The Rule of St. Basil in Latin and English: A Revised Critical Edition*, Collegeville, 2013, p. 233, n. 167.

[6] Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Macrinae* 16, ed. by P. Maraval, Paris, 1971 (*SC*, 178), p. 194. I follow Maraval's numbering of the paragraphs, which differs slightly from that of Silvas.

[7] A. Silvas, *Macrina the Younger, Philosopher of God*, Turnhout, 2008, p. 47.

[8] Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Macrinae* 14, transl. by Silvas, p. 125. Ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πολὺς ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος τῆς μεγάλης Καισαρέων ἐκκλησίας ἀνεδείχθη προστάτης. ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον τῆς ἐν τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἱερωσύνης τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἄγει ταῖς μυστικαῖς ἑαυτοῦ ἱερουργίαις ἀφιερώσας. Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ ἁγιώτερον προῄει ὁ βίος τῇ ἱερωσύνῃ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἐπαυξηθείσης, ed. Maraval, p. 188.

Gregory and the other bishops present.[9] The particular harmony between presbyter and superior is indicative of the unusual establishment at Annisa, where family relationships were reflected in the monastic hierarchy.[10]

Their brother, Basil of Caesarea, was certainly aware that conflicts could occur in monasteries with male and female communities where the female superior had absolute authority over the sisters, but would need to work with an externally appointed presbyter. In his *Rules*, Basil sought to avoid conflict by clearly demarcating each one's jurisdiction; he acknowledged the superior's authority in the women's community and limited what the *presbyter* might do.

It is useful to explore the titles given to each office holder in the relevant sections of the *Rule of St Basil*, as they were rendered in Latin by Rufinus. In *Rule* 197 and 198, those who "preside" over each community are distinguished only by gender, and not by title:

> Si oportet eum qui praeest extra eam quae sororibus praeest loqui aliquid quod ad aedificationem fidei pertineat virginibus?[11]
>
> Si convenit eum qui praeest cum ea quae soribus praeest frequenter loqui et maxime si aliqui de fratribus pro hoc laeduntur?[12]

Their conversations are to be *rarius* and *brevius*, according to the response in *Rule* 198, which implies interaction on practical rather than spiritual matters and makes no assertion of male hierarchy.

In *Rules* 199 and 201, it is the jurisdiction of the "presbyter" in relation to the superior which is regulated. Thus,

> Si oportet cum soror aliqua confitetur quodcumquae delictum suum presbytero etiam matrem monasterii adesse?[13]
>
> Si ignorante matre seniore presbyter aliquid fieri praecipiat sororibus recte videtur indignari senior mater?[14]

[9] Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Macrinae* 33-35, ed. Maraval, pp. 246-256.

[10] Gregory states that Macrina has educated Peter in asceticism, which would also explain why the youngest brother retains an inferior position. *Vita Macrinae* 12, ed. Maraval, pp. 180-184.

[11] Basil of Caesarea (Rufinus), *Regula* 197, ed. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 128. "Ought he who presides say anything for the upbuilding of the faith among the virgins, apart from her who presides over the sisters?", transl. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 223.

[12] Basil of Caesarea (Rufinus), *Regula* 198, ed. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 129. "Is it suitable for him who presides to converse frequently with her who presides over the sisters and particularly if some of the brothers take offence at this?", transl. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 223.

[13] Basil of Caesarea (Rufinus), *Regula* 199, ed. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 130. "When a sister confesses some fault of hers to the presbyter, ought the mother of the monastery be present too?", transl. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 233.

[14] Basil of Caesarea (Rufinus), *Regula* 201, ed. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 130. "If the presbyter has ordered something to be done among the sisters without the knowledge of the senior

Here, the superior is named *mater*, and at issue is what the presbyter might do in relation to hearing the confession of sins and instructing one of the sisters to do something unspecified. Earlier, in the response in *Rule* 21.4, it was stated that confession is best made to one who has authority to celebrate the divine mysteries, that is a presbyter.[15] In these *Rules*, then, a distinction is made on the basis of the authority inherent to their role, and not their status. Anna Silvas' study of Rufinus' translation and her reconstruction of the Greek *Shorter rules* (*SR*) is also pertinent here, especially as she notes the equality of titles in the latter.[16] Thus, in *SR* 108 and 109 (= *Rule* 197 and 198), the Greek uses προεστῶτα and προεστώσης, while in *SR* 110 and 111 (= *Rule* 199 and 201), it uses πρεσβυτέρα and πρεσβύτερος.[17]

In the Syriac version of the Rules, the *Quaestiones Fratrum* (*QF*), Anna Silvas translated the equivalent of *SR* 110 (= *QF* 162), as follows:

> Q: "The brothers say: When one of the sisters confesses something to the presbyter, should not the deaconess also be present? R: Basil says: Let the confession of the sister be made with seemliness and sobriety before the presbyter in the presence of the deaconess. Let the ordinances of penance and of amendment be assigned by the presbyter with the discretion of a wisdom befitting God [...]".[18]

She comments that the Syriac *qashisho*, here translated as "presbyter", is more properly "elder", and that it is unclear whether he is also a *sacerdos*; however, she concludes that "the fittingness that a male monastic superior should also be an ordained priest seems to have been increasingly recognized even in Basil's lifetime and perhaps under his influence".[19]

It would seem that, in these texts, a distinction is being made between status and office and the responsibilities assigned to them in these roles. Although it would not be unexpected for the male superior also to be a priest, in *Rules* 197 and 198 the issue is the relationship between the heads of the monasteries, male and female. By contrast, in *Rules* 199 and 201 the issue is the hearing of confession by a priest exercising a ritual authority given him because of his right to celebrate the Eucharist; however, this

mother, does it seem right that the senior mother is indignant?", transl. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 224.

[15] Basil of Caesarea (Rufinus), *Regula* 24: "[...] *necessarium videtur his quibus dispensatio mysteriorum dei commissa est confitenda esse peccata*", ed. by Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 72.

[16] Silvas, *The Rule*, pp. 333-334.

[17] Basil of Caesarea, *Regulae Brevis* 110 and 111, *PG* 31, cols 1156-1157.

[18] Basil of Caesarea, *Quaestiones fratrum* (*QF*) 162, transl. by A. Silvas, *Basil of Caesarea: Questions of the Brothers*, Leiden, 2014 (*Texts and Studies in Eastern Christianity*, 3) p. 307.

[19] Silvas, *Questions*, p. 307 n. 44.

priest should not infringe upon the female superior's proper exercise of her duties, which normally included hearing the confessions of the sisters. As Silvas has commented,

> Why would a sister be confessing to a presbyter and not a presbytera? She is not confessing sacramentally to a presbyter as a priest, an anachronistic conception, since at this period the sacrament of penance was only administered according to the Church's discipline and was only concerned with grave sins. Though it is difficult to recover the background with assurance, the solution may be that the sister's confession to a male presbyter is a private "medicinal" confession before one who can be and increasingly is also a priest [...].[20]

Basil indicates that, regardless of the circumstances, *Rule* 201 is always applicable:

> Q: "If the presbyter has ordered something to be done among the sisters without the knowledge of the senior mother, does it seem right that the senior mother is indignant? R: Most certainly!"[21]

3. Priest and Superior in the Egyptian Monastic Federations

Gregory of Nyssa's assertion that having a resident priest at Annisa was such an obvious advantage that it need not be spelled out was not at all the case in the Egyptian monastic federations of male and female monasteries. The Pachomian and White Monastery federations had well-integrated, but strictly separated, women's monasteries; the female superior was clearly subordinate to the male monastic leaders, and there was no obvious need for a resident priest.

When Pachomius ordered the construction of a women's monastery for his sister Maria at Tabennesi it included an oratory, which confirms that the women had an independent liturgical life. He also appointed a senior lay monk, Apa Peter, as their "father".[22] Communication between Pachomius and his sister was carried out by intermediaries and never in person, in order to maintain the strict separation of the sexes; however, Palladius says, "With the exception of the priest and the deacon (and they only on

[20] A. Silvas, *The Asketikon of St. Basil the Great*, Oxford, 2005, p. 333 n. 314.

[21] Basil of Caesarea, *Regula* 201, transl. by Silvas, *The Rule,* p. 224. "*Si ignorante matre seniore presbyter aliquid fieri praecipiat sororibus recte videtur indignari senior mater*? R: *Et valde*", ed. Silvas, *The Rule*, p. 129.

[22] *Sancti Pachomii Vita Graeca Prima* 32, ed. by F. Halkin, Brussels, 1932 (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 19), p. 198. See Elm, *Virgins*, p. 290.

Sundays), nobody crosses to the women's monastery".[23] This suggests that a priest was sent to the women's community to celebrate the Eucharist only, but he did not exercise ongoing spiritual and disciplinary oversight. This may have been the theory, but in practice the priest did interfere in disciplinary matters as Palladius next recounts a story where the priest does exactly this without reference to the female superior. An unfounded accusation of impropriety against one of the sisters caused the accused and then the accuser to commit suicide.

> The remaining sisters declared the matter to the priest when he came, and he ordered that no offering of the Eucharist be made even for one of those two sisters. And as for those who had failed to reconcile them, since they were aware of the false accusation and had still given credence to what was said, he excommunicated them, imposing a period of seven years.[24]

Whatever the theory, in practice the priest not only celebrated the Eucharist, but also judged in disputes and imposed a punishment on the basis of his ritual and institutional authority.

In the White Monastery federation, the position of the female superior (*hllō*) of the women's house is established within the hierarchical structure; she was equal in position, if inferior by gender, to the head (*hllo*) of the central (male) monastery, with both being subordinate to the head of the federation.[25] The role of the priest and the superior can be examined in the *Canons* collected by Bentley Layton, and the thirteen letters from Shenoute to the women studied by Rebecca Krawiec.[26] The strict enclosure of the women was, in theory, enforced by the appointment of male guardian

[23] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 33.2, transl. by G. J. M. Bartelink, J. Wortley, *The Lausiac History*, Athens, Ohio, 2015 [http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1072886&site=ehost-live&scope=site (accessed: 19 November 2018)]. παρεκτὸς μέντοι τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ διακόνου οὐδεὶς περᾷ εἰς τὸ μοναστήριον τῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ τοῦτο κατὰ κυριακήν. ed. by C. Butler, Cambridge, 1904 (*Texts and Studies*, 4.2), pp. 96-97.

[24] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 33.2-3, transl. by Bartelink, Wortley. ἐλθόντι οὖν τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ ἀνήγγειλαν τὸ πρᾶγμα αἱ λοιπαὶ ἀδελφαί. καὶ ἐκέλευσε τούτων μὲν μηδὲ μιᾶς προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεσθῆναι. τὰς δὲ μὴ εἰρηνευσάσας αὐτάς, ὡς συνειδυίας τῇ συκοφαντησάσῃ καὶ πιστευσάσας τοῖς εἰρηνένοις, ἑπταετίαν ἀφώρισεν ἀκοινωνήτους ποιήσας, ed. Butler, p. 97.

[25] E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IVe-VIIIe siècles)*, Warsaw, 2009, p. 578.

[26] B. Layton, *The Canons of Our Fathers: Monastic Rules of Shenoute*, Oxford Scholarship Online, 2015 [doi: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199582631.001.0001]; R. Krawiec, *Shenoute and the Women of the White Monastery: Egyptian Monasticism in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2002.

monks who controlled the gatehouse, but did not enter the monastery.[27] The female superior had clearly delineated areas of responsibility within her monastery, and the jurisdiction of the head of the male monastery over the women was also set out in the *Canons*.[28] The liturgical role of the priest is unclear. *Canon* 253 would have been informative, were it not for a lacuna: "As for whichever priest holds a service ... for the siblings to the south, that is, the nuns, whether he is one of us or is one who [...]".[29] Priestly services were provided by the village priests rather than a monk-priest:

> No outside priest or deacon shall enter the congregation of our (men's) domain for the burial of a woman who has died, except only the priests of the village in your (women's) domain and the deacons or a reader whom they have brought with them to read/recite.[30]

Krawiec's investigation indicates that, under the leadership of Shenoute, relations with the women's monastery deteriorated due to his strict application of the rules to the women, which may have been difficult to enforce hitherto. The evidence from the correspondence may relate more closely to reality than the ideal presented in the *Rules*. Shenoute visited the women in person three times, twice spending the night there, to which the women objected saying that his predecessors had never entered their monastery. They remind him that Pcol had never entered and Ebonh only brought the Eucharist and then left without seeing the women. Krawiec wonders what Ebonh, in fact, did – did he bring the Eucharistic elements already consecrated or did he consecrate them once he arrived?[31] If the former, this raises an interesting question about the women's ritual autonomy – how did they receive the Eucharist in the absence of a priest?[32] Shenoute's problems with the women arose from his conception of monastic authority and not from any priestly function, but they do illustrate how the women's communities closely guarded their autonomy.[33] The women were not necessarily supplied with a priest from the men's monastery, and could just as

[27] Layton, *Canons of Our Fathers*, p. 54.

[28] Layton, *Canons of Our Fathers*, p. 64, citing *Canons* 115, 155, and 207.

[29] Layton *Canons of Our Fathers*, *Canon* 253.

[30] Layton *Canons of Our Fathers*, *Canon* 221.

[31] Krawiec, *Shenoute*, p. 53, n. 8.

[32] See J. Day, "Women's Rituals and Women's Ritualizing", in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Ritual*, ed. by R. Uro, J. Day, R. E. DeMaris, R. Roitto, Oxford, 2018, pp. 644-660.

[33] Krawiec, *Shenoute*, p. 16: "Shenoute based his power on his Rule [...] he strove to establish the Rule and to determine punishment for transgressors and used himself as an exemplar of complete obedience to the Rule and so to God".

well make use of the village priests for the Eucharist, as they did for funerals. Spiritual guidance and discipline were duties of the monastic elders, according to the *Canons*, and not of priests.

4. Sources of Discord between Presbyter and Superior

The prominent theme of sexual temptation in monastic literature influences the strict separation of male and female monks to avoid implied, or actual, sexual impropriety. According to Palladius, in Athrib, the monk Elijah felt obliged to temporarily leave the women's monastery he had founded to deal with his temptation (and frustration at being unable to sort out their quarrelling), only returning after a dream involving angelic visitors and castration.[34] Dorotheus, his successor, did not fare any better, dealing with his temptations by shutting himself in an upstairs room and looking down on the women from the window.[35] In neither case were these presbyters, but surely presbyters could be equally tempted? Interestingly, the sources assume this difficulty did not affect the presbyters associated with women's monasteries; either they had won their struggle against temptation, or the women were so strictly separated that priests did not enter their monastery at all. Palladius provides us with examples of three situations in which priests overcame the problem. In Cappadocia, the priest Sisinnius gathered a community of both men and women monks and "by his devout way of life he has both driven out his own masculine desire and silenced the femininity of the women by continence".[36] And at Antinoë in Thebaid, where there were twelve women's monasteries, a single priest, Dorotheos, is mentioned who lived in a cave – that is, he kept himself aloof from both the men's and women's communities.[37] Palladius also tells us that in the monastery of Amma Talis with sixty women, the courtyard was locked and no key existed but that they did receive Communion on Sundays in the local church.[38] Thus there were priests involved with these monasteries but their access and role seems to be determined in light of the ascetic requirements around sexual continence.

Although no sexual motives are implied, a shift in the affections of the sisters away from their own superior to the recently appointed priest seems

[34] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 29, ed. Butler, pp. 84-85.

[35] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 30, ed. Butler, p. 86.

[36] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 49, transl. by Bartelink, Wortley. διὰ τῆς σεμνῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἄρρεν τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἐλάσας καὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν θῆλυ τῇ ἐγκρατείᾳ φιμώσας, ed. Butler, p. 144.

[37] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 58, ed. Butler, p. 151.

[38] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 59, ed. Butler, p. 153.

to lie behind the problems which Augustine addressed in his letters to the nuns. Around 423, Augustine is forced to write to Felicity, his sister's successor as head of the women's monastery, about discord in the community. In *Ep.* 210, he has become aware of unhappiness caused by mutual rebukes among the sisters, although he does not here refer to the actual cause. In *Ep.* 211, though, which was addressed to the whole community, the issue is made explicit: the appointment of a new priest, Rusticus, by Augustine, has caused the nuns to become unhappy with the leadership of Felicity. Augustine reminds them of the role their superior has played in the community:

> For all of you who entered there found her either serving and obeying the holy superior, my sister, or found her as the superior herself who received you. Under her you were trained; under her you received the veil; under her you have grown many.[39]

Now that he has appointed the new priest, the sisters are rebelling against her and want her replaced, either, he says, because they object to Rusticus' appointment or, he implies, because they love him too much and have switched their affections. In any case, their behaviour is making it impossible for Rusticus to carry out his duties:

> For the basic principles of the priest for directing you are so thrown into confusion that he himself would prefer to abandon you rather than that she suffer hateful gossip from you, namely, that it is being said that you would not have sought another superior if he had not begun to be your priest.[40]

Later in the letter, he speaks of the roles of each:

> Obey the superior as a mother, giving her due honor in order that you may not offend God in her person; obey much more the priest who has care for all of you. It pertains especially to the superior, therefore, that all these points be observed and that, if something is not observed, it not be passed over in negligence but care be taken to rectify and correct

[39] Augustine, *Ep*. 211.4; transl. by R. Teske, *Augustine: Letters* 211-270, in *The Works of Saint Augustine*, vol. II/4, ed. by B. Ramsey, New York, 2005, p. 20. "*omnes enim, quae illuc uenistis, ibi eam aut sanctae praepositae sorori meae seruientem, placentem aut etiam ipsam praepositam, quae uos suscepit, inuenistis; sub illa eruditae, sub illa uelatae, sub illa multiplicatae*", ed. by A. Goldbacher, Vienna, 1911 (*CSEL*, 57) p. 358.

[40] Augustine, *Ep*. 211.4 (transl. by Teske, p. 22): *in uobis namque regendis sic praepositi rudimenta turbantur, ut magis uelit uos ipse deserere, quam istam ex uobis famam et inuidiam sustinere, ut dicatur non aliam uos quaesituras fuisse praepositam, nisi ipsum coepissetis habere praepositum*, ed. Goldbacher, p. 359.

> it. What exceeds her limits and powers she should refer to the priest who directs you.[41]

It seems clear then that the primary responsibility for good order in the monastery is held by the superior, and it is to her that the sisters owe their obedience; however, the priest is given authority to act in unspecified exceptional circumstances but nothing is said about his liturgical and spiritual role. Rusticus' authority here stems from several sources: from Augustine himself who has appointed him, from the love and affection of the sisters, and because in his duties he has care for all the sisters, including the superior.

5. Presbyters and their Female Patrons

In many of the previous examples, the priest and superior both have delegated authority, which is not the case when the monastery is led by a female patron. The situation in and around Jerusalem could not be considered typical, as, it seems, the western monastic foundations operated semi-independently of the local church hierarchy. Melania the Elder constructed a women's and men's monastery on the Mount of Olives which she led with the priest-monk Rufinus of Aquileia but we know nothing of the arrangements there.[42] Rufinus' obvious paraphrasing of the *Rules of St Basil* (see above) may indicate at least what he thought the relationship between priest and superior should be, but given the elder Melania's attitude to authority one cannot imagine her being subservient to any presbyter of whom she was the patron.[43]

In Bethlehem, Paula, as patron and ascetic leader, was superior of the women's monastery, and although the women were separated from the male monks, she and her daughter Eustochium obviously had frequent contact with Jerome. The women's community received the Eucharist in the Church of the Nativity, presumably with the male monastic community, as Jerome says, "Only on Sundays would they go to the church beside which

[41] Augustine, *Ep.* 211.15 (transl. by Teske, p. 28): *praepositae tamquam matri oboediatur honore seruato, ne in illa offendatur deus, multo magis presbytero, qui omnium uestrum curam gerit. ut ergo cuncta ista seruentur et, si quid seruatum non fuerit, non neglegenter praetereatur, sed emendandum corrigendumque curetur, ad praepositam praecipue pertinet, ita ut ad presbyterum, qui uobis intendit, referat, quod modum uel uires eius excedit*, ed. Goldbacher, pp. 369-370.

[42] Palladius, *Historia Lausiaca* 46, ed. Butler, pp. 134-135.

[43] *Ibidem*.

they lived, and each band followed its own mother".[44] Paula herself took care of discipline among the sisters, and the liturgical cycle of psalms and prayer did not require a priest.[45] Jerome tells us that he had reason to correct Paula about her extreme ascetic practices, but he did not do so on the basis of his priestly office, which in any case he did not exercise.[46] During the virulent Origenist controversy in Jerusalem, Jerome and his monastery were excommunicated; Marlena Whiting wonders, "Whether Paula's nuns suffered similarly is not made clear".[47] The immediate cause was the ordination, by Epiphanius of Salamis, of Jerome's brother, Paulinianus, to serve as priest in the Bethlehem church; in addition to this being an infringement of the bishop of Jerusalem's jurisdiction, Paulinianus was under the canonical age. Epiphanius defended his actions in a letter to bishop John of Jerusalem:

> I saw that the monastery contained a large number of reverend brothers, and that the reverend presbyters, Jerome and Vincent, through modesty and humility, were unwilling to offer the sacrifices permitted to their rank [...].[48]

Epiphanius' letter indicates that Paulinianus was to serve the brothers, but it seems more than likely that, as the sisters received communion in the church, there was a single Eucharistic celebration for the men and women at the same time.

The *Life of Melania the Younger* is instructive in presenting conflicts of spiritual, sacramental and ecclesial authority between a female patron and the community's priest. The *Life* was written by the priest-monk Gerontius who served Melania's monasteries on the Mount of Olives. Mainly, he follows hagiographic conventions in praising her ascetic achievements and

[44] Jerome, *Ep*. 108.20, transl. by A. Cain, *Jerome's Epitaph on Paula: A Commentary on the Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*, Oxford, 2013, p. 77: *die tantum dominico ad ecclesiam procedebant, ex cuius habitabant latere, et unumquodque agmen matrem propriam sequebatur*, ed. I. Hilberg, Vienna, 1996 (*CSEL*, 55) p. 335.

[45] Jerome, *Ep*. 108.21, ed. Hilberg, p. 335.

[46] See Jerome, *Ep*. 108.15, 19, 21, ed. Hilberg, pp. 326, 332-334, 336-338.

[47] M. Whiting, "Asceticism and Hospitality as Patronage in the Late Antique Holy Land: The Examples of Paula and Melania the Elder", in *Female Founders in Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. by L. Theis, M. Mullett, M. Grünbart, G. Fingarova, M. Savage, Cologne, 2014 (*Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 60/61), p. 79.

[48] Jerome, *Ep*. 51.1 (from Epiphanius to John), transl. by W. H. Freemantle, *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers series 2, vol. 6, repr. Grand Rapids, 1954, p. 83. Jerome had been ordained *c.* 379 by the bishop of Antioch but for some reason did not celebrate the eucharist in Bethlehem. C*um enim uidissem, quia multitudo sanctorum fratrum in monasterio consisteret et sancti Hieronymus et Uincentius propter uerecumdiam et humilitatem nollent debita nomini suo exercere sacrificia* [...], ed. Hilberg, p. 396.

teaching; however, one notices throughout the *Life* that many of the apparently praiseworthy examples are somewhat ambiguous and either imply, or openly express, criticism of her. The author enters the narrative at certain stages as eye and earwitness, and occasionally as an active participant. One such incident served as the starting point for my investigation into tensions between presbyters and female monastic leaders.

The episode is presented as an assertion of Melania's strict orthodoxy and utter rejection of heretics. Gerontius recalls,

> Thus there was a certain woman of high status who ended her life in a foreign country, at the Holy Places. I mentioned her name in the holy Eucharistic offering along with those of the saints now dead, for it is our custom to do this, so that in that fearsome hour they may intercede on our behalf. Since that woman in communion with us was said by some of the orthodox to be a heretic, the blessed Melania was so disturbed that she said this to me very directly and on the spot: "As the Lord lives, if you name her, I will no longer be in communion with you at the Eucharist". When I gave my word at the holy altar that I would not mention her again, she said, "This once was too much. Since you have named her, I am not communing". Thus she believed it was a transgression against the orthodox faith to name heretics during the holy Eucharist.[49]

What we see here is Melania infringing the author's exercise of his presbyteral duties, and committing the somewhat questionable act of interrupting the Eucharistic prayer itself. About thirty years before this incident, the author the *Mystagogical catecheses*, attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem, says that these intercessions take place "after the completion of the spiritual sacrifice" "when the holy and most awesome sacrifice lies on the altar".[50] One might expect a pious ascetic not to interrupt at such a sacred point in the liturgy. This was not an isolated incident: Gerontius reports that she also interrupted him as he celebrated the Eucharist on her deathbed when, because of his tears, he did not say the epiclesis loudly enough.[51]

If we look elsewhere in the *Life*, we find many other examples where the author is somewhat ambiguous in his praise, or offers a critical judgment by invoking ecclesial authority. Melania's feats of fasting are remark-

[49] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris*, 28, transl. by E. A. Clark. *The Life of Melania, the Younger: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, New York, 1984, p. 47; ed. by D. Gorce, Paris, 1962 (*SC*, 90), pp. 180-182.

[50] Cyril/John of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical catechesis* 5.8 and 5.9. Εἶτα μετὰ τὸ ἀπαρτισθῆναι τὴν πνευματικὴν θυσίαν [...], τῆς ἁγίας καὶ φρικωδεστάτης προκειμένης θυσίας, ed. by A. Piédagnel, Paris, 2004 (*SC*, 126*bis*), pp. 156 and 158.

[51] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 66, ed. Gorce, pp. 262-264.

able, but in addition to making herself ill, she breaks the tradition of the church by continuing her fast during the Easter season. The author praises Albina, her mother, as the source of her holy life and records the mother as remonstrating, "It is not right that a Christian should fast on the day of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, but one must benefit from bodily as well as spiritual food".[52] Albina's opinion was established in the canons of the council of Gangra to guard against excessive and separatist ascetic practices.[53] The author reports that Melania's excessive generosity to monasteries was considered unhelpful and her practice required pressure from three bishops, Aurelius, Augustine, and Alypius, to correct it.[54] And then there is the incident at the cell of the desert hermit Hefestion, who refused to accept a gold coin she insisted on offering him, which, nevertheless Melania hid in his cell. Hefestion became suspicious, found the coin and attempted, unsuccessfully, to return it to her; finally, he threw it into the river. The story concludes by saying that many anchorites and virgins also refused her money, but she used "spiritual cunning" to leave it secretly in their cells for the benefit of her own soul.[55]

Although he implies her spiritual teaching was worthy of being recorded, it is strange that some of the examples are less than edifying. In an apparent quotation of her words, she expounds on the temptation of pride in one's ascetic achievements:

> Just as a bride dressed in all her finery cannot wear black shoes, but must adorn her feet as much as the rest of her body, so too the soul wears fasting in addition to the other virtues, but if one sets aside the other virtues to practise fasting alone, then one is like a bride who beautifies only her feet and not the rest of her body.[56]

This *bon-mot* is offered to a room of dedicated virgins, who, we have been told, were drawn from the poor parts of town, some of whom had certainly

[52] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 25. Οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιον χριστιανὸν νηστεύειν ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναστάσεως, ἀλλ'ἀπολαύειν τῆς σωματικῆς τροφῆς ὡσπεροῦν καὶ τῆς πνευματικῆς, ed. Gorce, p. 176.

[53] *Council of Gangra*, can. 18 and 19. See H. R. Percival, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church*, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers series 2, vol. 14, repr. Grand Rapids, 1954, p. 100.

[54] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 20, ed. Gorce, p. 170.

[55] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 38: διὰ πανουργίας πνεθματικῆς, ed. Gorce, p. 198.

[56] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 43: καὶ ὥσπερ νύμφη παντοίῳ κόσμῳ κεκαλλωπισμένη οὐ δύναται μελανοῖς χρήσασθαι ὑποδήμασιν, ἀλλὰ σὺν παντὶ τῷ σώματι καὶ τοὺς πόδας καλλωπίζει, οὕτως καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μετὰ πασῶν τῶν ἀρετῶν χρήζει καὶ τῆς νηστείας. εἰ δέ τις χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν τὴν νηστείαν κατορθῶσαι σπουδάζει, ἔοικεν τῇ νύμφῃ ἐκείνῃ, ἥτις γυμνὴ τῷ σώματι τυγχάνουσα μόνους καλλωπίζει τοὺς πόδας, ed. Gorce, p. 210.

been slaves.[57] One wonders how familiar the sisters would have been with a choice of shoes?

As a sign of her humility, Melania was not officially the superior of the women's monastery; however, it is abundantly clear that she did direct its practical and spiritual life.[58] She offered instruction on obedience, which she defines as doing what you do not wish to do for the sake of the one who asks.[59] Gerontius records how she undermined the superior's authority, because she considered her to be too strict, by secretly placing items in the sisters' cells to make them more comfortable. Consequently, we are told, the sisters became attached to her and started to obey her in all things.[60]

Melania insisted that the sisters should not have any contact with men, even going so far as to have a cistern constructed to prevent them going out for water: so what of the presence of Gerontius in the women's monastery?[61] The *Life* reveals that he celebrated the Eucharist twice a week, on Fridays and Sundays and on feast days, and probably also daily for Melania herself.[62] In once instance he participated in the vigil in the women's monastery, whether this was customary or only because Melania was dying is unclear as at another point in the narrative he rested while Melania joined the sisters for prayers.[63] On the journey to Constantinople with Melania and a group of sisters, but no other male companion, he is the general factotum responsible for paying the bribes to use the *cursus publicus*.[64] As Melania's death approaches, she tells the sisters, "I entrust you to the lord priest and exhort you not to distress him in anything but to submit to him in all humility [...]"[65] And, at on her deathbed, she gives him charge of the monasteries.[66]

In the *Life*, Gerontius presents himself as Melania's subordinate, certainly her social inferior; however, other sources give a very different picture. The *Life of Peter the Iberian* informs us that Gerontius had received the habit

[57] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* (Latin) 41.6: *a turpibus locis abstrahens mulieres*, ed. by P. Laurence, Jerusalem, 2002, p. 234.

[58] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 41, ed. Gorce, p. 206.

[59] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 44: ὑπακοὴ δὲ τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἵνα ποιήσῃς ὃ μὴ θέλῃς, διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐπιτάσσοντός σοι ἀνάπαυσιν, ed. Gorce, p. 212.

[60] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 41, ed. Gorce, p. 206.

[61] *Idem*.

[62] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 48, ed. Gorce, p. 218.

[63] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 64, ed. Gorce, p. 258.

[64] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 52, ed. Gorce, pp. 226-228.

[65] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 65, transl. by Clark, p. 78. Παρατίθημι δὲ ὑμᾶς καὶ τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, μὴ θλίψετε αὐτὸν ἔν τινι, ἀλλ' ὑποτάγητε αὐτῷ ἐν πάσῃ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ [...], ed. Gorce, p. 262. Note that the monks are also exhorted to obey the priest (*Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 68, ed. Gorce, p. 266).

[66] Gerontius, *Vita Melaniae Iunioris* 68, ed. Gorce, p. 266.

from Melania and Pinianus in the Holy Sepulchre itself: "They clothed him as from the hands of the Lord".[67] As Cornelia Horn has remarked, this act is indicative of Melania's and Pinianus' ascetic authority, even though in the *Vita Petri* Melania's authority is primarily expressed in terms of her aristocratic background, social connections and wealth.[68] Also from the *Vita Petri* we learn that Gerontius was "appointed simultaneously as priest and as abbot of the holy Mount of Olives and of the monasteries on it".[69] Cyril of Scythopolis adds that he was appointed by the usurping patriarch Theodosius as archimandrite of the coenobitic monasteries in Palestine – one of two patriarchal appointments for the coenobitic and the eremitic monks.[70] Gerontius' status was, therefore, not solely due to Melania's patronage, but he received his priestly, as well as his monastic, authority from the bishop. He was very much a representative of the ecclesial hierarchy, and it is in light of this that we should understand the implied criticism and underlying tensions evident in the *Vita Melaniae*.

6. Conclusion

Monastic literature rarely comments on the role of presbyters, and even less on their presence and function in women's monasteries. The examples, or anecdotes, we have discussed represent different types of monastic community in different geographical areas; however, the overall impression they give is that the presence of a male priest in a female monastery could indeed be problematic. The principal reason for this is not generally fear of sexual impropriety, as it would be with any other male, lay or monastic, presence among the women, but rather the tensions arising from a dual authority structure in the community. Whereas the female superior's authority was established by her spiritual leadership and membership or patronage of the community, the male priest's authority was established from outside, through appointment by a male monastic leader and/or by episcopal ordination. The latter, which gave the priest sacramental duties, complicated the gendered and rule-based hierarchy of the monastic institution.[71]

[67] John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* 45; transl. by C. Horn, R. R. Phenix, *John Rufus: Lives of Peter the Iberian, Theodosius of Jerusalem, and the Monk Romanus*, Atlanta, 2008, p. 63.

[68] C. Horn *Asceticism and Christological Controversy in Fifth-Century Palestine: The Career of Peter the Iberian*, Oxford, 2006, p. 142.

[69] John Rufus, *Vita Petri Iberi* 46; transl. by Horn, Phenix, p. 63.

[70] Cyril of Scythopolis, *Vita Theodosii* 4, ed. by E. Schwartz, Leipzig, 1939 (*TU*, 49.2), p. 239.

[71] Wipszycka, *Moines*, 587, noted that it was remarkable that, in the rules for the White Monastery, the position of clergy in the monastery is regulated and they receive no advantage as a result of their ordination.

Conflict was especially likely to arise when a female aristocratic patron was also a leader in the monastery where "the authority they exercised was based neither on the offices they held nor on the functions they performed".[72] Gillian Cloke has remarked,

> they evidently considered themselves comparable in terms of a God-given authority to any mere appointed functionary. The only men of God these women readily accorded respect as being more overtly directed by God than they [...] were the great hermits and coenobites of the deserts: who themselves operated from outside the church hierarchy.[73]

From the priest's perspective, his role was to celebrate the sacraments, to provide spiritual counsel under supervision of the superior, to act as go-between with the outside world and as an independent arbiter of disputes. Collaboration with the superior was expected, so too was sensitivity to her proper authority, while he simultaneously acted as a representative of the ecclesial and monastic hierarchy from which his own authority was derived.

Summary

The strict separation of male and female is a commonplace in late antique ascetic literature; nevertheless, at the very least, women's monasteries did require a male presbyter to celebrate the Eucharist or provide previously consecrated bread and wine. The relationship between the presbyter and the women, especially the superior, was not always harmonious and conflict arose because of ascetic scruples, differing models of monastic and ecclesial hierarchy, personality and patronage. Although the topic is not treated in any sustained way in ancient sources, anecdotes in biographies and letters indicate the type of situations where conflict could and did occur. In addition to examining a range of sources and monastic contexts, this paper also suggests that conflict between presbyteral and female monastic leadership may lie behind the ambivalence towards Melania the Younger expressed by her biographer the priest-monk Gerontius.

Juliette J. Day
Department of Church History,
University of Helsinki
juliette.day@helsinki.fi

[72] E. A. Clark, "Authority and Humility: A Conflict of Values in Fourth-Century Female Monasticism", *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 9 (1985), p. 214.

[73] G. Cloke, *This Female Man of God: Women and Spiritual Power in the Patristic Age*, London, 2003, p. 177.

Behind the Abbot's Back. Clerics within the Monastic Hierarchy

Jerzy Szafranowski*

(*Warsaw*)

The main goal of this article is to show the impact of clerical ordinations of monks on monastic communities of the late antique Latin West. Its first part will demonstrate how the clerical hierarchy introduced by monk-presbyters and monk-deacons challenged the purely monastic power structure – based, above all, on the abbot's supreme authority. I will then turn to three organizers of monastic life active in the sixth century – Eugendus of Jura, Aurelian of Arles, and Benedict of Nursia – who, each in his own way, ensured that the appointment of monks to clerical ranks would leave the monastery's hierarchy intact – or even reinforce it. In conclusion, I will argue that the problems provoked by monastic clergy were alleviated by the strict separation of monastic and ecclesiastical hierarchies, which is demonstrated particularly in the Benedict of Nursia's *Rule*. This, in turn, contributed to the steady process of the clericalization of Western monasticism.

1. Presbyters, Deacons, and the Limits of Abbatial Authority

One of the main reasons for the disruptiveness caused by presbyters and deacons operating within monastic communities was the different status of clerics and monks. Although some monks were very much respected, the esteem accorded to them had its roots in their personal merits rather than the monastic vows themselves. The ecclesiastical rank, on the other hand, was prestigious by itself, to some extent regardless of the personal virtues of the office holder. This was especially true in the case of presbyters who constituted the Church's elite. It seems that the reason for it was quite simple: in Late Antiquity the monk's status was still not that much regulated; anybody who decided to follow some sort of ascetic way of life could be granted this title. The rules governing the inclusion into the clerical group

* The author is supported by the National Science Centre, Poland (grant numbers: 2013/10/E/HS3/00202 and 2015/19/N/HS3/00882). I am grateful to Juliette Day and Robert Wiśniewski for commenting on the draft of this paper.

were, on the contrary, already well established, and the servants of the altar were much respected for their involvement in sacred rituals.

As a result, monks were time and again reminded that they should recognise the higher authority of the clergymen. A good example of such attitude can be found in the very first monastic rule composed in the West, that is Augustine of Hippo's *Praeceptum*. Augustine explicitly stated there that the community he had founded in Hippo in 391 should value clerics higher than their own superior:

> Obey your superior as a father, always with the respect worthy of his position, so as not to offend God in him. Be especially obedient to the presbyter who bears responsibility for all of you.
> The superior has the principal task in seeing to it that all these precepts are observed. He should further provide that infractions are not carelessly overlooked but punished and corrected. He must refer matters which exceed his competence and power to the presbyter who has greater authority over you.[1]

The congregation to which Augustine addressed his precepts was clearly completely non-clerical, including the prior. The whole monastery was subject to the rule of the particular presbyter "who bears responsibility". This presbyter should be almost certainly identified with Augustine himself, who, shortly before writing these words, accepted (reluctantly) to be ordained.[2] It seems that Augustine decided to delegate the direct rule of the monastery to the lay superior, having reserved for himself the "greater authority". The language used by Augustine is, however, not unequivocal; "greater authority" might not necessarily mean that the presbyter could override any ruling of the superior.[3] Apart from guaranteeing his own position, Augustine might have wished to indicate the place of monks within the ecclesiastical hierarchy more generally. Monks, including their superior, were thus positioned below the presbyters, and, hence, owed them obedience. Additionally, Luc Verheijen saw this passage as proof of the growing

[1] Augustine, *Regula Tertia siue Praeceptum* 7.1-2, ed. by L. Verheijen, Paris, 1967 (*EAA*, 29-30), vol. 1, p. 435: *Praeposito tamquam patri oboediatur, honore seruato, ne in illo offendatur deus; multo magis presbytero, qui omnium uestrum curam gerit. Ut ergo cuncta ista seruentur et, si quid seruatum non fuerit, non neglegenter praetereatur, sed emendandum corrigendum que curetur, ad praepositum praecipue pertinebit; ita, ut ad presbyterum, cuius est apud uos maior auctoritas, referat, quod modum uel uires eius excedit*. Translation: G. Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule*, Oxford, 1987, p. 101.

[2] Possidius, *Vita Augustini* 4, ed. by A. A. R. Bastiaensen, Rome-Milan, 1975, pp. 138-140. S. Adamiak, Presbyters in the Late Antique West (http://presbytersproject.ihuw.pl, henceforward PLAW), ER1358.

[3] Augustine also recalled the high authority of the presbyter in Augustine, *Regula Tertia siue Praeceptum* 4.9 and 11, ed. Verheijen, vol. 1, pp. 427 and 428.

authority of members of the clergy as far as the matters of faith are concerned.[4] Naturally, those three possibilities by no means exclude each other.

What is nevertheless strange here is that the functions of presbyter and monastic superior were separated. Adalbert de Vogüé rightly pointed out that the earliest monastic foundations in the West tended to have an abbot-presbyter at its helm.[5] However, it might be that Augustine was not sure at the time that it was possible to remain a monk while meeting the duties of the presbyter. Around the same time (AD 395), Jerome, answering the question posed to him by Paulinus of Nola, asserted that it is not.[6] Augustine certainly had mixed feelings about monks accepting holy orders. In a letter to his "brother and fellow presbyter" Eudoxius, abbot of the community of monks living on the island of Capraria, Augustine urged monks not to assume ecclesiastical duties lightly, but not to avoid them altogether either, particularly if the well-being of the Church is at stake.[7] In the same place, Augustine also acknowledged that it is not easy to carry on living a monastic life after the ordination. At this point, then (the letter was written in 398, when he was already bishop of Hippo), Augustine still regarded the clerical and monastic vocations as somewhat distinct. This is confirmed by another epistle dated four years later in which Augustine was keen to observe that not only a bad monk would make a bad cleric, but also a good monk is not necessarily an ideal candidate for the clergy.[8] On the other hand, to add to the complexity of this issue, Augustine had by then already established a second monastery in his episcopal house which

[4] L. Verheijen, *Nouvelle approche de la Règle de saint Augustin*, Abbaye Bellefontaine, 1980 (*Vie Monastique*, 8), pp. 394-401.

[5] De Vogüé mentions Milan, the island of Capraria, and Lérins: A. de Vogüé, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité. Première partie: Le monachisme latin*, Paris, 1991-2008, vol. 3 (1996), p. 198. Nothing certain can be said about Ligugé – its fourth-century history is very obscure – but it is possible that Martin of Tours was already a presbyter when he co-founded (with Hilary of Poitiers) this monastery around 361. Marmoutier, on the other hand, was certainly ruled by Martin himself, who was at that time a bishop, and housed numerous monk-presbyters.

[6] Jerome, *Ep.* 58.5, ed. by I. Hilberg, Vienna, 1910 (*CSEL*, 54), p. 533. J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER2057. It must be noted, however, that Jerome's attitude to the ordination of monks varies from letter to letter. In the letter 52 to Nepotian, sent just a year before the one to Paulinus, Jerome argues that the monastic and clerical vocations perfectly complement each other, Jerome, *Ep.* 52.5, ed. and transl. by A. Cain, *Jerome and the Monastic Clergy*, Leiden, 2013, pp. 40-43. See also, *idem*, *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 2009, pp. 146-158.

[7] Augustine, *Ep.* 48.2, ed. by A. Goldbacher, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig, 1898 (*CSEL*, 34.2), p. 138. See also S. Adamiak, PLAW ER1879.

[8] Augustine, *Ep.* 60.1, ed. by Goldbacher, pp. 221-222.

he himself called *monasterium clericorum* ("clerics' monastery")[9] where all clerics from Hippo were required to live.[10] George Lawless observed that the two monasteries differed in customs – for example, in the lay monastery it was forbidden for monks to speak during meals, whereas in Augustine's clerical community conversation in the refectory was allowed.[11] I suspect that Augustine simply considered the case of monks accepting holy orders quite differently from the situation where a cleric adopted a monastic way of life. While for monks ordination certainly meant new duties diverting them from their ascetic practices, for clerics common life in the monastery could only yield spiritual benefits.

The above-cited passage from *Praeceptum* was quite frequently integrated into the later monastic rules. In fact, the first one who did it was Augustine himself in letter 211, written *c.* 424 to nuns of Hippo, in which only the gender of the monastic superior is changed.[12] Later, Augustine's precepts were incorporated, for example, into the sixth-century rule compiled (almost certainly) by Eugippius in Italy.[13] In the anonymous *Regula Tarnantensis*, written most probably also in the sixth century, the passage cited from the *Praeceptum* is included *verbatim* as well, albeit, with one small but very telling correction: the word *presbyter* is replaced with *abbas*.[14] It seems that the author of the *Regula Tarnantensis* assumed that by "presbyter" Augustine surely meant "abbot", a term which is otherwise absent from the *Praeceptum*. Read in any other way, the original text would be regarded as slightly bizarre in the sixth century. By then, most abbots were in holy orders, *praepositus* ("prior") shifted its meaning to denote the abbot's deputy rather than a superior himself, and no abbot would accept answering to a mere presbyter, especially if his submission to the local bishop was questioned (I will come back to this later).

Still in the fifth century, the decision of the abbot to become a presbyter could strengthen his authority over lay members of the congregation, but it helped him little in regard to other presbyters within his community –

[9] Augustine, *Sermo* 355.2, ed. by C. Lambot, Utrecht-Brussels, 1950 (*Stromata Patristica et Mediaevalia*, 1), p. 130.

[10] Augustine, *Sermo* 356.14, ed. by Lambot, pp. 141-142. S. Adamiak, PLAW ER871.

[11] Lawless, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule*, p. 62.

[12] Augustine, *Ep.* 211.15, ed. by A. Goldbacher, Prague-Vienna-Leipzig, 1911 (*CSEL*, 57), pp. 369-370. See S. Adamiak, PLAW ER727.

[13] Eugippius, *Regula* I.140-143, ed. by F. Villegas, A. de Vogüé, Vienna, 1976 (*CSEL*, 87), p. 15.

[14] *Regula monasterii Tarnantensis* 23, ed. by F. Villegas, *Revue Bénédictine*, 84 (1974), pp. 7-65, here p. 45. This passage was then repeated in the same form (cited as hailing from the *Regula Tarnantensis* and not the *Praeceptum*) in Benedict of Aniane, *Concordia Regularum* 27.1-4, ed. by P. Bonnerue, Turnhout, 1999 (*CCCM*, 168A), pp. 219-220.

to which he was now equal in ecclesiastical rank. Moreover, accepting holy orders could increase the abbot's subjugation to the bishop who performed the ordination. After all, as numerous church councils deemed worthy to repeat at this period, every cleric should owe complete obedience to his episcopal see.

Certainly, this was quite obvious in case of regular diocese clergyman. But did it apply to those presbyters and deacons who followed the monastic profession as well? The only evidence, as far as I am aware, that explicitly tackles this issue are the acts of the so-called *Council in the case of Faustus*. The council in question was held in the early 450s in Arles, its main goal being solely to resolve the conflict between bishop Theodore of Fréjus and abbot Faustus of Lérins. The synod's final ruling suggests that at the heart of this discord lay the ambiguous status of ordained monks:

> The multitude of lay people in the monastery should remain under the abbot's supervision, and the bishop should not punish them in any way or dare [to ordain] someone of them a cleric if not by the request of the abbot. This, indeed, is full of reason and piety that clerics should respect their submission to the will (*ordinatio*) of the bishop; all belonging to the lay congregation, however, should remain in the sole and free ordination and disposition of their own abbot which they elected for themselves.[15]

Curiously, the abbot's own status was not discussed at this synod at all, even though the synodal fathers addressed Faustus as both an abbot and a "holy presbyter". Likely, this omission was intentional – the abbot was to retain some elements of autonomy, especially as far as lay monks were concerned. In light of this passage, however, monk-clerics should be directly answerable to the bishop, rather than the abbot. It may even suggest that they were excluded altogether from their abbot's supervision, and the only counteraction left at the latter's disposal was to limit the number of ordained clergy, i.e. refuse to sanction the monks' ordination. Presbyters and deacons were, thus, effectively taken out of the monastic hierarchy.

This synod is an example of a hard-fought compromise which, in the long run, satisfied neither sides of the conflict, and, in consequence, was never widely observed. Suffice to point out that the only part of the ruling which was repeated by subsequent councils was the one which dealt with

[15] *Monasterii uero omnis laica multitudo ad curam abbatis pertineat, neque ex ea sibi episcopus quidquam uindicet aut aliquem ex illa clericum nisi abbate petente praesumat. Hoc enim et rationis et religionis plenum est ut clerici ad ordinationem episcopi debita subiectione respiciant, laica uero omnis congregatio ad solam ac liberam abbatis proprii quem sibi elegerit ordinationem dispositionemque pertineat*, *Concilium Arelatense in causa Fausti*, ed. by Ch. Munier, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCL*, 148) p. 134 (transl. J.Sz.). J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER452.

the necessity of joint approval of any monastic ordination by the abbot and bishop; the manuscript tradition of the entire synodal acts is very poor. What *Concilium in causa Fausti* testifies to is the amount of middle ground that existed between two extreme positions: the one, represented by the fourth canon of the Council of Chalcedon of 451, subjugated the abbot along his whole congregation to the will of the local bishop; the other advocated the complete autonomy of the monastery from episcopal control. In general, every monastery enjoyed its own particular relation with the local bishop, and in most cases personal animosities or ties of friendship between a bishop and an abbot were much more important than any rules. *Concilium in causa Fausti* attests that the presence of ordained monks in monasteries could cause serious disagreements between bishops and abbots, and that the abbot's superior authority over ordained monks should not be always taken for granted.[16]

Other evidence indicates that, contrary to what the *Concilium in causa Fausti* may suggest, monks in holy orders were considered very much members of the monastic community, in fact, its members *par excellence*. An example of such an attitude towards ordained monks can be found in the *Preface of Gildas on penance*. This work was probably written around the middle of the sixth century with a specific monastic community in mind. It has the look of a penitential but it also shares some similarities with monastic rules.[17] According to Gildas – or someone assuming his identity as some scholars suggest[18] – the heaviest penance should be prescribed for "a presbyter or deacon [...] who has previously taken the monastic vow".[19] Meanwhile, a "monk of lower grade" (*inferiore gradu possitus monachus*) having committed the same crime should atone for the same period of time, but with an increased allowance of bread. Most intriguingly, "if, however, it is a presbyter or a deacon without monastic vow who has sinned, he shall do the same amount of penance as a monk without a rank (*sine gradu*)".[20] There are several things of note here. First of all, it is clear that ordained monks were expected to keep the highest moral standard; the description of their penance comes first in Gildas' work and is by far the most detailed.

[16] More on the conflicts between fifth-century bishops and monk-presbyters of southern Gaul can be found in Raúl Villegas Marín's paper in this volume.

[17] R. Meens, *Penance in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 2014, pp. 41-43.

[18] M. W. Herren, "Gildas and Early British Monasticism", in *Britain 400-600: Language and History*, ed. by A. Bammesberger, A. Wollmann, Heidelberg, 1990, pp. 65-78, here p. 70.

[19] *Presbiter aut diaconus* [...] *praelato ante monachi uoto*, *Praefatio Gildae de poenitentia* 1, ed. and transl. by L. Bieler, Dublin, 1963 (*SLH*, 5), pp. 60-61.

[20] *Si uero sine monachi uotu presbiter aut diaconus peccaurit, sicut monachus sine gradu sic peniteat*, *Praefatio Gildae de poenitentia* 3, ed. and transl. by Bieler, pp. 60-61.

The wrongdoings of monks who are not clerics, and clerics who are not monks, are much less discussed. Moreover, both groups were considered to be at the same level of Christian perfection (which could be seen as a bit unfavourable to the deacons and, particularly, to the presbyters). What is even more interesting is the division of all monks into just these two categories: the lay and the ordained. In the absence of other form of division, it appears, then, that in monasteries known to Gildas, clerics were held in such high esteem that the clerical hierarchy seamlessly replaced the monastic one (which was usually based on the length of time since taking monastic vows). It seems as if it was considered natural for all experienced monks to enter holy orders at some point, by which they demonstrated their religious prowess and confirmed their high status.

The *Preface of Gildas* gives also a partial insight into the complex relationships between abbots, bishops, and ordained monks. The first thing that stands out is the almost complete absence of episcopal power in the text. It looks as if the abbot was not in any way subject to the local bishop. Quite the contrary, he was granted major prerogatives as he could exact his will on any member of the community and excommunicate those who were disobedient. He also seems to have authority over the above-mentioned clerics who were not monks, albeit their role in the monastery is not at all clear.

The three pieces of evidence discussed above – notwithstanding that they originate from the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries respectively – testify to the difficulties created by the clash between the monastic hierarchy built upon the authority of the abbot and ascetic experience, and the ecclesiastical one based on the clerical ranks. A monastic presbyter or deacon, as a result of his dual status, was torn between loyalty to his abbot and obedience to his bishop. On the following pages, I will present three different strategies for dealing with the problems outlined above.

2. To Escape the System: Abbot Eugendus of the Jura Monasteries

The first case comes from the anonymous *Life of the Jura Fathers*, composed in the second decade of the sixth century. It tells the story of the monasteries founded in the Jura mountains almost a century earlier, focusing on their three abbots: Lupicinus, Romanus, and Eugendus. Although the *Life* is not strictly speaking a monastic rule, it may be argued that it was considered as one. In general, monasteries in this period did not adhere to one rule that organised every aspect of monastic life. Rather, they utilised a number of different sets of precepts – not necessarily writ-

ten down – which could also take the shape of *exempla* from the lives of famous Fathers. Of those, the most notable example remain Cassian's *Conferences* and *Institutes*, which were, *nota bene*, revered in Jura.[21] Thus, the *Life of the Jura Fathers* could be perceived as having a regulatory agenda. Its full title: *Vita vel regula sanctorum patrum Romani Lupicini et Eugendi monasteriorum iurensium abbatum* may very well apply in full to the text that was transmitted to our times – there is no need to look for the "lost" rule which was supposedly between the paragraphs 174 and 175.[22]

The *Life of the Jura Fathers* presents a rather cautious approach to the ordination of monks to clergy. Jura's founder and first abbot, Romanus, was apparently ordained against his will and tried to escape the duties and privileges of his presbyterial rank.[23] Romanus' hagiographer applauded such attitude to ordination and used it as an excuse to comment on those monks who sought ecclesiastical positions:

> But as I report this about the most holy man, others rise up before the eyes of my heart. After making their monastic profession, through mad ambition these attain clerical rank. Without delay, wearing the pretentious fashions of an inflated self-esteem, these perfumed and delicate young fellows are borne aloft, not only above their deserving equals, but also above their elders and seniors. Uninstructed, in even the most basic and rudimentary principles, they make every effort to take advantage of their priestly office and to preside from their seats of authority – they who, because of their vanity and youthful lack of seriousness, still need to be disciplined and reined in![24]

[21] *Vita Patrum Jurensium* 11 (I 2) and 174 (III 23), ed. by F. Martine, Paris, 2004 (*SCh*, 142), pp. 252 and 426.

[22] Ian Wood thinks that especially the section on Eugendus "can be read as a *regula*", I. Wood, "A Prelude to Columbanus: The Monastic Achievement in the Burgundian Territories", in *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, ed. by H. B. Clarke, M. Brennan, Oxford, 1981, p. 4. Albrecht Diem suggests that generally "it might be fruitful not to draw the line between *regula* [...] and a narrative text as strictly as it is usually done", A. Diem, "Inventing the Holy Rule: Some Observations on the History of Monastic Normative Observance in the Early Medieval West", in *Western Monasticism ante litteram. The Spaces of Monastic Observance in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by H. Dey, E. Fentress, Turnhout, 2011 (*Disciplina Monastica*, 7), pp. 53-84, here p. 57. For arguments advocating the loss of the original "Rule of the Jura Fathers", see F. Martine, *Vie des Pères du Jura*, pp. 31-33.

[23] According to R. W. Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism*, Washington, D.C., 1989, pp. 154-155 this ordination was a reward to Romanus for his services to Hilary of Arles. I would argue that this did not have to be the case, see J. Szafranowski, "The *Life of the Jura Fathers* and the Monastic Clergy", *Augustinianum*, 59.1 (2019), pp. 143-159, here pp. 147-148.

[24] *Sed mihi istud de uiro sanctissimo replicanti, illi in oculis cordis occurrunt, qui in professione positi monachali, cum ad officium clericatus rabida ambitione peruenerint, confestim cothur-*

Ordinations posed a very real threat to the religious, then, as they led to pride – a vice to be vehemently avoided by all monks. This notion – popular in the East – was already formulated in the West as well, suffice to recall the writings of Sulpicius Severus and John Cassian.[25] We should note, however, that, according to the *Life*'s anonymous author, the greatest danger of pride lies not in its well-known potential to slow down a monk on his way to the perfect Christian life, but in its capability for dismantling the monastic hierarchy. I would argue that it is precisely in this context that one should analyse new regulations introduced to Jura monasteries by their fourth abbot, Eugendus.

According to the *Life*'s narrative, Eugendus was first asked, or indeed tempted, to become ordained when he was charged with some abbatial duties in consequence of his abbot's continuing illness. It should be emphasised that this abbot's name was, no doubt intentionally, altogether omitted in the *Life of the Jura Fathers*, and his deeds were only mentioned in passing. Curiously, this absence is never explained, and one might assume that his biggest fault was imploring Eugendus to be made presbyter:

> That same abbot attempted to tie down the above-mentioned and holy Eugendus more tightly with the dignity of the presbyterate along with the burdens of administration. Not only did Eugendus very frequently and very piously oppose the will of the abbot in this matter, but he also, when approaching the holy pontiffs who had come together there to pray, circumspectly and deliberately fled away in deference to the honour of their office. Moreover, he often told me in private that it is much more beneficial for an abbot, because of the ambition of the young, to preside over the brothers free of the office of the priesthood, and not to be tied down by that dignity for which it is scarcely fitting for those who have renounced the world and who live in seclusion to strive. "We have known", he used to insist, in addition to the reason we have just adduced, "many fathers who, having exercised to perfection their profession of humility, have grown deeply and secretly proud in their office and have placed themselves above the brothers whom it

no elationis inflati, non solum supra coaeuos digniores, uerum etiam supra uetulos ac seniores delibuti ac delicati iuuenculi efferuntur, et nec primis saltim simplicibusque elementis inbuti, nituntur cathedris uel sacerdotio praesidere, qui adhuc pro elatione ac leuitate iuuenali uirgis indigent coerceri, *Vita Patrum Jurensium* 21 (I 6), ed. by Martine, pp. 260-262. Translation of this and following *Life*'s passages was taken (with occasional minor adjustments) from *The Life of the Jura Fathers*, transl. T. Vivian, K. Vivian, J. B. Russell, Kalamazoo, Mich., 1999.

[25] Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi* 1.21.4-5, ed. by J. Fontaine, Paris, 2006 (*SCh*, 510), p. 186; Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remediis* 11.14, ed. by J.-C. Guy, Paris, 2011 (*SCh*, 109), pp. 426 and 440. In the East, Pachomius praises the advantages of the lay monastic community in *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* G1 27, ed. by F. Halkin, Brussels, 1932, pp. 16-17.

> would have been more fitting to go before as an example of humility". Therefore, the saint of God took on (as Father Lupicinus [Romanus' brother and successor in abbacy – JSz] had done) the labour imposed on him of being a replacement and partner without the title of priest.[26]

Eugendus made, then, a very conscious decision not to become ordained even before he was granted the title of abbot. It seems that he was beseeched to accept the presbyterate not only by his abbot, but also by the bishops who were visiting the monastery. As I have pointed out earlier, bishops could have a good reason to ordain a monastic superior to the presbyterate, as this strengthened their authority over the abbot and, consequently, over the whole monastic community.[27] What is crucial here, however, is that Eugendus – or the author of his *vita* – stated a different motive for this refusal. Apparently, the lay status of abbot was especially beneficial for relations within the monastery: Eugendus advised monastic superiors to resist ordination, not because it could help in asserting independence from the local bishop, but "because of the ambition of the young" (*propter iuniorum ambitionem*). In order to untangle this enigmatic phrase, one must turn to the passage from the *Life of the Jura Fathers* I have cited above, in which also "the young ones" (*iuuenculi*) are the monks who are most eager to accept presbyterial ordination. What I would suggest, therefore, is that the very reason for the abbot to decline ordination is the fact that his lay status is, quite paradoxically, advantageous when dealing with the ambitious presbyter-monks. By refusing ecclesiastical position, Eugendus excluded himself from a power structure in which he would be subject to the bishop granting him presbyterate and – even more importantly – in which he would be equal in rank to the presbyters from his monastery. Eugendus did face rebellion in the very beginning of his abbacy, which he was able to sup-

[26] *Temptauit namque idem abba ut antedictum sanctumque Eugendum cum administrationis onere etiam presbyterii dignitate artius inligaret. Sed non solum uoluntati ipsius in hac parte saepissime, immo sanctissime contradixit, uerum etiam sacrosanctos pontifices, qui illic orationis causa confluxerant, adiens, reuerentia tanti honoris, caute ac diligenter aufugit. Mihi tamen crebro secretissime testabatur utilius multo esse abbati, propter iuniorum ambitionem, liberum a sacerdotio praeesse fratribus et non inligari dignitate quam abrenuntiantes ac remotos minime conuenit adfectare. 'Nouimus namque', aiebat, 'praeter hanc quam praediximus causam, multos etiam patres, post humilitatis professae culmina, hoc officio grauius ac latentius superbisse et plus se efferre fratribus, quos in exemplo humilitatis conuenerat anteire'. Suscepit ergo Dei sanctus, sicut etiam pater Lupicinus, absque sacerdotali eminentia iniunctae sibi uicissitudinis socieatisque laborem*, *Vita Patrum Jurensium* 132-134 (III 8), ed. by F. Martine, pp. 380-384.

[27] Yaniv Fox – rightly, in my opinion – sees this pressure exerted on Eugendus to accept ordination as the sign of the regional ecclesiastical elites trying to demonstrate their power, Y. Fox, "A Swarm from the Blessed Hive: the Social Networks of the Jura Monasteries", *Revue Bénédictine*, 128 (2018), pp. 252-280, here p. 267.

press only with the assistance of local aristocrats and bishops.[28] Although these monks are described only as monks driven by pride and jealousy, the chief opposers of his rule could be the monastery's clerics. After all, due to their holy orders, they formed the monastic elite and had the gravitas necessary to question the new rule. They also were the faction that could potentially be most infuriated with a new abbot being elected from outside their group.

Whilst the involvement of monastic presbyters in the mutiny against Eugendus cannot be fully proven, the author of the *Life of the Jura Fathers* did mention a rather strange regulation which hints at delicate relations between the abbot and the presbyters from his monastery:

> Although the bishops often attempted to force presbyteral duties on him, out of humility he preferred not to become entangled with the presbyterate. As a result, since presbyters perform the ministry of the saving sacrifice, Eugendus allowed them to keep their consciences pure by having them always remain apart. Thus if he got perhaps a little too gruff over some offence (as often happened), the presbyters, because they did not know about the culprit and his fault, could distribute the body of the Lord from the altar without the knowledge of, or participating in, the other's offence. They did not punish their consciences by taking part in a sin, nor did they seem, perhaps, by granting sacraments to the offender, to have lessened for him the severity of the father's punishment before he had made amendment.[29]

Intriguingly, Eugendus' decision to separate presbyters from the rest of the community is presented as a result of his own lay status. It looks as if Eugendus wanted to divide the monks in his monastery into two separated groups: lay and clerical, with him belonging to the former. The isolation of the presbyters meant their *de facto* exclusion from the monastic community, and their chief role was to celebrate Eucharist. Such limitation of the presbyters' functions within the monastery does bear a striking resemblance to the restrictions which were usually introduced in the nunneries. Clerics were only admitted inside to minister at the altar, and all other

[28] *Vita Patrum Jurensium* 138 (III.10), ed. by Martine, pp. 386-388.

[29] *Presbyteris quoque ipsis, quorum officio, constrictus saepe ab episcopis, humilitatis causa noluit, ut diximus, inplicari, ita semper ob ministerium sacrificii salutaris quodam remotionis opere conscientiae purae tribuit facultatem, ut, illo cuique pro delicto mordaciter forsitan quippiam, ut adsolet, suscensenti, illi uero, dum reatum culpamque ignorarent, absque notitia uel participatione alieni reatus Corpus dominicum traderent ab altari, – ut nec se conscii plecterent communione delicti nec alterum seueritate paterna ante emendationem forsitan sacramentorum indultu subtraxisse uiderentur in aliquo*, *Vita Patrum Jurensium* 151 (III 14), ed. by Martine, pp. 400-402.

contacts with nuns were strictly forbidden.[30] Although the reasons for such regulations could be different – nuns were, above all, restrained from having any sexual relations with men – the adopted approach is similar as Eugendus ensured, it seems, that monk-presbyters would not have contact with ordinary monks. The model to emulate was already at hand, as one of the Jura monasteries, La Balme, was reserved only for women living in complete seclusion.[31]

The last regulation of Eugendus concerning presbyters under his rule was to give them an assignment in the wake of their reduced duties. It was of rather extraordinary nature:

> Nor was the blessed father the only one in the community who had the possession of the charismatic gifts of good works, but presbyters too, and many brothers there; so that jealous desires might cease, the man of God would delegate to them the ministry of healing rather than keep it for himself.[32]

The allusion to "jealous desires" may yet again point to the possible conflict between Eugendus and his fellow monks at the beginning of his abbacy, presbyters being at the helm of the monks prone to jealousy. It seems that by sharing his miraculous power Eugendus aimed at preventing further disagreements in the future.

By securing his lay status, Eugendus tried to defuse the potential discord in quite a clever way. He did not attempt to boost his prestige by accepting a presbyterial ordination himself – it could help him temporarily, but, in the end, he would still only be equal in rank to some of the monks under his rule. Rather, he opted to manifest his sublime monastic vocation which, in the long run, could elevate his status higher than the ordination.

3. Curbing the Numbers: Aurelian of Arles and his *Rule for Monks*

It must be noted that, according to the *Life of the Jura Fathers*, Eugendus strived to limit the influence of clerics within his monastery, but he never attempted to restrict their numbers, as if he took the significant number of monks-presbyters as something unalterable. If that was indeed true in the case of Eugendus, it was not with bishop Aurelian of Arles. Aurelian, a relative (most probably son) of bishop Sacerdos of Lyon, was named bishop

[30] e.g. Caesarius, *Regula ad virgines* 36 and 51, ed. by J. Courreau, A. de Vogüé, Paris, 1988 (*SCh*, 345), pp. 218-220 and 236-238. See also Juliette Day's paper in this volume.

[31] *Vita Patrum Jurensium* 25-26 (I.9), ed. by Martine, pp. 264-268.

[32] *Neque solus beatissimus pater in coenobio, sed et presbyteri multique inibi fratres potiebantur charismata meritorum, et, zeli ambitione cessante, illis potissimum quam sibi Dei homo medendi delegabat officium*, *Vita Patrum Jurensium* 148 (III.13), ed. by Martine, p. 398.

of Arles in 546, when he was just twenty-three years old. A year after, with the support of king Childebert I, he founded within the city walls a male monastery for which he composed a rule.[33] Although it was largely based on the *Regula ad monachos* of his great predecessor as bishop, Caesarius, the most important for this discussion is a precept which seems to be one of Aurelian's original additions.

Aurelian demands that...

> no one should accept the dignity of presbyterate or diaconate except the abbot, if he would like to be ordained a presbyter, and one deacon or subdeacon, whom [the abbot] should have the power to ordain – whoever and whenever he would like. And if you please God in such a way that someone from you rises to episcopate, he should alone leave [the monastery].[34]

Apart from the abbot-presbyter, and one monk in the rank of a deacon, not only could no monk enter the holy orders, but also no cleric, including the bishop, could be let inside the monastery.[35] It seems that there were only two exemptions from this rule: a presbyter or a bishop was allowed to enter the monastery – at the explicit request of the abbot – to celebrate Mass or to carry out the corpse of a deceased religious.[36]

These regulations ensured that the community's superior had the supreme authority that could not be challenged neither by the monks under his rule, nor by the neighbouring bishop. The *Rule* gave the abbot much flexibility: if he enjoyed a good relationship with the local church, he could keep his monastery completely devoid of clergy. Indeed, it seems that the first abbot of the newly founded monastery, Florentinus (d. 553), was most probably never ordained, since at no point in his lengthy epitaph does it mention any presbyterial status.[37] Florentinus was likely a close relative of Aurelian,

[33] For a brief biography of Aurelian, see W. E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 262-264. For the year of the monastery's foundation, see H. Atsma, "Die christlichen Inschriften Galliens als Quelle für Klöster und Klosterbewohner bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts", *Francia*, 4 (1976), pp. 1-57, here p. 25.

[34] *Nullus honorem presbiterii aut diaconatus accipiat praeter abbas si voluerit ordinari presbyterum et unum diaconem et subdiaconem, quos ipse voluerit et quando voluerit, ordinandi habeat potestatem. Si vero deo propitio ita proficeritis, ut aliquis ex vobis ad episcopatum petatur, ipse solus egrediatur*, Aurelian of Arles, *Regula ad monachos* 46, ed. by A. Schmidt, *Studia Monastica*, 17 (1975), p. 253 (transl. J.Sz.). *PL* 68, col. 392 is almost identical with Schmidt's edition.

[35] Aurelian of Arles, *Regula ad monachos* 48, ed. by Schmidt, p. 253 = *PL* 68, col. 392.

[36] Aurelian of Arles, *Regula ad monachos* 57 and 58 (*Ordo psallendi*), *PL* 68, col. 396.

[37] Throughout his epitaph, Florentinus is only called *abbas*, see *ILCV* 1644 = *CIL* XII 944 = *CLE* 712.

so we may assume that they were on friendly terms.[38] If, however, the abbot wanted to avoid any contact with the local clergy, he could seek presbyterial ordination for himself and order one of his monks to be appointed deacon, benefitting in this way from absolute Eucharistic autonomy. At the same time, holding ecclesiastical rank might not only have practical benefits, but could also result in strengthening his intramural authority, since no other monk was permitted a higher rank than that of deacon.

The arrangements of Aurelian correspond closely, in fact, with those made by Eugendus. Although they differ in details, both Aurelian and Eugendus aimed at assuring that the lay monks would constitute the backbone of the monastery, with ordained monks being *de facto*, as in Jura, or *de iure*, as in Arles, excluded from the monastery. However, even though Eugendus and Aurelian wanted to achieve similar goals, the circumstances in which they acted were dissimilar. The Jura monasteries were located in the scarcely populated mountains and the local bishop – who presided in Besançon – was more than one hundred kilometres away; consequently, it was easier to assert monastery's independence from episcopal control. Additionally, the community had to take care of its Eucharistic needs on its own as no secular clergymen lived in the neighbourhood; hence, the necessity to have a clerical contingent at hand, within the monastic ranks. In contrast, the monastery for which Aurelian wrote his rule was founded inside the city walls. In this case, the separation of monks from both the secular and ecclesiastical worlds was not achieved through sheer distance, but needed to be safeguarded by detailed rules. Thus, for example, monks are explicitly forbidden to assist in the baptisms of infants.[39] Similarly, the vicinity of episcopal power meant that the abbatial self-rule was threatened – Aurelian made it clear, therefore, that the abbot is free to have any monk ordained and at any given time. The only limit to his authority, it seems, is the case in which a monk is elected a bishop. Then again, the *Rule* prohibits this newly appointed bishop from taking any other monk with him – this precept probably alludes to the fact that quite often such bishops ordained monks from their former monasteries in order to surround themselves with like-minded clergy. From the letter of Gregory the Great to Virgilius, Aurelian's successor to the bishopric of Arles, we also learn that Aurelian – on the request of King Childebert I, co-founder of the monas-

[38] Their kinship is suspected on the basis of onomastics: Aurelian's uncle was also called Florentinus, see M. Heinzelmann, *Bischofsherrschaft in Gallien. Zur Kontinuität römischer Führungsschichten vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert. Soziale, prosopographische und bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte*, Munich, 1976, p. 151, n. 356.

[39] Aurelian of Arles, *Regula ad monachos* 20, ed. by A. Schmidt, p. 246 = *PL* 68, col. 390.

tery – asked the apostolic see to confirm with its authority that the bishop of Arles would not interfere in the abbot's election.[40]

It must be noted that Aurelian's precepts which guarantee the separation of clerics and monks resemble those which both Aurelian and Caesarius issued in their time for nuns.[41] Maybe not surprisingly, given the dangers arising from nuns' familiarity with clerics, Caesarius' *Regula ad virgines* introduces more regulations concerning the presence of clergy in the monastery than his *Regula ad monachos*. What is startling, however, is that Caesarius – who himself served for a time as both an abbot and a presbyter – never raised the issue of ordination in the rule he composed for the monks, even though in the preface Caesarius claims to dictate his guidelines to the presbyter and abbot Teridius,[42] It may be that Caesarius thought it sufficient to observe in this matter canon 27 of the council of Agde gathered in 506 (which he happened to preside); among other things, this canon repeats the decree of the *Concilium in causa Fausti* quoted above – a monk can be ordained only with the consent of his abbot.[43]

4. In the Monastery, every Cleric is but a Monk: Benedict of Nursia

In the last part of this paper, I will discuss how Benedict of Nursia dealt with the difficulties created by monastic presbyters and deacons. In his *Rule*, written towards the middle of the sixth century, Benedict suggested some simple yet quite ingenious regulations which seem to largely alleviate the problems with which his predecessors had struggled. In consequence, they brought stability to monasteries consisting of both ordained and lay monks.

The rules concerning the admittance of monks to ecclesiastical ranks are to be found in chapter 62 of the *Rule*. It runs as follows:

> LXII: On the priests of the monastery
> If any abbot needs to have a presbyter or deacon ordained for himself, he should choose from among his monks one worthy to exercise the priesthood. The one ordained, however, must beware of vanity and pride, nor should he presume to do anything but what the abbot has

[40] Gregory the Great, *Reg. ep.* 9.217, ed. by D. Norberg, Turnhout, 1982 (*CCL*, 140A). This is Letter 9.216 in the MGH edition.

[41] Aurelian of Arles, *Regula ad virgines* 14 and 42 (*Ordo psallendi*), *PL* 68, col. 401 and 406. For Caesarius, see n. 30 above.

[42] Caesarius, *Regula ad monachos*, prologue, ed. by Courreau, de Vogüé, p. 204.

[43] *Concilium Agathense* 27, ed. by Ch. Munier, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCL*, 148), p. 205. See also J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER939.

> ordered, since he knows he must submit all the more to the discipline of the rule. The priesthood should not cause him to forget of the obedience and discipline demanded by the rule, but rather it should make him progress more and more toward God. Yet he must always keep to the rank of his entrance into the monastery, except for liturgical functions or if, by chance, he is promoted by the wish of the abbot or the choice of the community because of the merit of his life. He must, however, know how to keep the rule set down for the deans and priors.
> But if he presumes to act otherwise, he should be considered a rebel and not a priest. If frequently admonished he does not improve, the bishop may even be brought as a witness. Should he still not amend, and his faults become notorious, he is to be dismissed from the monastery. This should only be done, however, if he is so arrogant that he will not submit nor obey the rule.[44]

Chief here is Benedict's decision that monks in holy orders should not be treated any differently than their lay brethren. Like the Gallic tradition present already in the *Concilium in causa Fausti*, a monk can only be ordained with the permission of his abbot. What was different was his unconditional submission, not to the bishop, but to the monastic superior – and to the rule governing the monastery – even after receiving ecclesiastical rank. Benedict was very careful to constantly emphasise this subjugation: the abbot – whose authority is further reinforced by his title of *vicarius Christi*, "Christ's deputy"[45] – can ask for a cleric to be ordained "for himself"; even one holding the high rank of presbyter can only do his abbot's bidding; and the ecclesiastical office will not protect an insubor-

[44] Benedict, *Regula* 62, ed. by A. de Vogüé, J. Neufville, Paris, 1972 (*SCh*, 182), pp. 640-642, *LXII. De sacerdotibus monasterii. Si quis abbas sibi presbiterum uel diaconem ordinari petierit, de suis elegat qui dignus sit sacerdotio fungi. Ordinatus autem caueat elationem aut superbiam, nec quicquam praesumat nisi quod ei ab abbate praecipitur, sciens se multo magis disciplinae regulari subdendum. Nec occasione sacerdotii obliuiscatur regulae oboedientiam et disciplinam, sed magis ac magis in Deum proficiat. Locum uero illum semper adtendat quod ingressus est in monasterio, praeter officium altaris, et si forte electio congregationis et uoluntas abbatis pro uitae merito eum promouere uoluerint. Qui tamen regulam decanis uel praepositis constitutam sibi seruare sciat. Quod si aliter praesumpserit, non sacerdos sed rebellio iudicetur. Et saepe amonitus si non correxerit, etiam episcopus adhibeatur in testimonio. Quod si nec sic emendauerit, clarescentibus culpis, proiciatur de monasterio, si tamen talis fuerit eius contumacia ut subdi aut oboedire regulae nolit.* Translation is a slightly altered version of the text provided in T. G. Kardong, *Benedict's Rule. A Translation and Commentary*, Collegeville, MN, 1996, p. 505. See also translation in *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. by T. Fry, Collegeville, MN, 1981, p. 277.

[45] Benedict, *Regula* 2 and 63.

dinate monk from being expelled from the monastery. At the same time, monk-clerics do not seem to be subject to the bishop in any way. In fact, the latter is presented in the *Rule* as merely one of the tools at abbot's disposal when dealing with rebellious clergymen. Of crucial importance was Benedict's assertion that ordination is not at all reflected in the monastic hierarchy which is established principally by the time of conversion to the monastic life. Although monk's position could be altered in appreciation of his exceptional merits or through abbatial favour, being in holy orders by itself had no effect on the monk's status. It must be added that most of these regulations are also present in chapter 60 of the *Rule* which describes the conditions under which those already ordained should be permitted to join the community.

It is worth pointing out that in the monasteries adhering to Benedict's *Rule* the abbot's authority is unchanged regardless of whether he was ordained or not. In this matter, it is likely that Benedict would advise abbots to follow the rule whose influence on his own cannot be overestimated – that is, of course, the so-called *Rule of the Master*. Although this rule is roughly three times longer than Benedict's, at no point does it regulate the conditions by which monks can enter holy orders. The issue that the *Master* did consider, however, is priests wishing to adopt a monastic way of life. In chapter 83 of his *Rule*, he permitted them to enter the monastery and he even ordered that they be addressed as *patres*, "fathers", which is also the title of the abbot.[46] He is very clear, however, that this title is conferred on them only out of respect for their sacerdotal dignity – they must obey their abbots in all things and are forbidden to defy them under the pretext that they are laymen.[47] For the *Master*, the lay status of the abbot was something given; it seems that all other monks were lay as well, since their ordination is never considered. The clerics who were admitted into the community were expected to behave just as any other monk, which, first and foremost, meant that they should work physically. Those refusing manual labour were to be dismissed. Whereas Benedict clearly drew inspiration from the *Master* when emphasising abbot's superior authority over all monks, including clerics, his own *Rule* is much more flexible. It is perfectly adoptable by both a monastery with numerous presbyters and deacons, and by a community of predominantly lay character.

[46] *Regula Magistri* 83, ed. by A. de Vogüé, Paris, 1964 (*SCh*, 106), pp. 342-346.
[47] [Sacerdotes] *utpote laicos abbates excludant*, ibid., p. 344.

5. From Heavily Clericalized Monasteries to Lay Communities and Back

The first monks of the West quite commonly rose to the ranks of presbyters and deacons. This, in turn, led to the problems for the community – both external and internal in nature – which have been highlighted in the first part of this paper. To remedy this situation different strategies were being introduced. In some monasteries, like those ruled by Eugendus, presbyters were kept away from the rest of the monks. In others, such as Aurelian's monastery in Arles, the number of monks in holy orders was being seriously restricted, to the point where the whole community was lay or only an abbot attained the high rank of a presbyter. Although an easy source of inspiration for such actions were the stories of Eastern monks, such as those popularised in the West by Jerome, Rufinus of Aquileia, and John Cassian, it is interesting to observe that the rapid growth of female monasticism at the time could provide some insight into how the monastic communities were able to function without any cleric-monks. Meanwhile, new solutions emerged: submitting a cleric-monk fully to the authority of his abbot – at the expense of the bishop – and ensuring that the ecclesiastical ranks in no way affected the monastic hierarchy allowed the monasteries to house numerous presbyters and deacons without disturbing their internal stability or restricting their sovereignty from the local bishop.[48] In effect, there was no need to separate the monks in holy orders in any way, and the monastery could function as one body regardless of the particular monk's ecclesiastical status. It could be seen as one of the reasons why the writings advocating such regulations, like Benedict's *Rule*, became so popular in the seventh century, and why the very same *Rule* was chosen by Benedict of Aniane as the basis for the Carolingian monastic reforms.

Summary

This article shows the impact of clerical ordinations of monks on monastic communities of the late antique Latin West. Its first part demonstrates how the clerical hierarchy introduced by monk-presbyters and monk-deacons challenged the purely monastic power structure – based, above all, on the abbot's supreme authority. It turns then to three organizers of monastic life active in the sixth century – Eugendus of Jura, Aurelian of Arles, and Ben-

[48] On the shift of control over monastic communities from bishops to abbots in Merovingian Gaul, see A. Diem, "Gregory's Chess Board: Monastic Conflict and Competition in Early Medieval Gaul", in *Compétition et sacré au haut Moyen Âge: entre médiation et exclusion*, ed. by Ph. Depreux, F. Bougard, R. Le Jan, Turnhout, 2015, pp. 165-191.

edict of Nursia – who, each in his own way, ensured that the appointment of monks to clerical ranks would leave the monastery's hierarchy intact – or even reinforce it. In conclusion, it is argued that the problems provoked by monastic clergy were alleviated by the strict separation of monastic and ecclesiastical hierarchies, which is demonstrated particularly in the Benedict of Nursia's *Rule*. This, in turn, contributed to the steady process of the clericalization of Western monasticism.

Jerzy Szafranowski
University of Warsaw
jerkow@gmail.com

Legimus supra magistrum non esse discipulum: Pope Celestine I, the "Augustinian Controversy", and the Clerical *cursus honorum*

Raúl Villegas Marín*

(*Barcelona*)

1. Celestine's *Letters* 4 & 21

Shortly after the death of Augustine of Hippo in August 430, two laymen, Prosper of Aquitaine and Hilary of Marseilles,[1] moved from Southern Gaul to Rome to report to Bishop Celestine I on the criticism raised against Augustine's views on predestination in some ecclesiastical milieus.[2] Celestine's handling of this controversy hardly met the expectations of the two zealous advocates of Augustine. In chapter 2 of his letter to Venerius of Marseilles and some other Gallic Bishops (*Letter* 21 in Celestine's epistolary), the Pope praised the *uita*, *merita*, and *scientia* of Augustine, and let his Gallic colleagues know that his predecessors had reckoned the Bishop of Hippo among the *magistri optimi* of the Catholic Church.[3] Yet, Celestine avoided addressing in this letter the doctrinal issues that formed the core of this controversy. We should not forget that the Pope had been placed in the embarrassing position of having to rely upon the information provided

* Ramón y Cajal Researcher (RyC-2017-23402, Gobierno de España, Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades).

[1] *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 4. *La Gaule chrétienne (314-614)*, ed. by L. Pietri, M. Heijmans, Paris, 2013 (hereafter, *PCBE*, 4), pp. 1553-1556, *Prosper* 1; pp. 1009-1010, *Hilarius* 5. On Prosper, see also A. Y. Hwang, *Intrepid Lover of Perfect Grace. The Life and Thought of Prosper of Aquitaine*, Washington, DC, 2009.

[2] On this theological controversy, see R. H. Weaver, *Divine Grace and Human Agency. A Study of the Semi-Pelagian Controversy*, Macon, 1996; D. Ogliari, Gratia et certamen. *The Relationship between Grace and Free Will in the Discussion of Augustine with the so-called Semipelagians*, Leuven, 2003.

[3] Celestine, *Ep.* 21.2.3, *PL* 50, col. 530: *Augustinum sanctae recordationis uirum pro uita sua atque meritis in nostra communione semper habuimus, nec umquam hunc sinistrae suspicionis saltem rumor aspersit: quem tantae scientiae olim fuisse meminimus, ut inter magistros optimos etiam a meis semper decessoribus haberetur.*

to him by laymen who dared to accuse some of his fellow bishops of doctrinal deviance. Celestine's caution about the reliability of Prosper and Hilary's report, attested by the occurrence in his letter of conditional clauses such as *si ita est* and *si ita res sunt*, might be one of the reasons why the Pope chose to focus on two rather "collateral aspects" of this controversy.[4]

First, Celestine rebuked the addressees of *Letter* 21 for allowing the presbyters of their churches to preach whatever they wanted and whenever they wanted (*liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem*). Celestine ordered the bishops to put an end to this practice, which went against the custom of the Roman Church. According to Celestine, preaching was the privilege and responsibility of the bishops.[5]

As Celestine construed it, this theological controversy resulted from the Gallic bishops' failure in making their magisterial authority prevail over their presbyters', with the aggravating circumstance that many of these presbyters had not learnt from their bishops what they preached to their flock: "what hope can be left if – provided it is true – the teachers are silent and those who had not been their disciples are speaking?" (*quid illic spei est, ubi, magistris tacentibus, ii loquuntur qui, si ita est, eorum discipuli non fuerunt?*).[6] This phrase parallels that of a passage from a previous letter of Celestine to the bishops of the provinces *Viennensis* and *Narbonensis* II (*Letter* 4 in Celestine's epistolary, dated 26 July 428), in which the Pope complained about the appointment as bishops of men who had not previously served in the lower ecclesiastical offices and, as a result, lacked the training necessary for properly exercising their ministry: "for whoever

[4] G. Lettieri, "Centri in conflitto e parole di potenza. Normalizzazione e subordinazione dell'agostinismo al primato romano nel V secolo", *Annali di storia dell'esegesi*, 27 (2010), pp. 101-169, has also pointed out that the Popes' vagueness and lack of a clear-cut theological stance on these issues also served – somewhat paradoxically – as a means of consolidating Rome's primacy.

[5] Celestine, *Ep.* 21.1.2, col. 528-529: *filii nostri praesentes Prosper et Hilarius, quorum circa Deum nostrum sollicitudo laudanda est, tantum nescio quibus presbyteris illic licere qui dissensioni ecclesiarum studeant, sunt apud nos prosecuti, ut indisciplinatas quaestiones uocantes in medium, pertinaciter eos dicant praedicare aduersantia ueritati. Sed uestrae dilectioni iustius imputamus, quando illi supra uos habent copiam disputandi. Legimus supra magistrum non esse discipulum (Lc. 6, 40), hoc est, non sibi debere quemquam in iniuriam doctorum uindicare doctrinam. Nam et hos ipsos a deo nostro positos nouimus ad docendum; cum sit, dicente Apostolo, eis tertius locus intra ecclesiam deputandus (1 Cor 12, 28). Quid illic spei est, ubi, magistris tacentibus, ii loquuntur qui, si ita est, eorum discipuli non fuerunt? Timeo ne conniuere sit, hoc tacere. Timeo ne magis ipsi loquantur, qui permittunt illis taliter loqui. In talibus causis non caret suspicione taciturnitas, quia occurreret ueritas, si falsitas displiceret. Merito namque causa nos respicit, si silentio foueamus errorem. Ergo corripiantur huiusmodi. Non sit his liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem.*

[6] English translation, by S. Adamiak, available at the *Presbyters in the Late Antique West Database* (http://presbytersproject.ihuw.pl, hereafter PLAW), ER 1828.

wishes to be a doctor has to be first a disciple, so that he might teach what he has learned" (*debet enim ante esse discipulus quisquis doctor esse desiderat, ut possit docere quod didicit*).[7] Actually, in the following years this sentence became a commonplace of the Roman pronouncements endorsing the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*.[8]

As we will see later (3), in the above-quoted passage of his *Letter* 4 Celestine referred to the recent promotion to the bishopric of monks from the monastery of Lérins. Celestine's allusion to "presbyters who have not been disciples" of their bishops in *Letter* 21 might refer, too, to the direct promotion of monks to the presbyterate. Indeed, in *Letter* 21 Celestine also suggests that the bishops who allow their presbyters to preach are ignorant of their privileges and duties because they were members of the laity – most probably, monks – directly ordained to the episcopate: "unless this is prevented by the fact [...] that some of our brothers are ignorant of what they must claim for themselves because they have been recently admitted to our college directly from the laity" (*nisi forte illud obsistat* [...] *ut aliqui e fratrum numero, nuper de laicorum consortio in collegium nostrum fortassis admissi, nesciant quid sibi debeant uindicare*).[9]

According to Celestine, therefore, the transgression of the disciplinary rules banning presbyters from preaching and forbidding the direct ordination of laymen to the highest offices of the clerical *cursus honorum* caused the theological quarrel Prosper and Hilary reported to him. In the following, I intend to analyze the phenomena of the *per saltum* ordinations of priests (mostly, monks) and the preaching of the presbyters in the churches of Southern Gaul. But first, a few words on the identity of the addressees of Celestine's *Letter* 21.

At the head of the list appears the name of Venerius, the bishop of Marseilles (*prouincia Viennensis*).[10] The third mentioned by Celestine is

[7] Celestine, *Ep.* 4.2.4, *PL* 50, col. 433: *ordinatos uero quosdam, fratres charissimi, episcopos, qui nullis ecclesiasticis ordinibus ad tantae dignitatis fastigium fuerint instituti, contra patrum decreta, huius usurpatione qui se hoc recognoscit fecisse, didicimus; cum ad episcopatum his gradibus, quibus frequentissime cautum est, debeat perueniri, ut minoribus initiati officiis ad maiora firmentur. Debet enim ante esse discipulus quisquis doctor esse desiderat, ut possit docere quod didicit* [...] *qui non per singula stipendia creuerit, ad emeritum stipendii ordinem non potest peruenire*.

[8] See, for instance, Leo I, *Ep.* 6.6; Id., *Ep.* 12.4; Hormisdas, *Ep.* 25.1.2; Gregory the Great, *Reg. ep.* VIII 4; IX 213; IX 218. On the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum* in Late Antiquity, see P.-H. Lafontaine, *Les conditions positives de l'accession aux Ordres dans la première législation ecclésiastique (300-492)*, Ottawa, 1963, pp. 235-356; J. St. H. Gibaut, *The* Cursus Honorum. *A Study of the Origins and Evolution of Sequential Ordination*, New York, 2000, pp. 59-157.

[9] Celestine, *Ep.* 21.1.2, col. 529.

[10] *PCBE*, 4, pp. 1923-1925, *Venerius* 1.

Leontius, bishop of Fréjus (*Narbonensis* II);[11] the fourth, Auxonius, was perhaps bishop of Alba (*Viennensis*).[12] The episcopal sees of the rest of the addressees of the letter – Marinus (2nd), Arcadius (5th), and Fillucius (6th) – remain uncertain. Arcadius was perhaps bishop of Orange (*Viennensis*),[13] and it is also possible that either Marinus or Fillucius was bishop of Geneva (*Viennensis*).[14] Even though *Letter* 21 was also addressed *caeteris Galliarum episcopis*, the fact that the metropolitan bishops of *Viennensis* and *Narbonensis* II are not explicitly mentioned in its heading requires some explanation. In my opinion, Celestine, who operated solely on the reports of Prosper and Hilary, singled out Venerius, Leontius and the rest of the bishops simply because they presided over the churches where the infringements he denounced were occurring. As we are about to see, there is enough evidence corroborating this hypothesis.

[11] *PCBE*, 4, pp. 1132-1133, *Leontius* 2.

[12] *PCBE*, 4, p. 314, *Auxonius*.

[13] As suggested by R. W. Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism and Religious Controversy in Fifth-Century Gaul*, Washington, DC, 1989, p. 132.

[14] Shortly after the death of Augustine, two presbyters, Camillus and Theodorus, requested from Prosper of Aquitaine an explanation of nine excerpts taken from Augustine's *De praedestinatione sanctorum*. Prosper's response to this request is transmitted by manuscripts under the title *Pro Augustino responsiones ad excerpta Genuensium* (*PL* 51, col. 187-202). On this basis, Camillus and Theodorus are commonly presented as presbyters of Genoa, in Liguria (see, for instance, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire*, 2. *Prosopographie de l'Italie chrétienne (313-604)*, ed. by Ch. & L. Pietri, Rome, 1999, p. 386, *Camillus*; p. 2169, *Theodorus*; S. Adamiak, PLAW PR822 & PR823). However, this assumption proves to be problematic, for we should wonder how did two Ligurian presbyters become acquainted, at such an early date, with a treatise addressed by Augustine to the monastic milieus of Marseilles and Lérins. In 1958, Georges de Plinval suggested the reading *Agennuensium* instead of *Genuensium* and made of Camillus and Theodorus two presbyters from Agen (*Aquitanica* II), but subsequently this hypothesis has been ruled out (see G. de Plinval, "Prosper d'Aquitaine, interprète de saint Augustin", *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 1 (1958), pp. 339-355, p. 342, n. 11; *cf.* A. Solignac, "Prosper d'Aquitaine", in *DSp* 12, 2, Paris, 1986, col. 2449). However, *Genuensium* might also be corrected into *Gen*(*a*)*uensium*. If we assume that Camillus and Theodorus were presbyters of Geneva (*ciuitas Genauensium*), in *Viennensis*, their early acquaintance with the *De praedestinatione* poses no problem: we do not know for certain who was the bishop of Geneva in the early 430s, but by 441 this see was occupied by Salonius, the son of the Lerinian monk Eucherius, himself educated in Lérins by Salvian and Vincent (*PCBE*, 4, pp. 1684-1688, *Salonius* 1). We might then conjecture that the predecessor of Salonius in Geneva also entertained links with Lérins, which would account for the circulation within this diocese of the *De praedestinatione* as soon as in the early 430s. If this hypothesis proves to be correct, the diocese of Geneva might also have been mentioned by Prosper and Hilary in their report to Pope Celestine, as one of the places where presbyters were raising criticism against Augustine's views on predestination; and then, the name of the bishop of Geneva would have been included by Celestine among the addressees of his *Letter* 21 (Marinus? Fillucius?).

2. The Preaching of the Presbyters in the Provençal Churches

Shortly after his appeal to Pope Celestine, Prosper of Aquitaine wrote his *Contra Collatorem*, a response to John Cassian's *Conference* 13, in which Cassian had defended views about the relationship between grace and free will that – according to Prosper – differed from those of Augustine and thus, should be rejected as heretical.[15] In the *Contra Collatorem*, Prosper explicitly quoted the *laus Augustini* in Celestine's *Letter* 21 arguing that, with this letter, the Pope had deprived the Gallic critics of Augustine – such as the target of his invective, Cassian – of the "freedom" to criticize the Bishop of Hippo: *per hunc uirum (sc.: Caelestinum) intra Gallias* ***istis ipsis*** *qui sanctae memoriae Augustini scripta reprehendunt, maleloquentiae* ***est adempta libertas***.[16] Prosper clearly echoes here Celestine's words *non sit his liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem* in *Letter* 21.

Indeed, Cassian fits perfectly Celestine's description of the "preaching presbyters who have not been trained by their bishops" in his *Letter* 21. According to Gennadius, Cassian was a presbyter of the church of Marseilles (*apud Massiliam presbyter*), where he founded two monasteries.[17] Yet, Cassian had been ordained deacon by John Chrysostom in Constantinople and had been made presbyter, quite probably, by the Roman bishop Innocent I around 414.[18] Seemingly, Cassian's relationship with Venerius' predecessor, Bishop Proculus, was not quite good, for none of the monastic writings published by Cassian within Proculus' pontificate were dedicated to him.[19] But things probably changed after Venerius, a former monk in a Massilian monastery, was appointed bishop of Marseilles sometime after July 428, not long before Prosper and Hilary's appeal to Celestine.[20] It is quite possible that Venerius allowed Cassian, as well as other Massilian

[15] See J. Delmulle, *Prosper d'Aquitaine contre Jean Cassien. Le* Contra collatorem, *l'appel à Rome du parti augustinien dans la querelle postpélagienne*, Barcelona – Rome, 2018, especially pp. 47-82.

[16] Prosper, *Contra Collatorem*, 21.2, *PL* 51, col. 271.

[17] Gennadius, *De uiris inlustribus*, 62, ed. by E. C. Richardson, Leipzig, 1896 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 14, 1a), p. 82.

[18] *PCBE*, 4, pp. 430-437, *Iohannes Cassianus* 2. On Cassian's biography, see also M.-A. Vannier, "Jean Cassien, scythe ou provençal?", in Anthropos laïkos: *Mélanges Alexandre Faivre à l'occasion de ses 30 ans d'enseignement*, ed. by M.-A. Vannier, O. Wermelinger, G. Wurst, Fribourg, 2000 (Paradosis, 44), pp. 323-334.

[19] As noted by R. J. Goodrich, *Contextualizing Cassian: Aristocrats, Asceticism, and Reformation in Fifth-Century Gaul*, Oxford, 2007, pp. 211-234. Yet, Goodrich goes too far in calling into question the assumption that Cassian composed his ascetical works in Marseilles: see now R. Villegas Marín, "Asceticism and Exegetical Authority in John Cassian's *Conference* 23", *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 93 (2017), pp. 671-684, here p. 673, n. 15.

[20] *PCBE*, 4, pp. 1923-1925, *Venerius* 1.

presbyters, to preach. We might even wonder if Cassian had a hand in the introduction of this practice into the Massilian church, for Cassian started his monastic career in Palestine (Bethlehem) at around the same time the pilgrim Egeria visited Jerusalem and noticed with astonishment that in this church, the presbyters were given license to preach:

> When it is daybreak, as it is the Lord's Day, they assemble in the major church that Constantine built, the church that is on Golgotha behind the Cross, and everything is done according to the custom by which it is also done everywhere on the Lord's Day. But it is the custom here that as many of all the presbyters seated who wish preach, and after them all, the bishop preaches. These sermons are always done on the Lord's Days, so that the people may always be instructed in the Scriptures and in the love of God. While these sermons are being delivered, there is a long delay before the dismissal from the church is done and so it is ⟨not⟩ before the fourth or even the fifth hour that the dismissal is done.[21]

Be that as it may, there is more evidence on the preaching activities of the Massilian presbyters during Venerius' pontificate. In the entry which Gennadius devotes to Musaeus, a presbyter of the Massilian church (*Massiliensis ecclesiae presbyter*), in his *De uiris inlustribus*, Gennadius praises Musaeus' knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures and his exegetical skills (*uir in diuinis scripturis doctus et in earum sensibus subtilissima exercitatione limatus*). Musaeus was a contemporary of Bishop Venerius, who entrusted him with the drafting of a lectionary and a selection of verses of the Psalms for the responsorial chant (*hortatu sancti Venerii episcopi, excerpsit ex sanctis scripturis lectiones totius anni festiuis aptas diebus, responsoria etiam Psalmorum capitula tempori et lectionibus congruentia*). According to Gennadius, the presbyter Musaeus also gained renown for his preaching: "he is also said to have delivered homilies, which – as I know – some pious men possess, but

[21] *Itinerarium Egeriae* 25.1, ed. by A. Franceschini, R. Weber, Turnhout, 1965 (*CCL*, 175), p. 70: *cum luce autem, quia dominica dies est, et proceditur in ecclesia maiore, quam fecit Constantinus, quae ecclesia in Golgotha est post Crucem, et fiunt omnia secundum consuetudinem, qua et ubique fit die dominica. Sane quia hic consuetudo sic est, ut de omnibus presbyteris, qui sedent, quanti uolunt, predicent, et post illos omnes episcopus predicat, quae predicationes propterea semper dominicis diebus fiunt, ut semper erudiatur populus in Scripturis et in Dei dilectione: quae predicationes dum dicuntur, grandis mora fit, ut fiat missa ecclesiae, et ideo ante quartam horam aut forte quintam missa fit*. English translation by A. McGowan, P. F. Bradshaw, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria. A New Translation of the* Itinerarium Egeriae *with Introduction and Commentary*, Collegeville, MN, 2018 (Alcuin Club Collections, 93), pp. 154-155. By the end of the fourth century, the presbyters were allowed to preach in some northern African churches too: for the evidence, mostly provided by Augustine's works, see PLAW ER 423, 464, 759, 796, 825, 827, 958, 1363.

which I have not read" (*homilias etiam dicitur declamasse, quas et haberi a fidelibus uiris cognoui, sed ego non legi*).[22]

By the end of the fifth century, in Gennadius' days, the presbyters were still granted license to preach in the Massilian churches. It is worth noticing that Gennadius – who was himself a presbyter of Marseilles – devotes a third of the entries in his *De uiris inlustribus* to churchmen whose ecclesiastical career ended at the presbyterate,[23] thereby vindicating the presbyters' contribution to the development of Christian doctrine.[24] Besides, in the *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua* – a canonical compilation which Charles Munier attributed to Gennadius[25] – the presbyters' right to preach is taken for granted. The author of the *Statuta* asserts that whenever either a bishop or a presbyter visits a church in another diocese, they must be invited by the local bishop to preach and to consecrate the Eucharist.[26]

As for Fréjus – the see of Bishop Leontius, also named by Celestine in his *Letter* 21 –, since the foundation of the monastic community of Lérins sometime in the 410s, the bishop of this city had had jurisdiction over the Lerinian monks who were also members of the clergy. Among the bishop of Fréjus' prerogatives was that of ordaining Lerinian monks to the priesthood, at the request of their abbot (*abbate petente*).[27] By the early 430s,

[22] Gennadius, *De uiris inlustribus*, 80, pp. 88-89; *PCBE*, 4, p. 1346, *Musaeus*; J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER 686.

[23] These are: Paulonas (3); Macrobius, a Catholic presbyter who later became the Donatist bishop of Rome (5); Heliodorus (6); Theodorus, presbyter in Antioch (12); Faustinus, a Luciferian (16); Rufinus of Aquileia (17); Sulpicius Severus (19); Heliodorus of Antioch (29); Vigilantius, presbyter in Barcelona (36); Orosius (40); Lucianus (47); Auitus (48); Eutropius (50); Leporius, a monk-presbyter from Marseilles (60); Cassianus (62); Philippus, disciple of Jerome (63); Vincent of Lérins (65); Isaac, presbyter in Antioch (67); Salvian of Marseilles (68), whom Gennadius styles *magister episcoporum* and who is said to have drafted homilies on behalf of bishops (*homilias episcopis factas multas*); Mochimus, presbyter in Antioch (72); Petrus of Edessa (75); Paulus, from Pannonia (76); Musaeus (80); Vincentius, presbyter in Marseilles (81); Samuel of Edessa (83); Claudianus, presbyter in Vienne (84); Theodolus, from Coelesyria (92); John of Antioch (94).

[24] On the "tendances presbytérales" of Gennadius' *De uiris inlustribus*, see Ch. Munier, *Les* Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, Paris, 1960 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut de Droit Canonique de l'Université de Strasbourg, 5), pp. 214-220.

[25] Munier, *Les* Statuta (n. 24), pp. 209-228.

[26] *Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua*, 56, ed. by Ch. Munier, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCL*, 148), p. 175: *episcopus uel presbyter, si causa uisitandae ecclesiae, alterius episcopi ad ecclesiam ueniant, in gradu suo suscipiantur et tam ad uerbum faciendum quam ad oblationem consecrandam inuitentur*.

[27] This is attested by the acts of the council convened by Ravennius of Arles in December 451 to settle the dispute between Theodorus, bishop of Fréjus, and Faustus, abbot of Lérins. The dispute turned around who was to have jurisdiction over the Lerinian monks. See *Concilium Arelatensem in causa Fausti, abbatis insulae Lerinensis*, ed. by Ch. Munier (*CCL,* 148), pp. 133-134: *hoc tamen sibi tantummodo uindicaturus* (sc. *Theodorus*) *quod decessor suus sanctae memoriae Leontius episcopus uindicauerat, idest ut clerici atque altaris ministri a nullo nisi*

one of these Lerinian monk-presbyters consecrated by Leontius of Fréjus was Vincent, the author of the well-known *Commonitorium*, a 434 tract partly aimed at demonstrating that Augustine's views on predestination went against the traditional teaching of the Church.[28] Vincent of Lérins was also the author of the so-called *Obiectiones Vincentianae*, a heresiologically distorted presentation of Augustine's doctrine of predestination to which Prosper of Aquitaine responded with his *Pro Augustino responsiones ad capitula obiectionum Vincentianarum*.[29] Prosper's response to Vincent of Lérins was published shortly after Celestine's *Letter* 21, for in that work Prosper asserts that his defence of Augustine against the criticism of Vincent – whom Prosper charges of Pelagianism – is backed by the authority of the Apostolic See.[30] Furthermore, the striking way Vincent quotes Celestine's *Letter* 21 in chapter 32 of the *Commonitorium* strongly suggests that he was one of the presbyters whose preaching was denounced by Prosper and Hilary to Celestine.

The *Commonitorium* confirms that Celestine's *Letter* 21 was circulated within the diocese of Fréjus and reveals, too, the astonishment that came over some of its Provençal readers. In extracting the letter, Vincent carefully omitted the phrases in which Celestine condemned the preaching of the presbyters. After quoting the passage *non sit his liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem* in Celestine's letter, for instance, Vincent asks himself rhetorically: "here one might doubt as to who are those whom he forbids to preach freely, whether the preachers of the old (faith) or the inventors of new (dogmas)". Vincent goes on stating that the Pope decreed that the theological novelties must cease attacking the ancient faith – indeed a very generic definition of orthodoxy and heterodoxy which both parties in this theological controversy might endorse–, without mentioning the disciplinary statements of the Roman bishop forbidding the presbyters to

ab ipso uel cui ipse iniunxerit ordinentur, chrisma nonnisi ab ipso speretur, neophyti si fuerint ab ipso confirmentur, peregrini clerici absque ipsius praecepto in communionem uel ad ministerium non admittantur. Monasterii uero omnis laica multitudo ad curam abbatis pertineat, neque ex ea sibi episcopus quidquam uindicet aut aliquem ex illa clericum nisi abbate petente praesumat. On this quarrel, see also Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism* (n. 13), pp. 193-198.

[28] On the anti-predestinarian tendencies of the *Commonitorium*, see M. Fiedrowicz, *Vincenz von Lérins.* Commonitorium, Mülheim, 2011, pp. 49-77; R. Villegas Marín, "*Auersi texerunt eum*. La crítica a Agustín y a los agustinianos sudgálicos en el *Commonitorium* de Vicente de Lérins", *Augustinianum*, 46 (2006), pp. 481-528.

[29] Vincent of Lerins' authorship of the *Obiectiones Vincentianae* was demonstrated by H. Koch, *Vincenz von Lerin und Gennadius. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des Semipelagianismus*, Leipzig, 1907 (Texte und Untersuchungen, 31, 2).

[30] Prosper, *ad capitula obiectionum Vincentianarum*, *praef.*, *PL* 51, col. 178: *fides quam contra Pelagianos ex apostolicae sedis auctoritate defendimus*.

preach.[31] A suitable explanation for these intentional omissions would be that Vincent himself was among the presbyters whose preaching Prosper and Hilary had denounced to Celestine. Indeed, Vincent fits Celestine's description of them: he was a presbyter of the church of Fréjus – at the time presided by Leontius, one of the addressees of Celestine's letter – who had been ordained directly to the presbyterate without having been previously trained by his bishop.[32] Besides, in the *Commonitorium* and in the *Obiectiones Vincentianae* Vincent criticized Augustine's views on predestination.

3. The Appointment of Laymen to the Presbyterate and the Episcopate in the Churches of Southern Gaul

Pope Celestine interpreted the theological controversies in Southern Gaul as resulting from the ordination of laymen to the highest offices of the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum*. As we have already seen, it was not the first time that Celestine dealt with this issue. In his letter to the bishops of *Viennensis* and *Narbonensis* II from July 428, Celestine condemned the consecration as bishops of men who had not served in the lower ecclesiastical offices as a practice contrary to the *patrum decreta*,[33] thereby referring to the eighth canon of the council of Serdica (343) – as it is widely known, the Roman bishops up to Leo I took the canons of Serdica as Nicaean.[34] Since at the very beginning of *Letter* 4 Celestine criticizes the Gallic bishops who dress in the garb of monks,[35] we may conclude that what lies behind

[31] Vincent of Lerins, *Commonitorium*, 32.4-7, ed. by R. Demeulenaere, Turnhout, 1985 (*CCL*, 64), p. 193: *sed et sanctus papa Caelestinus pari modo eademque sententia. Ait enim in epistula, quam Gallorum sacerdotibus misit arguens eorum coniuentiam quod antiquam fidem silentio destituentes profanas nouitates exsurgere paterentur: merito, inquit, causa nos respicit, si silentio foueamus errorem. Ergo corripiantur huiusmodi; non sit his liberum habere pro uoluntate sermonem. Hic aliquid fortasse addubitet, quinam sint illi, quos habere prohibeat liberum pro uoluntate sermonem, uetustatis praedicatores an nouitatis adinuentores. Ipse dicat et dubitationem legentium ipse dissoluat. Sequitur enim: desinat, inquit, si ita res est, id est: si ita est, ut apud me quidam urbes et prouincias uestras criminantur, quod eas quibusdam nouitatibus consentire noxia dissimulatione faciatis. Desinat itaque, inquit, si ita res est, incessere nouitas uetustatem. Ergo haec fuit beati Caelestini beata sententia, ut non uetustas cessaret obruere nouitatem, sed potius nouitas desineret incessere uetustatem.*

[32] *PCBE*, 4, pp. 1978-1980, *Vincentius* 4.

[33] Celestine, *Ep.* 4.2.4 (see supra, n. 7).

[34] See, for instance, Lafontaine, *Les Conditions* (n. 8), pp. 284-285.

[35] Celestine, *Ep.* 4.1.2, col. 430-431: *didicimus enim quosdam Domini sacerdotes superstitioso potius cultui inseruire quam mentis uel fidei puritati. Sed non mirum, si contra ecclesiasticum morem faciunt, qui in Ecclesia non creuerunt, sed alio uenientes e ritu, secum haec in ecclesiam, quae in alia conuersatione habuerant, intulerunt; amicti pallio, et lumbos praecincti, credentes se*

this epistle is the practice of ordaining lay monks to the episcopate.[36] With regard to the presbyters, in *Letter* 4 Celestine also commands that bishops must not give primacy to clerics who have recently joined their churches at the expense of those who are well known by their flocks, to prevent the formation of two parallel clerical *collegia*, namely the one formed of clerics who had progressed through all the offices of the *cursus honorum* and the one formed of clerics "foreign and unknown", adlected and privileged by their bishops.[37] As we will see shortly, Celestine's *clerici peregrini et extranei* in *Letter* 4 were monks appointed to the priesthood in churches where they were virtually unknown.

In the 420s, the consecration of monks to the priesthood was a well-rooted practice in the Gallic churches. In a letter addressed to bishop Hesychius of Salona in February 418, Pope Zosimus let him know that the ordination to the *sacerdotium* of lay monks was a *familaris praesumptio* in Gaul and Spain, which his predecessors and he himself had opposed through letters sent to these regions.[38] No epistle of Zosimus to Gallic bishops explicitly dealing with this issue has been preserved, but we may surmise that the lost letter(s) to which he refers in the epistle to Hesychius

Scripturae fidem, non per spiritum, sed per litteram completuros [...] *habeant tamen istum forsitan cultum, morem potius quam rationem sequentes, qui remotioribus habitant locis, et procul a caeteris degunt*.

[36] In his letter to Himerius of Tarragona from 10 February 385, Pope Siricius recommended the recruitment of monks as clerics, but he also made it clear that he wanted the rules of the ecclesiastical *cursus honorum* applied to them and that no lay monk was to be ordained to the episcopate. Siricius, *Ep.* 1.13, ed. by K. Zechiel-Eckes, Hannover, 2013 (*MGH. Studien und Texte*, 55), p. 110: *monachos quoque, quos tamen morum grauitas et uitae ac fidei institutio sancta commendat, clericorum officiis adgregari et optamus et uolumus, ita ut qui intra tricesimum aetatis annum sunt, in minoribus per grados singulos crescente tempore promoueantur ordinibus, et sic ad diaconatus uel presbiterii insignia maturae aetatis consecratione perueniant. Nec statim saltu ad episcopatus culmen ascendant, nisi in his eadem quae singulis dignitatibus superius praefiximus, tempora fuerint custodita.* On this decretal – which Siricius wanted Himerius to circulate in Hispania and Gallia – see Ch. Hornung, Directa ad decessorem: *Ein kirchenhistorish-philologischer Kommentar zur ersten Dekretale des Siricius von Rom*, Münster, 2011 (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum Ergänzungsband, Kleine Reihe, 8); A. Ferreiro, "Pope Siricius and Himerius of Tarragona (385): Provincial Papal Intervention in the Fourth Century", in *The Bishop of Rome in Late Antiquity*, ed. by G. Dunn, Burlington, 2015, pp. 73-85; J. Vilella, "La *Epístola* 1 de Siricio: estudio prosopográfico de Himerio de Tarragona", *Augustinianum*, 44 (2004), pp. 337-369.

[37] Celestine, *Ep.* 4.4.7, col. 434: *nec emeritis in suis ecclesiis clericis peregrini et extranei et qui ante ignorati sint, ad exclusionem eorum qui bene de suorum ciuium merentur testimonio, praeponantur, ne nouum quoddam, de quo episcopi fiant, institutum uideatur esse collegium.*

[38] Zosimus, *Ep.* 9.1.1, *PL* 20, col. 670: *significas nonnullos ex monachorum populari coetu, quorum solitudo quauis frequentia maior est, sed et laicos ad sacerdotium festinare. Hoc autem specialiter et sub praedecessoribus nostris, et nuper a nobis interdictum constat, litteris ad Gallias Hispaniasque transmissis, in quibus regionibus familiaris est ista presumptio*.

concerned the cases of bishops Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix, two monks disciples of Martin of Tours who reached the episcopate thanks to the support of Constantine III and were deposed shortly after the fall of this usurper in 411.[39]

Be it as it may, the practice of promoting lay monks to the priesthood intensified in Gaul after the foundation of the monastery of Lérins.[40] Towards the end of 427, the founder of Lérins, Honoratus, succeeded Helladius – himself an ex-Lerinian monk – as bishop of Arles. Shortly thereafter, Honoratus ordained as presbyter his relative Hilary, also a monk of Lérins.[41] In his *Sermo de uita sancti Honorati*, Hilary gives us a glimpse of the opposition which the recently ordained bishop Honoratus encountered in Arles, presumably from some Arlesian clerics: "finally, as soon as he accepted the government of this church at Arles, his first care was harmony and his main effort to unit in mutual love the community that was divided by hot disputes over the choice of a bishop".[42]

Clearly, this situation lies behind Celestine's letter of February 428, with the Roman bishop condemning the ordination to the episcopate of monks who had not served in the lower grades of the *cursus honorum* – as was the case of Honoratus –, and complaining about these bishops giving primacy to clerics who were newcomers in their churches – as was the case of the monk Hilary, ordained presbyter of Arles shortly after Honoratus' accession to the bishopric.[43] In 428, Celestine probably operated on the denunciations of the Arlesian "career clerics" who felt their rights were jeopardized by the practices of the nascent "Lerinian episcopal lobby", for Celestine even granted these clerics the right to oppose to bishops ordained against their will.[44]

[39] See *PCBE*, 4, pp. 981-984, *Heros*; pp. 1107-1109, *Lazarus*.

[40] For a short overview, see F. Prévot, "Évêques gaulois d'origine monastique (IVe-VIe siècles)", in *Prosopographie et histoire religieuse. Actes du colloque tenu en l'Université Paris XII-Val de Marne les 27 & 28 octobre 2000*, ed. by M.-F. Baslez, F. Prévot, Paris, 2005, pp. 379-400.

[41] *PCBE*, 4, p. 969, *Helladius* 1; pp. 1017-1023, *Honoratus* 1; pp. 998-1007, *Hilarius* 3.

[42] Hilary of Arles, *Sermo de uita sancti Honorati*, 28.1, ed. by M.-D. Valentin, Paris, 1977 (*SCh*, 235), p. 146: *denique ut primum ecclesiae huius regimen accepit, prima ei cura concordiae fuit et praecipuus labor fraternitatem, calentibus adhuc de adsumendo episcopatu studiis, dissidentem mutuo amore conectere*. English translation by R. J. Deferrari, Washington, DC, 1952 (The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation), p. 385.

[43] Needless to say, bishops might have reasons other than "ascetic solidarity" for appointing laymen to the presbyterate. On the patron-client relationship between bishops and their clerics in late antique *Hispania*, see Rebecca Devlin's article in this volume.

[44] Celestine, *Epist*. 4.5.7, col. 435: *sit facultas clericis renitendi, si se uiderint praegrauari; et quos sibi ingeri ex transuerso agnouerint, non timeant refutare. Qui si non debitum praemium, uel liberum de eo qui eos recturus est, debent habere iudicium.*

Shortly thereafter, when Prosper and Hilary appealed to Celestine, the Pope seized the opportunity to reiterate his opposition to the appointment of laymen to the presbyterate and the episcopate. Besides expressing their sincere concern for the protection of the memory of their beloved master Augustine, Prosper and Hilary might also have voiced in Rome the complaints about this practice of some career clerics of the dioceses ruled by the addressees of Celestine's *Letter* 21. Or, perhaps more simply, after having been informed by the two Gallic laymen of the monastic background of some critics of Augustine – such as Cassian of Marseilles and Vincent of Lérins/Fréjus – Celestine chose to draw on this theological controversy to develop a new argument against this praxis: the ordination of bishops not sufficiently informed of their responsibilities because of their monastic background, as well as that of (monk-) presbyters not properly trained in their churches through progression through the orders and under the guidance of their ordaining bishop, might result in doctrinal deviations. The myth of true doctrine preserved through Apostolic succession underlies Celestine's argument.

4. Concluding Remarks

Pope Celestine had good reasons to worry about the formation of a "Lerinian episcopal lobby" which might counterbalance the influence of the Roman See over the Gallic churches.[45] Actually, none of the Gallic synods held in the Lerinian monk-bishops' areas of influence ever endorsed the Roman rules regarding the clerical *cursus honorum* and the interstices – whose application might indeed have prevented the formation of the "Lerinian lobby" – and against the preaching of the presbyters. Furthermore, the council held in Vaison in 529 under the presidency of Caesarius of Arles – himself an ex-Lerinian monk – enacted a canon explicitly granting the presbyters the right to preach, thereby giving the force of canon law to a century-old custom in the Provençal churches: "this we furthermore decree in order to strengthen the churches and for the profit of all the people, that not only in the cities, but also in all the parishes we should give the presbyters the right to deliver sermons".[46]

[45] M. Heijmans, L. Pietri, "Le 'lobby' lérinien: le rayonnement du monastère insulaire du Ve siècle au début du VIIe siècle", in *Lérins, un île sainte de l'antiquité au moyen âge*, ed. by Y. Codou, M. Lauwers, Turnhout, 2009 (Collection d'études médiévales de Nice, 9), pp. 35-61.

[46] *Concilium Vasense* (529), can. 2, ed. by C. de Clercq, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCL*, 148A), pp. 78-79: *hoc etiam pro aedificatione omnium ecclesiarum et pro utelitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in ciuitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parrociis uerbum faciendi daremus*

Five years earlier, canons 1 and 2 of the synod of Arles – also presided by Caesarius[47] – had decreed that laymen could be ordained directly to the presbyterate and the episcopate after a year of ascetic conversion, without mentioning the progression through the lower grades of the clerical *cursus* and the interstices: "as to the office of the bishop or the presbyter, no layman should accept this honour if he did not convert beforehand and is not at least thirty years old".[48]

presbyteris potestatem. English translation by J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER 1262. According to W. E. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles. The Making of a Christian Community in Late Antique Gaul*, Cambridge, 1994, pp. 143-144, the failure of some of Caesarius' main supporters within the Gallic episcopate to sign the canons of Vaison might suggest that they were reluctant to share with their presbyters the prerogatives of teaching and preaching. The author of the *De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae* also defends the presbyters' right to preach and blames the bishops who oppose it for being *inuidiae diabolicae tentationis inflati* (see *De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae*, 6, *PL* 30, col. 155-156: *praedicare eos decet, utile est benedicere, congruum confirmare, conuenit reddere communionem, necesse est uisitare infirmos, orare pro inualidis, atque omnia dei sacramenta complere, praesertim cum in Oriente eam consuetudinem et in Illyrico, et in Italia, atque in Africa omnibus in locis, temporibus apostolorum fuisse manifestum sit. Ac sola propter auctoritatem summo sacerdoti clericorum ordinatio, et uirginum consecratio reseruata sit* [...] *Nemo hinc episcoporum inuidia diabolicae tentationis inflatus irascitur in templo, si presbyteri interdum exhortentur plebem, si in ecclesiis praedicent, si plebibus, ut scriptum est, benedicant*). Modern scholars have discussed the "Sitz im Leben" of the *De septem ordinibus* intensively: both Germain Morin and Élie Griffe suggested that it was written in Southern Gaul sometime in the early fifth century (G. Morin, "Le destinataire de l'apocryphe hiéronymien *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 34 [1938], pp. 229-244; É. Griffe, *La Gaule chrétienne à l'époque romaine,* 2. *L'Église des Gaules au Ve siècle*, Paris, 1966, pp. 313-322), whereas other authors such as Athanasius Kalff and Roger E. Reinolds, drawing on the presence of this tract in some early canonistic sources, have inclined towards an early seventh-century Hispanic origin (A. W. Kalff, *Ps. Hieronymi De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae*, Würzburg, 1938; R. E. Reynolds, "The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae*. Notes on its Origins, Abridgements and Use in Early Medieval Canonical Collections", *Revue Bénédictine*, 80 (1970), pp. 238-252). There is no space to dwell on this complex issue here, but I wish to point out that internal evidence strongly supports the Gallic hypothesis (see also infra, n. 48). On the other hand, the early circulation of the *De septem ordinibus* within the Hispanic churches is not problematic, considering the important links between the Gallic and Hispanic churches at this period.

[47] On the circumstances of this synod, see Klingshirn, *Caesarius* (n. 46), pp. 137-139.

[48] Concilium Arelatense (524), can. 1, ed. by C. de Clercq (*CCL*, 148A), p. 43: *episcopatus uero uel presbyterii honore nullus laicus ante praemissa conuersatione uel ante triginta aetatis annus accipiat* (English translation by J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER 1164). See also Concilium Arelatense (524), can. 2, pp. 43-44: *et licet de laicis prolixiora tempora antiqui patres ordinauerint obseruanda, tamen quia crescente ecclesiarum numiro necesse est nobis plures clericos ordinare, hoc inter nos sine praeiudicio dumtaxat canonum constitit antiquorum, ut nullus metropolitanorum cuicumque laico dignitatem episcopatus tribuat, sed nec reliqui pontifices presbyterii uel diaconatus honorem conferre praesumant, nisi anno intigro fuerit ab eis praemissa conuersio*. It is worth remembering here that the author of the *De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae* also sees the ascetical conversion as a pre-requisite for reaching the highest clerical grades:

Despite the efforts made by Celestine and his predecessors and successors, the ideal of the monk-priest prevailed in the Gallic churches throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. This ideal was fostered by the priests of the "Lerinian lobby", who construed monastic life as the best training for the priesthood.[49] As bishop Faustus of Riez – a former monk of Lérins – put it in his praise of his predecessor, Maximus, also formed in Lérins, "this most eminent man learnt there (in Lérins) so that he might teach here (in the city of Riez); he was enriched there so that he might bear interest here, there he was illuminated so that he might shine here, there he was purified so that he might sanctify here".[50] Faustus' phrase *illic doctus, ut hic doceret*, praising the training provided by the monastery of Lérins to the prospective bishops, contrasts vividly to Pope Celestine's contention that only progression through the clerical *cursus honorum* qualifies for the exercise of the priesthood. It is a good example of the scarce reception in the Gallic churches under Lerinian influence of the disciplinary injunctions of the Roman church.[51]

saeculares autem uiros ad ministerium non assumas Ecclesiae [...] *Sunt enim multi qui sequentes uota populorum, disciplinam Ecclesiae non obseruant, ac sine experimento bonae uitae, eligunt non conuersos. Atque ut consuetudinem reprehendam: peccantes nobilitatem potius, quam mores optimos benedicunt: et ante regni coelestis gubernacula tradunt, quam de terrena conuersatione securi sint: quasi uero Deo deficiant sacerdotes, aut clericatus officium possit implere, qui necdum castus didicit esse abstinendo. Taceo de reliquis uitae documentis, quod ignorat libros, quod consuetudinem nescit: et prius doctor gentium dicitur uel minister, quam discat aliquid imperitus* (*De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae*, 7, col. 160).

[49] On monk-bishops, see A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church. The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity*, London, 2004; C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity. The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, Berkeley, 2005; R. Villegas Marín, "El obispo y los monjes", in *El Obispo en la Antigüedad tardía. Homenaje a Ramón Teja*, ed. by S. Acerbi, M. Marcos, J. Torres, Madrid, 2016, pp. 317-334. It goes without saying that the Lerinian monks – many of them of aristocratic background – also made attractive episcopal candidates for reasons other than their personal sanctity. As Ralph Mathisen has put it, "the citizens involved, however, also might have had more substantial benefits in mind: those which could accrue from having as bishop an influential aristocrat who had equally influential friends and contacts throughout Gaul in both the secular and ecclesiastical worlds" (Mathisen, *Ecclesiastical Factionalism* [n. 13], p. 92).

[50] Ps. Eusebius Gallicanus (= Faustus Reiensis), *Hom.* 35, 5, ed. by F. Glorie, Turnhout, 1970 (*CCL*, 101), p. 404: *merito se uobis imputet beata illa insula ex hoc uno atque unico munere – licet multum erubescat ex alio –. Vir ille praecipuus illic doctus, ut hic doceret; illic ditatus, ut hic feneraret; illic illuminatus, ut hic refulgeret; illic purificatus, ut hic sanctificaret*.

[51] R. Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, Brussels, 2001 (Subsidia Hagiographica, 82), pp. 44-49, provides some interesting examples of clerical careers in Merovingian Gaul. In p. 49, Godding concludes: "quant à l'exigence traditionnelle de passer par les différents degrés de la cléricature avant d'accéder à l'ordination presbytérale, et de respecter les interstices prévus, elle apparait bien souvent négligée. L'insistance avec laquelle la régularité de tel ou tel cursus est soulignée, suggère suffisamment que telle n'est pas la situation la plus commune".

Summary

Pope Celestine's handling of the Augustinian controversy in Southern Gaul avoided addressing theological matters to focus on two disciplinary issues, namely, the free preaching by the presbyters and the increasingly widespread phenomenon of direct ordination of laymen (mostly, monks) to the priesthood and the episcopate. Celestine seized the opportunity provided by this controversy to make an apology for the clerical *cursus honorum* as a means of transmitting, through proper theological training, the Apostolic, orthodox tradition within the Church.

Raúl Villegas Marín
Universidad de Barcelona
rvillegasm@ub.edu

The Last Shall Be Last: the Order of Precedence among Clergy in Late Antiquity

Robert Wiśniewski

(*Warsaw*)

In late antique Christian communities the number of clerics varied, but with the passage of time it was obviously growing. Specific figures are usually difficult to assess, but as we know from Bishop Cornelius of Rome's letter, already in the mid-third century the church in this city had 46 presbyters, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, lectors, and doorkeepers, not to count 1500 widows in need.[1] In AD 418 about 70 local presbyters signed a document confirming the election of Pope Boniface.[2] Almost the same number of presbyters (67) gathered at the council of Rome in 499.[3] Admittedly, the number of clerics in Rome probably always exceeded that of any other church, but in the second half of the sixth century, even in a middle-size city such as Auxerre in central Gaul, a local council gathered 33 presbyters.[4] The full number of clerics in this church must have exceeded a hundred.[5] Our knowledge of the ways in which this and other clerical groups functioned is limited, but the evidence which, sometimes, gives us insight into their internal relationships, usually tells about conflicts. Even if the conflicts may have attracted the attention of the authors more strongly than friendly collaboration, there is no doubt that they were real and frequent, which is probably best attested by several mechanisms in the ecclesiastical structure developed in order to deal with them. The general outline of this structure and the position that the holders of various ecclesiastical ranks had in it is essentially clear. On the level of the local church bishops were at the top of the hierarchy, presbyters took the second

[1] Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.43.11. The author of this article was supported by the National Science Centre (Poland) grant 2013/10/E/HS3/00202.

[2] *Collectio Avellana* 17.3, see M. Szada, Presbyters in the Late Antique West (http://presbytersproject.ihuw.pl/, henceforward PLAW) ER1339.

[3] *Acta synodi Romani a. 499*, see S. Adamiak, PLAW ER662.

[4] *Synodus Dioecesana Autissiodorensis* (AD 561/605), ed. by C. de Clercq, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCL*, 148 A), pp. 271-272, see J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER1563).

[5] For the growing number of clerics and the ways of assessing it see I. Wood, *The Transformation of the Roman West*, Leeds, 2018, 57-73.

place, followed by deacons, subdeacons, and holders of lower ecclesiastical offices, which varied from church to church, but may have included *martyrarii* (relic-keepers), acolytes, exorcists, doorkeepers, *aeditui* (sacristans), psalmists, readers, and *parabalani* (members of the church nursing corps in Alexandria).[6] Admittedly, we do hear about situations in which this hierarchy was contested: in fourth-century Rome, for instance, presbyters had to struggle hard to prove that their office was higher than that of the powerful Roman deacons.[7] But essentially, the vertical hierarchy of clerical grades was well-defined. In this article, I will focus on an element of the church structure, which was less evident: the order of precedence among the clerics holding the same ecclesiastical rank. I will show that the clerics were well conscious of this horizontal hierarchy which was important not only in the ritual or symbolic sphere but had a strong impact on the material situation of clergy and their ecclesiastical career. Also, I will explain why this order was important for good function of the local church in which the bishop, clergy and lay community often differed in their views on the rules of promotion and personnel policy.

The article will discuss the evidence from various parts of Christendom, paying particular attention to the situation in the Latin West in a broad period from the late fourth to the seventh century. It has to be said at the outset that while taking this broad chronological perspective I do not think that the customs and structures did not change in time or that they changed at the same pace everywhere. Although in the period which is covered by this study in some regions ecclesiastical structures showed remarkable resilience to the political disintegration of the Roman world, there was no institution which could have imposed the same model of the church structure in diverse parts of Christendom.[8] Thus, the diversity is beyond discussion. Nevertheless, the evidence presented below shows that the problems caused by the horizontal hierarchy were common, and the solutions that were conceived to address them were often not unsimilar.

[6] For these lists see Th. Deswarte, "Isidore of Seville and the Hispanic *ordo graduum*" in this volume.

[7] D. Hunter, "Rivalry between Presbyters and Deacons in the Roman Church. Three Notes on Ambrosiaster, Jerome, and the Boasting of the Roman Deacons", *Vigiliae Christianae*, 71 (2017), pp. 495-510; see also *Concilium Arelatense a. 314*, can. 18, J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER168.

[8] This fascinating problem is now being studied by the *Connected Clerics* project based at Royal Holloway, University of London, and run by David Natal (http://www.connectedclerics.com).

1. Order, Order!

In late antique society the order of precedence was a matter of fact. It was kept among the peers in the Roman senate, the names of whose members were written in the album.[9] Closer to our interest, it was kept in monastic communities. The Syriac canons attributed to Bishop Rabbula, for instance, list transgressions for which monks would be reduced to the sixth, twelfth or fifteenth place in the rank.[10] Understandably, in the monasteries this issue had to be fixed because the monks lived together. With the clerics the problem was less acute. Admittedly, clerical communities of Eusebius in Vercelli and Augustine in Hippo appeared already in the late fourth century, but these were rather exceptional incentives of the bishops of monastic inclination. The idea that the clergy should, as a rule, live with their bishop started to emerge only in the sixth century and that was only the beginning of a long process.[11] And yet the issue was important, for even without living under the same roof clerics met, celebrated liturgy, walked and talked together regularly and had several occasions to mark the horizontal order among them, and considered this order important.

What were the ways of displaying such hierarchy? It has to be said first that in Late Antiquity clerics rarely tried to distinguish themselves from their peers by honorific titles. Admittedly, we do find the title of arch-presbyter, arch-deacon, and even, more interestingly, arch-subdeacon,[12] but these simply reflected a function of the supervisor of the specific order in the local church. More spectacular titles, such as *archistylites*, are attested in inscriptions from Dongola (Nubia).[13] We do not know who the *archistilites* was, but one of the holders of this title was at the same time an

[9] Dio Cassius, *Hist.* 54.15.5-6; 55.3.3 (Dio refers to the times of Augustus, but his narrative implies that the situation was the same in his day, in the third century); Corippus, *In laudem Iustini* 4.142-143; see R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome*, Princeton, 1984, pp. 17 and 240-245.

[10] *Canons for the Monks Attributed to Rabbula* (Vat. Borg. Syr. 10), *can.* 9-10; also Jerome, *Praefatio in Pachomiana Latina* 3; *Apophtegmata: Collectio systematica* 10.175; *Regula Benedicti* 63; see E. Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte: IVe-VIIIe siècles*, Warsaw, 2009, pp. 383-387.

[11] The first traces of this process can be possibly seen already in the late fifth century: The collection known as *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, can. 2, distinguishes the ways in which the bishops and his presbyters should interact in the church and "at home" (see J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER1173). For the sixth century see: *Concilium Turonense a. 567*, can. 13 (J. Szafranowski, PLAW ER1468); *IV Concilium Toletanum*, can. 23 (M. Szada, PLAW ER409); cf. *Vita Caesarii Arelatensis* 1.62.

[12] *Synodus Dioecesana Autissiodorensis*, can. 6 (Gaul, ad 561/605).

[13] A. Łajtar, "Georgios, Archbishop of Dongola († 1113) and his Epitaph", in *Euergesias Charin: Studies Presented to Benedetto Bravo and Ewa Wipszycka by their Disciples*, ed. by

arch-presbyter. This must have been an honorific title, but it appears only in a late period. Some other terms of monastic origin were apparently used in a similar way. In papyri, the title *eremites* sometimes had the same function – otherwise it would be difficult to explain why the members of an evidently coenobitic community are referred to as *eremitai monachoi*.[14] For our purpose, even more relevant is the use of another monastic term, that of *abba*. In the Egyptian material we can see that the titles of *abba* and *apa* were not interchangeable; they were used only in reference to some monks, and evidently did not have anything to do with any specific function. In the West the term *abba* is well attested in sixth-century Gaul, especially, but not uniquely, by Gregory of Tours, but its function seems to be different.[15] It was apparently used in reference to some clerics who did not have any monastic status. Its precise meaning is not entirely clear: it could distinguish some venerable clerics, but also refer to a specific group such as presbyters responsible for certain churches.[16] Yet it denoted a function rather than an honorific grade. In the subscriptions under the acts of the council of Auxerre, which I have already mentioned, the *abbates* and presbyters are intermingled, which suggests, that this title was not the obvious marker of the place in the ecclesiastical order of precedence. Honorific titles are absent from clerical correspondence. In letters there was no standard way in which two clerics of the same rank could mark their different status. Admittedly, some tried to emphasise more complicated relations among them, like Jerome (then presbyter) who in AD 404 addressed Augustine (then bishop) as his "dear friend, son in years, father in dignity".[17] But the usual way in which two bishops or two presbyters addressed each other was simply *frater*. In all, there is no trace of a specific term which would have distinguished more and less senior clerics of the same grade. The same can be said about garments; indeed, it seems that before the sixth century the very idea of a specific clerical dress was not really developed.[18]

T. Derda, J. Urbanik & M. Węcowski [= *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology* Supplement 1], Warsaw, 2002, pp. 159-192, at p. 176.

[14] Wipszycka, *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte*, pp. 305-306.

[15] T. Derda & E. Wipszycka, "L'emploi des titres 'abba', 'apa' et 'papas' dans l'Égypte byzantine", *The Journal of Juristic Papyrology*, 24 (1994), pp. 23-56.

[16] L. Pietri, "Les abbés de basilique dans la Gaule du VIe siècle", *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 69 (1983), pp. 5-28.

[17] Jerome, *Ep.* 105.5, ed. by I. Hilberg, Vienna, 1912 (*CSEL*, 55), p. 246: *amice carissime, aetate fili, dignitate parens.*

[18] A. Bodin, "The Outward Appearance of Clerics in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries in Italy, Gaul and Africa: Representation and Reality", *Studia Patristica*, 42 (2013), pp. 493-501; for the later period: L. Trichet, *Le costume du clergé. Ses origines et son évolution en France d'après les règlements de l'Église*, Paris, 1986.

A possible way of showing the order of precedence consisted in marking it in the public space, on solemn occasions, especially during church ceremonies. Unfortunately, we know but a little about the organisation of the processions which could be a good occasion to display a hierarchy. A canon of the late seventh-century Council of Braga condemns priests who "on the solemnities of the martyrs hang relics on their necks and believe that they shall be carried in their seats by no other but deacons wearing albs".[19] This short passage shows quite well that the presbyters wanted to visibly and publicly mark their position in regard to the deacons, but I cannot name any text which would discuss how the participants of the same rank were ordered in processions. In his description of the *adventus* of relics to his city Victricius of Rouen mentions presbyters, deacons, monks, and virgins attending this event. He does it in a way which suggests that they stood separately, but gives us no hint as how these groups were organised.[20] The iconography is of little help in this respect. On the famous Trier Ivory we can see a procession with two bishops seated on a cart preceded by some people, but they are all indistinguishable from each other, and we cannot be even sure that they were clerics.[21] We know better how the clerics were seated on public occasions. This was a really important issue. In the New Testament the problem of sitting on the right or on the left of Christ, higher or lower at the table is discussed more than once.[22] Needless to say, we should not imagine the clerics being seated at the table in the same way as the Apostles on Leonardo's Last Supper – in Late Antiquity both in private houses and in monasteries people usually did not take places at one long table, but at several smaller tables, which made the hierarchy slightly less obvious. But the order of precedence was there. Sulpicius Severus finds it important to emphasise that when the emperor invited Martin of Tours for a feast, the bishop did not pass the cup from which he had drunk to the host, sitting next to him, but to a presbyter, who was seated lower, between two *comites*.[23]

Certainly even more important was sitting in the church. First of all, the presbyters were seated, while the deacons remained standing, both during liturgy and at church councils. This was a widely-spread custom.

[19] *III Concilium Bracarense* (AD 675), can. 3, ed. by J. VIVES, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1963, p. 374, see M. SZADA, PLAW ER1044.

[20] Victricius of Rouen, *De laude sanctorum* 3-5.

[21] See K. G. HOLUM & G. VIKAN, "The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial and the Relics of St. Stephen", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 33 (1979), pp. 115-133.

[22] Luke 14.7-11 (seats at the wedding feast); Mark 10.35-40, Matthew 20.20-23 (James and John to be seated on the right and left hand of Jesus); Mark 12.38-40, Matthew 23.1-6, Luke 20.45-47 (best seats in the synagogues).

[23] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 20.4-7 (J. SZAFRANOWSKI, PLAW ER971).

The formula *consedentibus presbyteris, adstantibus diaconibus*, attested for the first time in AD 400 in the acts of the First Council of Toledo, would be repeated in the prefaces to the canons of several synods in different regions.[24] During the liturgy the places of the presbyters were in the exedra, on the *synthronon*, a semi-circular bench, on two sides of the bishop who was seated on his throne (*cathedra*). We do not know who sat where, but perhaps some conclusions can be drawn from an analogy provided by a scene representing a group of the Apostles, quite popular in late antique iconography. The order in which the Apostles are represented does not reflect a strict hierarchy among them, indeed the very existence of any strict hierarchy among them is dubious, but the paintings and mosaics often reflect the order in which the Apostles were called by Jesus or in which they are named in the Gospels.[25] Particularly interesting are representations of Christ sitting among the Twelve, which can be found relatively frequently in the apses of late antique churches. For instance, on the fifth-century mosaic from the chapel of St Aquilinus in San Lorenzo Maggiore in Milan most Apostles cannot be identified, but those closest to Christ are easily recognisable as St Peter, on the right, and St Paul, on the left, obviously the two most important in this group.[26] If this group was represented in the apse, the congregation who gathered in the church saw it just above the *synthronon*. The central places on the *synthronon* were also better: they were not only placed just below the most important Apostles on the mosaic, but also were the closest to the bishop; last but not least, those who were seated there were more visible by the people, and had a better view of the nave.

The position of a cleric among his peers also could be visibly marked by the role played in the liturgy. In the collection of canons attributed to Basil the Great, extant in Arabic, but originally written in Greek, the clerics are admonished to keep an order during the celebration of the Eucharist.[27] It is the lesser among them who should distribute the (most probably con-

[24] *Concilium Toletanum* I (AD 400), ed. by J. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos,* p. 19, see M. SZADA, PLAW ER94; Carthage (AD 401): S. ADAMIAK, PLAW ER280; Rome (AD 487) = Felix II, *Ep.* 13: S. ADAMIAK, PLAW ER660; Rome (AD 495) = *Collectio Avellana* 103.2: S. ADAMIAK, PLAW ER661; Braga I (AD 561): M. SZADA, PLAW ER301.

[25] See M. Łaptaś, "St Andrew the Apostle in the Murals of the Upper Church in Banganarti", *Études et Travaux. Institut des Cultures Méditerranéennes et Orientales de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences*, 22 (2008), pp. 101-114.

[26] The dating of the mosaic is uncertain but it is not later than the fifth century, see S. Lewis, "San Lorenzo Revisited: A Theodosian Palace Church at Milan", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 32 (1973), pp. 197-222, at p. 219.

[27] *Canons of Basil*, can. 96: the canons remain unedited, they are accessible only in German translation by W. RIEDEL, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 272-273.

secrated) bread, which is presented as a measure to avoid murmuring and discontent which apparently would be unavoidable if this function were left to one of the seniors. If this canon concerns the holy communion, it must refer to the presbyters. It suggests that the precedence was visible and important, but probably could be contested – otherwise, it would be difficult to understand why some clerics had a reason to murmur.

We do not have any document, inscription, or literary text showing the order of sitting or performing liturgical tasks in the church, but this order most probably reflected the order in which the names of clerics figured on a list. Such lists are alluded to or implied by various pieces of evidence. In his *History of the persecution*, for instance, Victor of Vita tells about a deacon Muritta of Carthage, who was taken for torments after the archdeacon of the same city, *fuit autem secundus in ordine ministrorum*, which, I think, in this context should be translated: "because he was the second of order of deacons".[28] Needless to say, it is hardly probable that the Vandals respected an order of precedence when torturing Nicene clerics, but this passage suggests that for Victor such order was obvious. He does not explain what it was based upon, but this can be inferred from other contemporary testimonies. The first of them are two lists of subscriptions under the acts of the Roman synods held in 487 and in 495, which gathered most presbyters of the city.[29] If we omit the repetitive names whose bearers are difficult to identify (such as Peter or Laurence), we can see that the order of those present at both councils is almost the same (almost, I will return to this), and at the bottom of the later list over a dozen new names appear: they must have belonged to new presbyters, ordained between 487 and 495. This shows, first, that the same order of precedence was essentially kept at both synods, and second, that it reflected the number of years spent in the priesthood, just as the coenobitic hierarchy was based on the number of years spent in the monastery.[30] It is important to remark that the clerics were not listed according to their *tituli* – Roman intramural churches. Quite probably some of them were better endowed or more reputable than others, but if so, it was not reflected in the order of precedence of their clergy. However, clerics serving in each *titulus* and holding the same rank observed the order of precedence among them, as we can see in a funerary inscription from the cemetery St Pancratius on the Via Aurelia, which

[28] Victor of Vita, *Historia persecutionis* 3.35, ed. by S. Lancel, Paris, 2002, p. 193.

[29] The acts of the synod of 487 are preserved as *Letter* 13 of Pope Felix II (see S. Adamiak, PLAW ER660); those of the synod of 495 as *Letter* 30 of Pope Gelasius = *Collectio Avellana* 103 (see S. Adamiak, PLAW ER661).

[30] Jerome, *Praefatio in Pachomiana Latina* 3; Pachomius, *Praecepta* 136 and *Praecepta atque iudicia* 2 and 9.

attests that a couple bought a grave for their son from "the presbyters of the title of St Crisogonus, that is the first, Peter, the second, Crisogonus, the third, Catellus, the fourth Gaudiosus, and from Philip, presiding at the holy martyr Pancratius'" (*a presviteris tituli sanc(ti) Crisogoni idest Petro priore Crisogono secundo Catello tertio Gaudioso quarto vel a Filippo praeposito beati martyris Prancati*).[31]

Even more interesting testimony of a list of the local clergy, also from the fifth century, comes from a letter of Pope Leo I who castigates Dorus, bishop of Beneventum, with the following words:

> We have learned from the attached report of your presbyter, Paul, that the order of the presbyterate (*ordo presbyterii*) has been thrown into confusion with you by strange intrigues and vile collusion in such a way that one man has been hastily and prematurely promoted, and others, whose advancement was recommended by their age, and who were charged with no fault, were passed over.[32]

Here, the precedence is explicitly based on seniority. Admittedly, one's place could not be taken for granted: the clerical career resembled the "snakes and ladders" game in which one climbed steadily but may have slipped down if charged with a fault. But above all, one should not have taken a higher grade surpassing his elders. And this is what happened in Beneventum. Interestingly, as the following part of the quoted letter reveals, Dorus' decision to promote the junior presbyter, Eucharius, was somehow approved by two presbyters from the top of the list, which suggests that the bishop did not act in an entirely arbitrary way. We do not know why exactly Eucharius was offered a higher place. Perhaps he was a local noble or rich donator. But he may have been simply a very pious man, whose qualities everybody appreciated. He did not even have to be a young person; it is perfectly possible that he joined the clergy only as an elderly man. But be that as it may, the rule has been broken, and Leo orders the following: the culprit will return to his former place, but not to the very end of the list. Because to the end of the list there will be demoted the two presbyters who had been formerly at the top, but approved Eucharius' promotion to the place he should not have taken. That will be their punishment.

[31] ICVR II, 4279.1 (= CIL VI, 9994; ILCV, 1137), see Epigraphic Database Bari EDB40239; trans. S. Adamiak, PLAW ER2139. See also a funerary inscription of Urbicus, the first presbyters (*presbyter prior*), possibly of the Titulus Pudentis (Santa Pudenziana): ICVR NS VII, 20003 (see EDB19953).

[32] Leo I, *Ep.* 19.1, *PL* 54, col. 709, transl. by Ch. Lett Feltoe, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 2nd series, vol. 12, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 31, see M. Szada, PLAW ER1683.

2. Why Seniority was Important

The episode quoted above is also interesting because it shows how important it was to keep the proper order of the clerics. The rhetoric of this letter is really strong. Leo claims that the two presbyters who allowed the usurper to be placed above them "should be deprived of their priesthood", and will be spared only because of the "gentleness of the Apostolic See". To Bishop Dorus Leo says thus: "you acted carelessly, or rather so contumaciously, as to show yourself not a guardian, but a breaker of the laws handed on to you".[33] The only positive hero of this story is the presbyter Paul who alarmed Leo about the situation in Beneventum. Why did this incident elicit such a strong reaction? This probably can be explained partly by the important role that the signs of prestige played in the late antique society. But I think there was something more into it. The order of seniority was important not only in itself, but it probably affected other vital issues in the life of a cleric: his income and chances of promotion to higher grade of clerical hierarchy.

Let us start with the former issue. In Late Antiquity clerics had various sources of income; most of them relied on their private resources or extra-ecclesiastical professional activity. But the gifts and money brought to the church mattered, both for symbolic and material reasons. The clerics had an unequal share in these gifts. It obviously depended on their rank: the presbyters received more than deacons, and the deacons more than lower clergy.[34] Interestingly, it does not seem that the peer members of the same group necessarily received the same share. In 475 Pope Simplicius claims for instance that the gifts brought to the church should be distributed according to the merits of each cleric (*pro singulorum meritis*).[35] Also, according to the letter of Pope Felix IV (526-530) to Bishop Ecclesius of Ravenna (522-532) clerics should receive remuneration "according to the ordained decrees, so that it might not be possible to conceal what is distributed to each person, according to merit or according to rank" (*secundum merita, secundum loca*).[36] This was not a particular Roman or Italian habit but a wider custom: The same rule is repeated by the early sixth-cen-

[33] *Ibidem*.

[34] See e.g. *Constitutiones apostolicae* 8.31.

[35] Simplicius, *Ep.* 1.2, ed. by A. Thiel, *Epistulae Romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, vol. 1, Braunsberg, 1868, p. 176, see S. Adamiak, PLAW ER1877.

[36] Agnellus, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* 60, ed. by D. Mauskopf Deliyannis, Turnhout, 2006 (*CCCM*, 199), p. 227.

tury council of Agde in Gaul (*secundum seruitii sui meritum*)[37] and the seventh-century council of Merida in Hispania (*iuxta meritum*).[38] At first sight it might seem that the *merita* were assessed by the activity of clerics in preaching, celebrating Eucharist or administering church property or by the zeal of their pious or ascetic practices. But this is unlikely. The meaning of this word in this context can be better understood in the light Canon 14 of the council of Merida, cited above, which specifies that the offerings should be divided among the presbyters and deacons "according to the dignity and order" (*dignitas et ordo*). As it already has been said, it was a usual practice that the shares of the former and latter, distinguished by their *dignitas*, which, I think, should be understood as ecclesiastical rank, differed. But the canon suggests that within each group one's share is determined by their *ordo*, which should mean an exact position on the list. If it was so *merita* reflected rank and position in the register of the local clergy.

The registers of clerics, known as *matriculae*, are referred to in synodal canons. The council of Agde (506) decrees that the bishop can erase stubborn clerics from the register and bring them back to their grade and position (*in matricula gradum suum dignitatemque*) if the penance corrects them.[39] I suppose that the expression "grade and dignity" has a similar meaning as *dignitas et ordo* used in Merida: it refers to the exact position on the list, reflecting the rank and seniority.

The rule of seniority is perfectly understandable in this aspect of the clerical life. If those who do the same job, and have the same position, are not paid evenly or according to very strict rules, such as seniority, the system may be a source of discord, at least when the inequality becomes publicly known. The bishop, or whoever decides, risks being accused of arbitrariness.

In Beneventum the bishop broke the order of seniority and the outrage may have been caused partly by financial consequences of this act. In this case Leo reacted. But other bishops, including bishops of Rome, were also tempted to promote certain clerics and raise their allowance while neglecting the order of seniority. This can be seen for instance in the case of a certain Cyriacus mentioned several times in the letters of Gregory the Great. The ecclesiastical status of Cyriacus is not entirely clear. He is referred to either as *abba* or *seruus Dei*. In the sixth century, the former term may

[37] *Concilium Agathense* (AD 506), can. 36, ed. by CH. MUNIER, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCL*, 148), p. 208, see J. SZAFRANOWSKI, PLAW ER943.

[38] *Concilium Emeritense* (AD 666), can. 14, ed. by J. VIVES, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, see M. SZADA, PLAW ER833.

[39] *Concilium Agathense* (AD 506), can. 2, ed. by CH. MUNIER, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCL*, 148), p. 193, see J. SZAFRANOWSKI, PLAW ER868); *Concilium Emeritense*, can. 14 (see above, n. 38).

have referred both to a superior of a monastery and to a senior presbyter, responsible for a specific church. The latter term suggests a sort of monastic status. For our purpose it suffices to say that Cyriacus was a member of the church staff: he dealt, on Gregory's behalf, with varied ecclesiastical affairs. He was apparently an efficient man because Gregory was pleased with his actions and rewarded him in the following way: "I brought in the *polypticus*, in the presence of the clergy, increased his *presbyterium* and placed him in a higher rank among the *defensores*, applauding his good faith before everybody".[40] Three terms in this phrase require an explanation: *polypticus* can mean an account book, but here it is rather a pay-list. *Presbyterium* must be a sort of clerical allowance which is increased at the same time as Cyriacus' status "among the *defensores*". These are not necessarily clerics: the term *defensor* usually refers to a legal representative of the church, but they certainly belonged to the church staff. It is interesting to remark that Gregory presents the raising of the allowance as a public ceremony. It served to enhance not only one's material, but also social status. This was in general an important, and sometimes probably an essential role of the clerical allowance. Its amount not only reflected the place on the list of the church personnel, it also could make it more visible.

In all, the order of precedence, fixed on the list, and showing one's position among one's peers, could also affect the material position of the clerics. But this was not always the case. In a seventh/eighth-century papyrus *P. Misc.* I 124a from Hermopolis, we have a payroll of local clergy: one presbyter, five deacons, and one doorkeeper. Both the presbyter and the deacons receive 8 *artabae* of corn. Thus, the distribution is equal, even if each presbyter is listed separately, probably according to the order of seniority; only the doorkeeper gets less. But another papyrus with a list of clerics (*P. Land.* VIII 154) distinguishes the archdeacon, the second deacon, and the "third" (most probably a deacon as well).[41] Unfortunately, it does not say what they received, but the distinction between the first, second, and the third suggests that their allowance differed.

Another issue, probably even more important, is that the order of seniority was considered to be a proper order of promotion. This conviction was by no means limited to ecclesiastical milieu. In late antique Roman bureaucracy the pattern of promotion was also based on seniority, which was to protect the system against incompetent protégés of influential patrons. In his law issued in AD 315 and addressed to the *consularis aquarum*, respon-

[40] Gregory, *Reg. ep.* II 50, ed. by D. Norberg, Turnhout, 1982 (*CCL*, 140), p. 142; transl. by J. R. C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, Toronto, 2004, vol. 1, p. 230.

[41] Both papyri are quoted and commented by E. Wipszycka, *The Alexandrian Church. People and Institutions*, Warsaw, 2015, pp. 202-205.

sible for the aqueducts of Rome, Constantine states that "the order of promotion is to be so observed that the senior-ranking official in a department is he who was first in obtaining his appointment from the emperor".[42] This model, which can be observed in several imperial decrees, provided a pattern which was indeed followed by the clergy. Admittedly, many late antique bishops leapt to the episcopal throne directly from lay status or with a very short period of apprenticeship on lower ecclesiastical grades: it suffices to mention Ambrose of Milan, Gregory of Nyssa or Augustine of Hippo. Still, the ideal was different: one should have passed slowly through the entire clerical ladder, starting at its bottom. One year has to be spent in each grade, says the fifth-century council of Sufetula. This requirement is even more strict according to several bishops of Rome: 5 years of the diaconate must be followed by at least 10 years of the presbyterate, according to Siricius, before one can be ordained bishop.[43] According to Zosimus, one has to serve 5 years as a lector or exorcist, then 4 years as a subdeacon or acolyte, 5 years as a deacon, and an undetermined time as a presbyter.[44] Zosimus' successor, Boniface, praises bishop Perigenes of Corinth, because he "served as presbyter many years in an irreprehensible way, and came to the highest summit by grades, not by an undue leap".[45] Needless to say, this praise suggests that quite often the reality was different.

3. Guardians of Seniority

The reality might have been different, but the attachment to the idea of the clerical *cursus honorum* based on seniority was strong. It is true, however, that it was not necessarily supported by everybody. Our evidence shows very well that the lay community was quite often eager to choose an outsider whom they found to be an excellent candidate for the clerical post. The reasons may have been various. In several cases people wanted to bring to their church a famous monk, renowned for his ascetic exploits. In the western evidence we can see it for the first time in the case of the episcopal election of Martin in Tours.[46] In the East the popular zeal to make a famous ascetic not necessarily a bishop, but at least a presbyter in the ranks of local clergy is attested even better. Several *vitae* and other narrative texts

[42] *Codex Theodosianus* 8.7.1, ed. by Th. Mommsen, Berlin, 1905, p. 394; see Ch. Kelly, *Ruling the Later Roman Empire*, Cambridge MA – London, 2004, pp. 38-43 and especially n. 36 for further examples of imperial legislation.

[43] Siricius, *Ep.* 1.13, see S. Adamiak, PLAW ER1476.

[44] Zosimus, *Ep.* 9.3.5 (ad 418), see S. Adamiak, PLAW ER1767.

[45] Boniface, *Ep.* 5, *PL* 20, col. 763, see S. Adamiak, PLAW ER1784.

[46] Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Martini* 9.1-3.

show us how the monks protested and resisted such ordinations. In some cases such resistance, certainly expected by the lay community, may have been faked, but the promotion was real and often caused problems.[47] This is why Siricius, in the letter to Himerius quoted above, emphasised that monks can take holy orders, but are subject to the same rules limiting the speed of the ecclesiastical career as the other candidates.[48]

Another reason why lay people were ready to give an important clerical post to an outsider was his rhetorical skills. Augustine claims that after his conversion he avoided vacant episcopal sees, because he was afraid that people would make him a bishop. He did not foresee, however, that in 391 the community of Hippo would make him a presbyter, expecting that in a due time he would take the place of the elderly Bishop Valerius – apparently surpassing elder members of the clergy.[49] Five years later, another famous preacher, John Chrysostom was summoned from Antioch to take the episcopal see of Constantinople, because, as the church historian Socrates says, he was very "instructive and eloquent". According to Socrates the emperor Anastasius brought John to the capital with a general consent of the clergy and laity.[50] The tumultuous story of John's episcopate, however, suggests, that the sympathy of the latter group was at best dubious. It was the laity that supported him.

Yet another reason why a community could be eager to put an outsider high on the list of its clerics was to create a link between a prominent figure, a man of power or wealth, and the city. Two magistrates made bishops, Ambrose, elected bishop of Milan in AD 374 and Nectarius, elected bishop of Constantinople in 381, are risky examples to support this thesis, as in both cases the people's enthusiasm is known from the sources which present an official history of their episcopate and should not be taken at face value.[51] But the case of Pinianus, husband of Melania the Younger, illustrates it very well. In AD 411 the people of Hippo tried to make this fabulously wealthy man a presbyter in their city: against his will and against the promise of Bishop Augustine who apparently had suspected that such

[47] Eastern evidence, see e.g. Athanasius, *Ep. ad Dracontium* (esp. paragraph 7); Theodoret, *Historia religiosa* 13.4 and 15.4. Other cases of this resistance, some of them apparently genuine and successful can be found in A. STERK, *Renouncing the World yet Leading the Church. The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge MA, 2004, *passim*.

[48] See n. 43.

[49] Augustine, *Sermo* 355.2 and *Ep*. 21.2.

[50] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 6.2.

[51] Ambrose: Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* 5.2-6.2 and Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.* 11.11; Nectarius: Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* 5.8 (see T. D. BARNES, "The Election of Ambrose of Milan", *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, ed. by J. LEEMANS, P. VAN NUFFELEN, SH. W. J. KEOUGH & C. NICOLAYE, Berlin – Boston, 2011, pp. 39-59.

an attempt could happen. We know it from Augustine himself who did not have any interest in inventing this story, because the whole situation evidently embarrassed him.[52] Another very rich man, Pontius Meropius Paulinus, later known as Paulinus of Nola, was made presbyter "through the sudden compulsion of the crowd", although, as he claims, "I longed to begin my holy slavery with the name and office of sacristan (*aedituus*)".[53]

It does not seem either that the strict observance of the clerical *cursus honorum* was fully in the interest of the bishops. They probably preferred some flexibility in promoting the members of their staff, as we have seen in the case of Gregory and Cyriacus. This, however, is not the only case of moving someone up the list without changing his grade. As I have said above, the subscriptions under the acts of the councils of Rome in 487 and 495 generally reflect the order of seniority, but not entirely so. Out of 65 presbyters present at the latter synod, at least 6 seem to be lower than they were at the previous one, 3 are higher. One might suspect that this can be explained by the fact that, as the *Liber Pontificalis* claims, the presbyters in Rome were ordained rarely, on average once every five years, and so several of them were ordained on the same day: about 20 on each occasion. Consequently, all of them had the same seniority. But the two lists of synodal signatures are too similar: the participants evidently did not sign the acts by "classes", whose internal order was not fixed; instead they essentially signed in the unchanging order from the *matricula*. This would suggest that if we are not dealing with a copyist's error, about 15% of the presbyters were downgraded or promoted faster than their colleagues; but all of them were moved only slightly – none had an "undue leap" from the end of the list to the top. In all, both promotion and demotion were possible, and the bishops used this tool, quite understandably as the clerics differed in their education, skills, character, piety, and wealth. But the bishops also knew that there was one more important actor whose feelings had to be taken into account: the lower and middle clergy whose discontent was potentially disruptive for the Church.

I think then that it was the lower and middle clergy, which were most attached to the idea of the slow but constant way up at equal pace. Those already in orders did not want a newcomer to take any other place than that at the bottom of the ladder and, again as a group, did not necessarily approve faster careers of some individuals from within their ranks. As the episode in Beneventum shows, this concerned not only the vertical hierar-

[52] Augustine, *Ep.* 126.1.

[53] Paulinus, *Ep.* 1.10, ed. by A. Goldbacher, Vienna, 1894 (*CSEL*, 34.2), p. 8, transl. by P. G. Walsh, *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, New York, 1966 (*Ancient Christian Writers*, 35), vol. 1, p. 37.

chy, but the horizontal one as well. In that case it was Pope Leo who intervened, but his reaction was sought by the presbyter Paul, who was evidently unhappy about the promotion of his junior colleague.

How important this issue was for the clergy can be seen in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont, in which he quotes his address in Bourges, delivered when the local community asked him to name a suitable candidate for their episcopal see (all in AD 470). Sidonius explains why he chose a certain pious layman, and not a monk or cleric. First, he claims that people would not have accepted a monk, but then, more interestingly, explains why he did not propose a member of the local clergy:

> If I named a cleric, his juniors would be consumed with a jealousy which his seniors would openly express. For among the clergy there are not a few – I may say this without offence to the rest – in whose eyes only seniority counts as merit; they would like us to consider age alone and disregard efficiency, as if mere length of life were the one qualification for the highest office in the priesthood, and the prerogative, the amenity and charm of personal accomplishments were to count for nothing.[54]

The proposed candidate was a local noble, a man of Sidonius' own class and he obviously felt a need to justify his choice. It is interesting to note that he named various reasons why the candidature of a monk would have been contested by the community: he would be considered too otherworldly, too abject or arrogant, too ignorant or erudite, too austere or indulgent, too simple or clever, too ascetic or glutton (and this is not the end of the list of possible objections). Even if these reasons were not absurd, apparently none of them was self-evident. What Sidonius wanted to say is: there would be always some complaints from one side or the other. With a clerical candidate, however, the situation was different. It was obvious that the opposition would come from his colleagues. Needless to say, Sidonius strongly disagreed with this way of thinking among the clerics, which can be seen in the following passage from his address:

> On this principle a few individuals strive to direct the church, though they are so old that they will soon need direction themselves – persons remiss in ministration, prompt in obloquy, indolent in affairs, busy in faction, weak in charity, sturdy in intrigue, steady in feud, vacillating in judgement.

[54] Sidonius Apollinaris, *Ep.* VII 9.12, ed. and transl. by W. B. Anderson, Cambridge MA, 1965 (*LCL*, 420), p. 345, slightly modified by RW. For the context of this election and the role played by Sidonius see J. A. van Waarden, "Episcopal Self-Presentation: Sidonius Apollinaris and the Episcopal Election in Bourges AD 470", in *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, pp. 555-561.

The perspective of Sidonius Apollinaris, grand aristocrat who did not held any church offices before he was ordained bishop, was obviously very different from that of the presbyters and lower clerics.[55] But promoting an outsider may have been actually easier and less contestable than promoting a member of the local clergy in contravention of the strict order of seniority. Admittedly, the tension caused by such promotion did not always have to be equally strong. Particularly in small cities, in which the only higher grade accessible for a presbyter was bishopric, it must have been quite obvious that not everybody was eligible for this position, for various reasons (low origin, insufficient education, poor preaching skills, lack of charisma, etc.). But in bigger cities the hierarchy was more developed and the presbyters could hope to obtain various functions of considerable responsibility, honour, and income, below the bishopric. I suppose that with the development of the parish structure, in which functions of this kind were quite numerous the order of seniority became more important than it was in an earlier period. Elder presbyters must have kept an eye lest youngster receive an important post by an "undue leap".

4. Conclusions

We may conclude that the lists of the presbyters, deacons, and most probably lower clerics who served in a local church, observed the order of precedence based on seniority, that is on the number of years spent in the specific ecclesiastical rank. It is difficult to decide whether this order was always kept in the ritual context, but it seems that place of sitting in the church and standing at the altar somehow depended upon it. Even more importantly, the share in offerings and other forms of church-related income of clerics relied on the exact place on the list of the clergy (*matricula*). Still more importantly, this place largely decided, or should have decided, how far a cleric was from the promotion to a higher ecclesiastical rank. The place in the *matricula* could not be taken for granted. Bishops moved some of their clerics up and others down the list: this could be an instrument of staff management or a way of ascertaining that the church will get the most suitable men for its service. But this was often a danger-

[55] This obviously depended on personal sympathies and connections. Gregory of Tours, for instance, mentions with full approval episcopal ordination a certain Sulpicius, a layman but "a man of a very noble birth, descended from one of the foremost senatorial families in Gauls. He is well learned in the rhetoric, and second to none in the art of [poetic] metre" (*Hist*. 6.39, ed. by B. Krusch & W. Levinson, Hannover, 1951 (*MGH SRM* 1.1), p. 310), but refuses to ordain a nephew of bishop Felix of Nantes as his successor claiming that it contradicts the canons *Hist*. 5.15).

ous decision. Admittedly, it could be popular with the lay part of the local community which sometimes tried to impose on the bishop the ordination of a holy monk or rich aristocrat who did not serve in the lower grades of the clerical ladder. But it was likely to meet disapproval of the lower and middle clergy who were concerned about their income, career, and prestige. The clergy, when opposing the undue promotions, was not without allies: the metropolitan bishop or, in Italy, the bishop of Rome, could back their position and force the local bishop to observe the order of seniority. The order of precedence was obviously just one of the elements in the game of power and interests, in which many actors played a role: local and metropolitan bishops, powerful lay patrons and other secular members of the community, lower and middle clerics, monks and abbots. Other issues, such as liturgical competences of the presbyters or principles according which income was divided between the bishop and his clergy, may have been more important. But the problem of the precedence illustrates quite well how the tensions between these groups appeared and how they were, or why they were not, resolved.

Summary

This article discusses the order of precedence among the holders of the same clerical rank in the late antique church. This order, based on seniority, was most probably displayed in the public sphere, but even more importantly, it affected the income and promotion of clerics. The article also studies specific cases in which the seniority was ignored or broken. It argues that while lay people often supported swifter promotion of outstanding individuals and bishops were inclined to act accordingly, the middle and lower clergy strongly opposed nominations which violated the established horizontal hierarchy.

Robert Wiśniewski
University of Warsaw
r.wisniewski@uw.edu.pl

Separating the Secular from the Spiritual: Wives, Sons and Clients of the Clergy in Late Antique *Hispania*[*]

Rebecca A. Devlin
(*Louisville*)

1. Introduction

Sometime after the Tenth Council of Toledo met in 656, the presbyters and deacons of Braga learned they had a new bishop. Fructuosus had been ordered to replace their former bishop Potamius as the Metropolitan of Gallaecia, a province in the northwestern Iberian Peninsula.[1] With this ruling, the presbyters and deacons lost their status as the highest ecclesiastical authorities in Braga, which they had held since Potamius had stepped down from his post in disgrace nine months prior due to his improper relations with a woman.[2] Undoubtedly, as bishop of the nearby monastery and bishopric of Dume, Fructuosus had offered some guidance to the clerical community and congregation of Braga during this time of turmoil, even before the ecclesiastical mandate came from Toledo, and may have acted as its *de facto* bishop. Yet, while we know of no objection to his election, and the famous ascetic of noble lineage certainly was a worthy choice, by making his role official and ordering that Fructuosus fill the bishopric of Braga and simultaneously continue as the bishop of Dume, the ecclesiasti-

[*] I want to thank Robert Wiśniewski and Raúl Villegas Marín for their very useful advice for improving this paper.

[1] Toledo X: *Item Decretum pro Potamio episcopo in eodem concilio*, ed. and span. transl. by J. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1963, p. 321: T*unc venerabilem Fructuosum ecclesiae Dumiensis episcopum conmuni omnium nostrorum electione constituimus ecclesiae Bracarensis gubernacula continere, ita aut omnem metropolim provinciae Gallaeciae cunctosque episcopos populosque conventus ipsius omnemque curam animarum et rerum Bracarensis ecclesiae gubernanda suscipiens ita conponat atque conservet, ut et Deum nostrum de rectitudine / operis sui glorificet, et nobis de incolomitate eius ecclesiae gaudium praestet*. See also, J. Orlandis, D. Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios de la España Romana Y Visigoda*, Pamplona, 1986, pp. 365-367.

[2] Toledo X, *Item Decretum pro Potamio episcopo in eodem concilio*, Vives, p. 320: *...foemineo sorduisset stupro...*

cal leadership at Toledo affected the clerical and dependent communities of both sees.[3] Whatever leadership roles or administrative duties the presbyters and deacons had assumed in the interim now would be reassigned according to Fructuosus' judgment. For these men, their current positions and potential future appointments were uncertain. Not only had they been overlooked for promotion to bishop, they also lost the benefits derived from connections they had developed through Potamius toward the goal of being ordained into a higher office or appointed to a church or basilica.

The example of Potamius highlights several factors that shaped the dynamics within clerical communities of the Visigothic Kingdom. While his ecclesiastical colleagues did not approve of his indiscretions, Potamius certainly was not the only bishop, presbyter or deacon to engage with a woman physically. We have no evidence that Potamius had children, but the relationships these men had with women often produced dependents for whom the clergy had to care in a manner similar to how laymen would, which in turn created tensions as the bishops, presbyters and deacons sought ways to fulfill their duties to the Church and their families. This was not the only time that the conflation of secular and spiritual obligations caused difficulties within the clerical community. As Abilio Barbero and Marcelo Vigil have shown, patronage held social and economic significance in the Visigothic period. There were numerous patron-client dynamics, including within the church and between the bishops and their clergy.[4] Of course, Barbero and Vigil focused on the development of feudalism in the Iberian Peninsula.[5] This paper will build on the idea of bishops acting as patrons to explore how this shaped the lives, expectations and security of one set of their clients, the clergy.

To understand the effects that the failure to separate the secular and sacred spheres had on the lower clergy, this paper will examine the clerical community of Gallaecia in the middle of the seventh century. I have not chosen to concentrate on the northwestern Iberian Peninsula, part of the Visigothic Kingdom since 585, because this region is unique compared to other parts of the late antique world. In fact, recent studies have moved

[3] See n. 1. Since the see is located in modern Portugal, the Portuguese translation, Dume, is used. For a discussion of other times the same person filled the two bishoprics, see P. C. Díaz, "Monasteries in a Peripheral Area: Seventh-Century *Gallaecia*", in *Topographies of Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by M. de Jong, F. Theuws, C. van Rhijn, Leiden, 2001, pp. 335-336 and A. Ferreiro, "The See of Dumium/Braga Before and Under Visigothic Rule", *Euphrosyne*, 45 (2017), p. 100.

[4] A. Barbero, M. Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo en la Península Ibérica,* Barcelona, 1979, pp. 20-24, 28-30, 53-69, 88-89, 90-103.

[5] Barbero, Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo*, pp. 25, 41-42, 85-86, 95-96, 103-104, ch. 4.

away from the view of Gallaecia as particular and have begun to incorporate it more fully into narratives of the late and post-Roman West and many of the developments and theories presented here certainly are relevant to other areas.[6] Instead, focusing on a single region in a specific period allows for a more contextualized view as opposed to an aggregate approach to the evidence, which often compresses time and geography.[7] It is possible to create such a case study because in addition to the situation involving Potamius, we have several other specific examples in which the bishops and clergy in Gallaecia came under scrutiny at peninsula-wide church councils, particularly in 646 and 656.[8] In addition, in recent years archaeologists using improved methods have provided us with significant evidence for the rural and urban communities in Gallaecia, and the churches, basilicas and estates the clergy managed.[9]

The questions explored in this paper focus on how the bishops' conflation of the secular and sacred spheres affected the lower clergy in general, but the emphasis will be on the impact episcopal actions had on the presbyters and deacons. In addition, the case study developed here is most concerned with the social and economic concerns of the clergy rather than

[6] See for example, *Culture and Society in Medieval Galicia, a Cultural Crossroads at the Edge of Europe*, ed. by J. D'Emilio, Leiden, 2015. For a discussion of the problematic nature of the narrative of particularity, see P. C. Martínez Díaz, *El Reino Suevo (411-585)*, Tres Cantos, 2011, esp. pp. 6-10.

[7] What Guy Halsall calls the "melting pot" approach to the Early Middle Ages. G. Halsall, *Settlement and Social Organization in the Merovingian Region of Metz*, Cambridge, 1995, p. 1.

[8] For the use of church councils as evidence for actual rather than hypothetical situations, see Ferreiro, "The See of Dumium", p. 107; L. K. Bailey, *The Religious World of the Laity in Late Antique Gaul*, London, 2016, pp. 10-11; G. I. Halfond, *Archaeology of Frankish Church Councils, Ad 511-768*, Leiden, 2010, p. 213; R. L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589-633*, Ann Arbor, 2000, esp. pp. 19-21.

[9] While we cannot always connect material data to particular individuals, analyzing this evidence provides insight into the larger context in which the bishops, clergy and their dependents operated and the social and economic factors that shaped clerical communities in Gallaecia. For how settlement archaeology can be used to understand social and economic relationships, see H. Hamerow, *Early Medieval Settlements. The Archaeology of Rural Communities in North-West Europe, 400-900*, Oxford – New York, 2002, pp. 52-53; H. Hamerow, "Early Medieval Settlements in Northwest Europe, c. ad 400-900: the Social Aspects of Settlement Layout", in *The Archaeology of Early Medieval Villages in Europe*, ed. by J. A. Quirós Castillo, Leioa, Biscay, 2009, p. 67; J.-P. Sodini, "Archaeology and Late Antique Social Structures", in *Theory and Practice in Late Antique Archaeology*, ed. by L. Lavan, W. Bowden, Leiden, 2003, pp. 25-27, 30-38, 42-44. For using archaeological evidence for churches, see A. Chavarría Arnau, *A La Sombra De Un Imperio: Iglesias, Obispos Y Reyes En La Hispania Tardoantigua (siglos V-Vii)*, Bari, 2018, esp. ch. 3-4, 6; A. Chavarría, *Archeologia Delle Chiese: Dalle Origini All'anno Mille*, Rome, 2009; M. C. Miller, *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy*, Ithaca, N.Y, 2000, esp. ch. 1-2.

understanding their official ecclesiastical duties related to laity, such as the performing the liturgy or baptisms.[10] It will be suggested that to succeed as a presbyter or deacon, as measured by promotions and financially lucrative appointments, it was necessary to treat the bishop as one would a secular lord. However, even working to become the favorite of a particular bishop did not guarantee social or economic security for Gallaecian presbyters, deacons and their dependents.

2. Clerical Families and Ecclesiastical Resources

The circumstances of Potamius of Braga's removal from office demonstrate that some Gallaecian bishops conflated the secular and sacred spheres through their relationships with women. The ecclesiastical leadership of the Iberian Peninsula had attempted to regulate the sexual activity of clerics and their wives, and the sons and daughters such relationships produced, since the Council of Elvira in the early fourth century.[11] Subsequent councils continued to call for abstinence after ordination, particularly for the clerical orders beyond subdeacon, but they did not mandate strict celibacy. There certainly was an interest for clerics to practice sexual continence before performing rituals of the church, yet it is clear that many bishops and members of the lower clergy continued to have wives and children.[12] In fact, after their husbands' deaths, some episcopal widows had important social roles in their communities.[13] Even if Potamius did not have a wife

[10] Other papers in this volume cover clerical orders and offices in *Hispania* and elsewhere quite well. See, for example, the papers by Thomas Deswarte, Raúl Villegas Marín and Robert Wiśniewski.

[11] See *Council of Elvira*, can. 18, 30, 33, 65, ed. by Vives, pp. 5, 7, 13. Canon 33 ruled that clerics should abstain from their wives and have no children. Some scholars have questioned whether this actually was an early fourth-century mandate, arguing that this ruling was a later interpolation. See F. J. E. Boddens Hosang, "The Council of Elvira", in *Establishing Boundaries: Christian-Jewish Relations in Early Council Texts and the Writings of Church Fathers*, Leiden, 2010, pp. 23-76; M. Sotomayor, J. F. Ubiña, *El Concilio De Elvira Y Su Tiempo*, Granada, 2005; S. Laeuchli, *Power and Sexuality: The Emergence of Canon Law at the Synod of Elvira*, Philadelphia, PA, 1972.

[12] This is consistent with other regions in the West as well. See for example, Bailey, *The Religious World of the Laity*, pp. 27-28; C. A. Frazee, "The Origins of Clerical Celibacy in the Western Church", *Church History*, 41, no. 2 (June 1972), pp. 149-167; Ferreiro, "The See of Dumium", p. 110. For the fourth and fifth century context and the suggestion that clerical marriage was viewed as a way to support clerical continence, see D. G. Hunter, "Clerical Marriage and Episcopal Elections in the Latin West: From Siricius to Leo I", in *Episcopal Elections in Late Antiquity*, ed. by J. Leemans, P. van Nuffelen, S. W. J. Keough, C. Nicolaye, Berlin, 2011, pp. 183-202.

[13] J. G. Pardina, "La Prohibición de las Segundas Nupcias de la viuda de Clérigo en los Concilios Hispanos Tardoantiguos", *Hispania Sacra*, 56 (2004), pp. 425-427.

or children, his story reminds us that many presbyters and deacons did have families and other dependents for whom they had to provide. Clerical marriages and the families they produced created a financial imperative for presbyters and deacons to maintain good relations with those in charge of their promotions and appointments.

In the mid-seventh century there certainly were opportunities for clerics who had developed positive connections with their bishops to obtain sufficient resources not only for themselves, but also for their wives, children and other family members. Like elsewhere in the Latin West, in the sixth and seventh centuries a significant amount of wealth and resources came to be controlled by ecclesiastical authorities through the gradual shift away from acts of public euergetism to munificence focused on attaining the treasure of heaven through gifts to the Church and the poor.[14] Of course, monasteries also were founded and according to the *vita* for Fructuosus of Braga – who used his vast inheritance to establish numerous monasteries in *Hispania* and especially Gallaecia in the seventh century – they attracted large numbers of the secular elite even from the *palatini*, or royal household, many of whom later became bishops.[15] By the mid-seventh century numerous former Roman villas in Gallaecia had been converted to churches or monasteries. The locations of these villas typically had been chosen for their fecundity, and the church's dependent communities continued to work on the estates in the Visigothic period.[16]

Many Gallaecian presbyters and deacons served within the context of episcopal churches, but for those with dependents or material aspirations, being granted an appointment to manage their own basilica and its asso-

[14] Peter Brown suggests this shift contributed to the "managerial role" bishops assumed in the sixth century. Ian Wood offers a "reasonable guess" that by 700, a third or more of Western Europe was held by the Church. P. L. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity in the West, 350-550* ad, Princeton, N.J., 2012, esp. ch. 4, pp. 376-380, 481-502; C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition*, Berkeley, 2005, pp. 172; M. Á. Utrero Agudo, F. J. Moreno Martín, "Evergetism Among the Bishops of *Hispania* Between the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: A Dialogue Between Archaeological and Documentary sources", *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 23 (2015), pp. 97-99, 101-103, 105-107; I. Wood, *The Transformation of the Roman West*, Leeds, 2018, pp. 81-83, 95-98, 101.

[15] A. T. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, Liverpool, 1997 (Translated texts for historians, 26), p. 130.

[16] While it is difficult to determine the scale of agrarian enterprise in the late antique period, many former villas were located in fertile areas near rivers and creeks. D. Ríos, "La Olmeda y el agua", in *In Durii regione romanitas: estudios sobre la Presencia Romana en el valle del Duero en Homenaje a Javier Cortes Alvarez de Miranda*, ed. by C. F. Ibañez, R. B. Roldán, Palencia – Santander, 2012 p. 121; C. Fernández Ochoa, F. G. Sendino, A. O. Saco del Valle, "La villa romana de Veranes el complejo rural Tardorromana y a de estudio del territorio", *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 77 (2004), p. 211.

ciated estate held greater potential. For example, numerous presbyters and deacons under Potamius were needed in the churches and basilicas that had developed around Braga over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries.[17] Typically these sites were located along old Roman roads just outside the city walls. Some had started out as villas, while others began as martyrium, but by the middle of the seventh century, these basilicas were incorporated into the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Braga, allowing the presbyters and deacons under Potamius to serve the growing local populations on the periphery of the city.[18] These churches were undoubtedly prestigious and potentially lucrative positions since they were becoming new centers of settlement.[19]

Papal tradition held that "ecclesiastical revenue" was to be divided in four parts and dispensed to the bishops, the lower clergy, the poor, and to maintain the churches.[20] However, conciliar rulings suggest that this fourfold division was not always the norm in the Visigothic Kingdom.[21] Apparently, by the mid-seventh century offerings to the church were to be distributed equally among the bishops, presbyters and deacons, and subdeacons and the clergy below them.[22] Of course, donated land also continued to gener-

[17] M. Martins, J. Ribeiro, F. Magalhães, R. Peñin, "Urban Changes in Braga in Late Antiquity: The Area of the Roman Theater", in *Braga and its Territory Between the Fifth and the Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. by R. Martínez Peñin, Lleida, 2015, pp. 14-15.

[18] The original owners of the villas may have been the ones to add the basilicas. F. Sande Lemos, *Bracara Augusta no Baixo Império e na Antiguidade Tardia, uma Primeira Interpretação*, Braga, 2003, pp. 115-116; Á. Rodríguez Resino, *Del Imperio Romano a La Alta Edad Media: Arqueología De La Tardoantigüedad En Galicia (siglos V-VIII)*, La Coruña, 2005, p. 153.

[19] Some only became parochial churches later, but members of the community did bury their loved ones on the grounds of the smaller basilicas in the mid-seventh century. C. Braga, M. Martin, "The Funerary Topography of the Via XVII Necropolis in Late Antiquity (Braga)", *Arqueologia Medieval: Hàbitats Medievals*, 8 (2016), p. 31. Of course, it should not be assumed that the clergy oversaw all burials or supervised private basilicas with associated graves at this time. See É. Rebillard, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, trans. by E. T. Rawlings, J. Routier-Pucci, Ithaca, N.Y., 2009, pp. ix-x, 176-178, ch. 3 and 6; B. Effros, *Merovingian Mortuary Archaeology and the Making of the Early Middle Ages*. Berkeley, 2003; B. Effros, *Caring for Body and Soul: Burial and the Afterlife in the Merovingian World*, University Park, PA., 2002.

[20] Wood, *The Transformation of the Roman West*, p. 91.

[21] For a somewhat recent discussion of how ecclesiastical income was to be divided in the Visigothic Kingdom and the concern that bishops were diverting it for personal use, see Utrero Agudo, Moreno Martín, "Evergetism Among the Bishops of *Hispania*", pp. 102-105.

[22] Council of Mérida (666), can. 14, ed. by Vives, p. 335: *Statuimus in nostris ecclesiis vel civitatibus hoc esse servandum, ut quicquid pecuniae a fidelibus in ecclesia fuerit oblatum (obtuiti) fideliter collectum maneat et conservatum et fideliter episcopo praesentetur, qualiter exin(de) tres partes fiant aequales: unam episcopus habeat; et alteram presbyteres et diacones inibi deser-*

ate income.[23] Certainly the expectation was to use proper portions of this revenue for the poor and the maintenance or construction of churches, but the rents and produce from ecclesiastical holdings also supported the bishops and clergy. Thus, for a presbyter or deacon an appointment within the clerical hierarchy was important not only for the work associated with the position, but also for the resources it provided for their families and other dependents. Maintaining the favor of their bishops continued to be important after the lower clergy obtained their offices. For example, in 655 a provincial council gave bishops the power to redistribute the rents they collected back to the church that gave the payments to them or to another church that was in need. The same council also decided that bishops could use one-fiftieth of their churches' goods to build and enrich monasteries in their territories.[24] In both instances, the economic welfare of the lower clergy and their dependents was tied to the discretion of the bishop.

3. Competition for Presbyters and Deacons: Episcopal Sons and Clients

As they would for the clients of a secular lord, episcopal relationships with women also created difficulties for the lower clergy in the Visigothic Kingdom due to the potential heirs they produced. Nepotism certainly was not limited to sons, but sexual relationships with women increased the possibility of familiar dependents. The ecclesiastical leaders who had replaced Potamius due to his impropriety also condemned bishops who played favorites when naming leaders of parochial churches and monasteries. While not unique to Gallaecia, there was concern at the Tenth Council of Toledo because these appointments also included "blood relations".[25] Presbyters and deacons had to worry about being overlooked for lucrative positions whenever a bishop chose to place a relative in the office. Competition from a bishop's sons made it especially difficult for other members of the clerical community to progress within the church hierarchy through diligence, piety and seniority alone. Having children also caused inheritance difficulties for presbyters, deacons and other clerics. A provincial council held in Toledo around the time that Potamius abandoned his own office ruled

vientes consequantur et inter se, ut dignitas et ordo poposcerit dividant; tercia vero subdiaconibus et clericis tribuatur, ut a primiclerio, iuxta quod in officio eso prespicit esse intentos, ita simgulis dispensetur.

[23] For lay aristocratic and church landholdings and the importance of rents in seventh-century Visigothic Spain, see C. Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400-800*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 220-226.

[24] Council of Toledo IX (655), can. 5-6, d. by Vives, pp. 300-301.

[25] Council of Toledo X (656), can. 3, ed. by Vives, p. 311.

that since previous mandates for clerical continence had been ignored, it was necessary to punish the clergy and their progeny. The new children born from any cleric – bishop to sub-deacon – were to be blocked from the inheritance of their parents and also forced to serve in their father's church.[26] Since many already had children and other heirs, the council also stipulated how the bishops and members of the clergy could divide their assets among them.

Liberti ecclesiae, or freedmen of the church, were another source of competition for presbyters and deacons. Over the course of the later sixth and seventh centuries, bishops increasingly manumitted their slaves and those of the church for various reasons.[27] Granting a slave freedom was deemed an act of charity that came with spiritual benefits.[28] Bishops also chose to reward their slaves with freedom due to the bonds they had developed and the loyalty their servants had shown through their service.[29] By manumitting their slaves, the bishops offered the freedmen and their families numerous advantages and protections. Like with secular lords, freed ecclesiastical slaves were tied to their bishops and the church through *patrocinio*. The freedmen owed proper *obsequium*, or respect and service, but they also gained a powerful patron.[30]

[26] Council of Toledo IX (655), c. 10, ed. by Vives, pp. 302-303.

[27] This is evident by the number of conciliar decisions dedicated to dealing with the slaves and freedmen of the church. For example, at the Fourth Council of Toledo held in 633, eight canons dealt with slaves and freedmen of the church; the bishops build on theses rulings, particularly at the Sixth Council of Toledo in 638 and Mérida in 666. In addition to Ricimirus, there were other cases in which the bishops overturned wills that freed church slaves without properly compensating the patrimony, such as with Bishop Gaudentius at the Second Council of Seville in 590. For Gaudentius, see Council of Seville I (590), can. 1, ed. by Vives, pp. 151-153. See also, Barbero, Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo*, pp. 61-62, 88-96.

[28] C. Buenacasa Pérez, "Un Exemple de la Caritat Cristiana a l'Església Primitiva: la Manumissió dels Esclaus a Hispania Segons les Fonts dels Segles IV-VII", *Annals de l'Institut d'Estudis Gironins*, 38 (1997), p. 1243. See also, C. Buenacasa Pérez, "Espiritualidad vs. racionalidad económica: los dependientes eclesiásticos y el perjuicio económico a la Iglesia de Dumio en el Testamento de Ricimiro (656)", *Polis: revista de ideas y formas políticas de la Antigüedad*, 16 (2004), pp. 17, 22, 29.

[29] For example, Bishop Masona of Mérida in the late sixth century prepared for his death by freeing all "those slaves that had served him faithfully"; or Fructuosus who considered his slave Dicentius to be his most faithful servant. Fear, *Lives of the Visigothic Fathers*, pp. 101, 143.

[30] *Liberti ecclesiae* and their families were perpetually tied to the church, the master that never dies. Council of Toledo III (589), can. 6; Council of Toledo IV (633), can. 70, ed. by Vives, pp. 127, 215.

Essentially *liberti ecclesiae* became clients of the Church, but they also secured relationships to the bishops who had granted their manumission.[31] No longer tainted by the "stain of servitude", these new clients also could be appointed to the clergy.[32] In many cases, a freedman who had served a bishop loyally as slave, and whose finances were perpetually tied to the church,[33] certainly would be favored over other members of the lower clergy when it came to promotions and appointments to oversee churches and other ecclesiastical assets.[34] In 638, the bishops made clear their interest in cultivating freedmen and their descendants for service in the church. At the Sixth Council of Toledo, it was decided that only bishops would educate the children of *liberti ecclesiae*. The goal was to guarantee that the entire family would learn how to be good clients and provide the services they owed to their ecclesiastical patrons.[35]

4. The Clerical Burden: Bishops acting as Secular Lords in Gallaecia

The potentially lucrative nature of church estates also was attractive to many bishops and the accumulation of properties led at least some to act similarly to secular landowners.[36] As the head of each see, bishops oversaw the collection and redistribution of church resources. There was concern among the Visigothic clergy that this had caused certain bishops to succumb to avarice and keep more than their allotment for their own use. For example, in 633, the ecclesiastical leadership at the Fourth Council of Toledo lamented the fact that some bishops had been using offerings

[31] Alice Rio suggests late and post-Roman slaveholders used manumission as a strategy to create strong, enduring obligations and dependency bonds with those they freed. Rio, *Slavery After Rome, 500-1000*, Oxford, 2017, ch. 3. For a discussion of this phenomenon in relation to the Visigothic Church, see pp. 89-92.

[32] Council of Toledo I (400), can. 10; Council of Toledo IV (633), can. 74, ed. by Vives, pp. 22, 216-217.

[33] See for example, Council of Seville I (590), c. 1; Council of Toledo IX (655), c. 16, ed. by Vives, pp. 151-152, 305.

[34] Slaves of the church could be manumitted in wills or while the bishop was still living. For example, Bishop Johannes of Cabra emancipated one his church's slaves sometime prior to 619 and then sought to overturn this manumission. Both acts were carried out while the bishop was still alive. Seville II (619), c. VIII, VIVES, pp. 168-169, 185. See also Buenacasa Pérez, "Espiritualidad vs. racionalidad económica", pp. 11-12.

[35] Council of Toledo VI (638), can. 10, ed. by Vives, pp. 240-241.

[36] For a discussion of the importance of landowning for social and political power in this period and how it affected the dynamic between local and centralized powers in the Visigothic Kingdom, including within the church, see S. Castellanos, I. M. Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500-1000)", *Early Medieval Europe*, 13 (2005), pp. 8-10, 15-16 Barbero, Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo*, pp. 85-86.

meant for the upkeep of basilicas for their own benefit. In this case it is clear that these offerings included the harvests from the estates. The council ruled that bishops were only allowed to keep a third of the "tributes and yields" for themselves.[37] A bishop's failure to observe this mandate had direct economic consequences the clergy under his jurisdiction and members of their households.

In the mid-seventh century the clergy of Gallaecia and their dependents did suffer economic hardship when some of their bishops collected more than their share of ecclesiastical proceeds.[38] In 646, the bishops of Gallaecia came under censure for being too greedy and acting like secular lords. According to the canons of the Seventh Council of Toledo, the clergy in Gallaecia had complained about the avarice of the bishops in the province and the financial burden they placed on them and their congregations. Upon investigation, the ecclesiastical leadership at Toledo found that Gallaecian bishops had been taxing or otherwise extracting too much from the local churches. The presbyters also protested the disorderly and indiscrete manner in which the bishops conducted themselves when they collected the payments. They claimed that the bishops would show up to the parochial churches with huge entourages and large numbers of horses, for whom the clergy and community would have to provide lodging, food and drink. The bishops would stay multiple days at each church, putting an extra burden on the priests, other members of the clergy and their servants. This alone was onerous, but they also made exorbitant payment demands – seemingly without any clear accounting method – to the point of bringing "extreme misery" upon some of the churches. According to the complaint, some bishops' retinues included more than 50 clerics, servants and other officials, some of whom may have been part of the secular elite. Such a group certainly was intimidating, and a presbyter and his clergy could not

[37] Council of Toledo IV (633), can. 33, ed. by Vives, p. 204: *Avaritia radix cunctorum malorum cuius sitits etiam sacerdotum mentes obtinet; multi enim fidelium in amore Christi et martyrum in parrochiis episcoporum basilicas construunt, oblationes conscribunt, sacerdotes haec auferunt atque in usus suos convertunt: inde est quod cultores sacrorum deficient dum stipendia sua perdunt, inde labentium basilicarum ruinae non reparantur, quia avaritia sacerdotali omnia auferuntur. Pro qua re constitutum est a praesenti concilio episcopos ita dioeceses suas regere, ut nicil ex earum / iure praesumant auferre, sed iuxta priorum auctoritatem conciliorum tam de oblationibus quam de tributis ac frugibus tertiam consequantur: quod si amplius quippiam ab eis praesumtum extiterit, per concilium restauretur, appellantibus autem ipsis conditoribus, aut certe propinquis eorum si iam illi a seculo decesserunt*. Here the word *sacerdotes* has been translated as bishop rather than priest. A form *presbyter* is typically used to denote the lower clergy as it is in other canons at the same council. See for example, c. 26-28, ed. by Vives, pp. 202-203.

[38] On episcopal visitations and the seizure of property in Gallaecia in the sixth century, see Castellanos, Viso, "The Local Articulation of Central Power", p. 10.

refuse whatever was demanded of them, even if it was beyond their means. The presbyters protested that their communities were so impoverished they could not even maintain their basilicas.[39]

The specific members of the clergy who issued these grievances are not named in the canon.[40] The presbyter Paulus did sign the conciliar decisions as the representative of Bishop Candedatus of Astorga.[41] Sindigis also was a deacon in the region and likely served under Bishop Gotomarus of Iria Flaviae in 646.[42] While we cannot confirm that Paulus or Sindigis brought the issue before the council, it is clear that in the mid-seventh century, the bishops of Gallaecia held privileged positions in their local communities thus contributing to their image as patrons or lords. Like elsewhere in *Hispania*, the power and prestige of the Gallaecian bishops were exemplified by the fact that they often occupied the only monumental structures in the cities, which typically also were in prominent locations. For example, the Metropolitan bishop of Braga[43] carried out his duties from the church that had

[39] Council of Toledo VII (646), can. 4, ed. by Vives, pp. 254-255: *Inter cetera denique quae conmuni consensu nos conferre conpetenter oportuit querimonias etiam parrocialium presbyterorum Gallaeciae provinciae sollertissime discernere decuit, quas contra pontificum suorum rapacitates necessitas ut conperimus tandem conpulit in publicum examen deferre. Hii enim pontifices, ut evidens inquisitio pateferit, indiscreto moderamine parrocitanas ecclesias praegravantes, dum in exactionibus superflui frequenter existant, pene usque ad exinanitionem extremae virtutis quasdam basilicas perduxisse probantur. / Nec ergo fiat de cetero quod constat hactenus inordinate praesumtum, non amplius quam duos solidos unusquisque episcoporum praefatae provinciae per singulas dioecesis suae basilicas iuxta synodum Bracarensem annua inlatione sibi expetet inferri, monasteriorum tamen baselicis ab hac solutionis pensione seiunctis. Quum vero episcopus diocesem visitat, nulli prae multitudine onerosus existat nec umquam quinquagenerium numerum evectionis excedat, aut amplius quam una die per unamquamque baselicam remorandi licentiam habeat. Quiquumque vero pontificum eorumdem aliter quam decernimus agendum praesumserit correptioni proculdubio canonum subiacebit, quia constitutionum synodalium transgressores priscorum patrum edictis corripeindos oportet.*

[40] Eleven lower clergy from throughout *Hispania*, including one abbot, signed the decisions at the Seventh Council of Toledo, ed. by Vives, p. 258.

[41] We do not know when Candedatus became bishop of Astorga, but he held the see from sometime before 646 through at least 653. According to the record of the Tenth Council of Toledo, Elipidius had replaced him by 656, ed. by Vives, pp. 258, 287, 319.

[42] Gotomarus signed the canons at the Sixth and Seventh Councils of Toledo (638, 646). Deacon Sindigis of "*Iriensis*" served as vicar for Bishop "Vincibilis" at the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653, ed. by Vives, pp. 248, 258, 288. While there is no direct evidence of a Christian basilica in Iria Flaviae in the mid-seventh century, archaeologists have discovered three levels of burial in the area around the current church of Santa María, including one that extended from the fifth to the seventh and eighth centuries: F. P. Losada, *Brigantium: Boletín do Museu Arqueolóxico e Histórico da Coruña, Entre a Cidade e a Aldea: Estudio Arqueohistórico Dos 'aglomerados Secundarios' Romanos En Galicia* 13 (2002), pp. 94-95.

[43] It is not clear who served as the Metropolitan of Braga in 646; Julian signed the canons of the Sixth Council of Toledo (638) as *ecclesiae Bracarensis episcopus* and Potamius signed as *Bracarensis metropolitanus eps.* at the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653, ed. by Vives, pp. 246, 287.

been built in the early fifth century and which had become the new center of the city long before 646.[44] The episcopal complex's location near one of Braga's important gates and communication networks gave anyone entering the Metropolitan city direct access to the bishop; immediately they would have been aware of his elevated status and authority.[45] In the mid-seventh century, people in Braga did continue to use several of the once high-status Roman-era homes, but they made no major renovations to them after the fifth century and it is unlikely that these occupants were single wealthy families.[46] Artisans and people of more humble backgrounds lived and worked in homes and workshops built in the remains of the amphitheater and bath complex, which once had been the center of the city.[47] In another example, Vasconius of Lugo[48] oversaw numerous presbyters and deacons from his episcopal complex in the southwestern edge of the city where the current Cathedral de Santa Maria is located.[49] Finally, Bishop Candedatus

[44] The population had remained fairly consistent from the late Roman period when Braga was elevated to provincial capital, and most of the city continued to be occupied in the seventh century. The church likely had become the new center of the city by the sixth century: Martins, Ribeiro, Magalhães, Peñin, "Urban Changes in Braga in Late Antiquity", pp. 12-13; Rodríguez Resino, *Del Imperio Romano a La Alta Edad Media*, pp. 152-153 M. Martins, *Bracara Augusta: Cidade Romana*, Braga, 2000, pp. 8-9; A. Gaspar, "Escavações arqueológicas na Rua de Na. Sa. do Leite", *Cadernos de Arqueologia*, Série II, 2 (1985), p. 82.

[45] A significant amount of ceramics and amphorae, from other areas of *Hispania,* North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean, has been discovered near the cathedral and just outside the adjacent Roman wall. This suggests that the bishops and clergy utilized these luxury items or were instrumental in their acquisition and redistribution: Sande Lemos, *Bracara Augusta*, pp. 109-113; Rodríguez Resino, *Del Imperio Romano a La Alta Edad Media*, 152-155; L. Fontes, F. S. Lemos, M. Cruz, "*Mais Velho* Que a Sé de Braga. Intervencão arqueológica na cathedral bracarense: notícia preliminar", *Cadernos de Arqueologia*, Série II, 14-15 (1997-1998), pp. 139, 142; Martins, Ribeiro, Magalhães, Peñin, "Urban Changes in Braga in Late Antiquity", p. 23-26.

[46] F. E. Puga de Magalhães, *Arquitectura Doméstica em Bracara Augusta* (Tese de Mestrado), Braga, 2010, p. 51; L. Fontes, M. Martins, M. d. C. Ribeiro, H. Carvalho, "A cidade de Braga e seu territorio nos séculos V-VII", in *Espacios Urbanos En El Occidente Mediterráneo (s. VI-VIII)*, ed. by A. Garcia, Toledo, 2010, p. 257.

[47] M. Martins, J. Ribeiro, F. Magalhães, C. Braga, "Urbanismo e arquitetura de Bracara Augusta. Sociedade, Economia e Lazer", in *Evolução da Paisagem Urbana, Sociedade e Economia*, ed. by M.d. C. Ribeiro, A. S. Melo, Braga, 2012, p. 59. Local artisans also had important roles in the supplying the community with imitations of African and regional fine ceramics: Martins, Ribeiro, Magalhães, Peñin, "Urban Changes in Braga in Late Antiquity", p. 23-26.

[48] Vasconius had been bishop of Lugo since at least 633. He signed the canons at the councils of Toledo IV (633), Toledo VI (638) and Toledo VII (646). Ermenfredus had replaced him by Toledo VIII (653), ed. by Vives, pp. 224, 247, 258, 287.

[49] While many scholars have asserted that this was an episcopal complex since the fourth or fifth century, a sixth or seventh century date for a church and baptistery at the site is more convincing. A. Rodríguez Colmenero, *Lvcvs Avgvsti: La Ciudad Romano-Germánica*

of Astorga conducted his episcopal duties from the Christian basilica in the northeastern zone of the city near the Roman wall and gate.[50] Although more simplistic in structure than the subsequent medieval cathedral, Candedatus' church still was impressive, especially when compared to the other buildings in Astorga at the time.[51] By the mid-seventh century, the former Roman public structures, such as the two bath complexes, and the numerous once-elite houses had been abandoned for centuries and were firmly established as places to harvest building materials and to dump trash.[52]

It certainly was profitable for episcopal "lords" to collect payments from the clergy at sub-urban ecclesiastical sites such as those around Braga, the Monastery of San Dictinus located outside of Astorga[53] and the churches

Del Finisterre Ibérico: Génesis Y Evolución Histórica (14 A.c.-711 D.c.), Lugo, 2011, p. 207; C. Fernández Ochoa, Á. Morillo Cerdán, J. López Quiroga, "La dinámica urbana de las ciudades de la fachada Noratlántica y del cuadrante Noroeste de Hispania durante el Bajo Imperio y la Antigüedad Tardía (siglos III-VII d.C.)", in *VI Reunió D'arqueologia Cristiana Hispànica: Les Ciutats Tardoantigues D'Hispania: Cristianització I Topografia: València, 8, 9 i 10 De Maig De 2003*, ed. by J. M. Gurt Esparraguera, A. Ribera Lacomba, Barcelona, 2005, p. 99; J. López Quiroga, M. Rodríguez Lovelle, "El mundo urbano en la 'Gallaecia' (Conventus Lucense-Conventus Bracaraugustano) entre la Antigüedad tardía y la Alta Edad Media (siglo IV-X)", in *IV Congreso de Arqueología Medieval Española, 'Sociedades en Transición'. Actas II*, ed. by R. Azuar, J. M. Oltra, Alicante, 1993, pp. 47, 50; M. Vázques Seijas, "Piscina Romana: Plaza de Santa María de Lugo", *Boletín de la Comisión Provincial de Monumentos Históricos y Artísticos de Lugo*, 7 (1960-1964), pp. 272-273.

[50] This church has been dated to at least the sixth century: M. Á. Sevillano Fuertes, "Arqueología del entorno de la Catedral de Astorga: La primitiva iglesia de Santa Marta como tesimonio de la configuración de un área sacra", in *La Cathedral de Astorga (Actas del Simposio sobre la Catedral)*, Astorga, 2001, pp. 32-40 and in the same volume, F. M. Villarejo, "Excavación arqueológica en la Catedral de Astorga y la Iglesia de Santa Marta", pp. 336-337; M. Á. Sevillano Fuertes, "Excavaciones Arqueológicas en la Cuidad de Astorga (1999-2000)", *Lancia*, 4 (2000-2001), pp. 211-220, especially 213; M. B. Álvarez, "La intervención arqueología en la 'Puerta Romana' de *Asturica Augusta*, Astorga (León)" *Numantia Arqueología en Castilla y León*, 8 (1997/1998), pp. 107-119, 123-124.

[51] Sevillano Fuertes, "Arqueología del entorno de la Catedral de Astorga", pp. 28-29; C. Fernández Ochoa, "La Ciudad en la Antigüedad Tardía en la Cornisa Cantábrica", in *Acta Antiqva Complevtensia I: Computum y las Ciudades Hispanas en La Antigëdad Tardía*, ed. by L. G. Moreno, S. R. Marqués, Alcalá de Henares, 1999, p. 76; A. QUINTANA PRIETO, "La Christianización en Astorga", in *Actas del I Congreso Internacional. Astorga Romana*, Astorga, 1986, pp. 97-99, 118.

[52] V. García Marcos, M. Burón Álvarez, "Las Termas Menores de Astorga", in *II Coloquio Internacional de Arqueología en Gijón Termas Romanas en el Occidente del Imperio,* ed. by C. Fernández Ochoa, V. García Entero, Gijón, 2000, p. 213; and in the same volume, Á. Sevillano Fuertes, J. Vidal Encinas, "Las Termas Mayores de Astorga", pp. 204-205; Some spaces may have been reused after the fifth century, see, M. T. A. Tafalla, *Astorga*, vol. IV, León, 2002, pp. 24-25.

[53] It is difficult to date the foundation of this monastery, which also may have been a residence for the bishop. References and traditions suggest it may have been established as early

and cemeteries surrounding Lugo.[54] However, it was the more distant locations that especially warranted the type of episcopal entourages the clergy complained about at the Seventh Council of Toledo. During Candedatus' tenure the presbyters and deacons of León – about 30 miles east – were under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Astorga.[55] Here the clergy oversaw the needs of the congregation, but also administered the agricultural lands connected to church estates. For example, the former villa at Marialba de la Ribera had been incorporated into the church hierarchy with the addition of a baptistery in the sixth or seventh century.[56] Candedatus only had to travel a day or two from Astorga to León to collect rents and other payments, and the number of churches and monasteries there made

as the fifth century. The Visigothic-era use of the space is more certain and the potential use by bishops may have lasted until the eleventh century: Sevillano Fuertes, "Arqueología del entorno de la Catedral de Astorga", pp. 31; J. M. L. Martínez, *Estudios Arqueológicos: Homenaje del Exmo. Ayuntamiento*, Astorga, 1990, pp. 47.

[54] One example is the oratory associated with the necropolis of San Roque located near the road to Astorga. This cemetery originated in the Roman period, and while evidence for its construcción is scarce, the oratory likely was built in the Visigothic era: López Quiroga, Rodríguez Lovelle, "El mundo urbano en la 'Gallaecia'", pp. 47, 50; Rodríguez Colmenero, *Lvcvs Avgvsti*, pp. 246-247; E. González Fernández, "Escavación Arqueolóxica de Urxencia na Rúa San Roque, no. 31-33 (Lugo)", *Arqueoloxía Informes*, 3 (Campaña 1989), p. 150.

[55] The former Roman military complex had become a civilian settlement over the course of the later fourth through sixth centuries. There were several suburban churches and cemeteries, one connected to a possible monastery. J. A. G. González, E. C. Alvaredo, F. M. Hernádez, C. B. González, P. Martín del Otero, F. A. M. Villajero, F. S. R. Fernández, "Legio (León) en Época Visigoda: La Ciudad Y su Territorio", in *Espacios Urbanos En El Occidente Mediterráneo (s. VI-VIII)*, ed. by A. Garcia, Toledo, 2010, p. 96.

[56] The villa had been used for burial and perhaps Christian worship from the fifth century. Similarly, the villa at Navatejera may have had a Christian basilica since the fifth century, but this may have been a private chapel for the landowner and his dependents: J. A. G. González, E. C. Alvaredo, F. M. Hernádez, C. B. González, P. Martín del Otero, F. A. M. Villajero, F. S. R. Fernández, pp. 94-95; A. Chavarría, *El Final De Las 'Villae' En Hispania (Siglos IV-VIII)*, Turnhout, Belgium, 2007, pp. 220-221; F. M. Hernádez, C. B. González, "Relectura arqueológia de la villa Romana de Navatejera (León)", *Numantia* 6 (1993/1994), pp. 109-110. For the difficulties in determining exact chronologies and if burials, basilicas and other "Christian" elements found within or near Roman villas should be considered private chapels or "churches" overseen by ecclesiastical leaders, see K. Bowes, "*...nec sedere in villam*: Villa churches, Rural Piety and the Priscillian Controversy", in *Urban Centers and Rural Contexts in Late Antiquity*, ed. by T. S. Burns, J. W. Eadie, East Lansing, 2001, pp. 323-348; G. Ripoll, J. Arce, "The Transformation and End of Roman *Villae* in the West (Fourth-Seventh Centuries): Problems and Perspectives", in *Towns and their Territories between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by G. P. Brogiolo, N. Gauthier, N. Christie, Leiden, 2001, pp. 74-94, 99-111.

it a worthwhile venture.[57] Traveling to more distant locations also was beneficial for the bishop. For example, by the mid-seventh century there were several churches and monasteries north of the Cantabria Mountains, including the former villa at Veranes.[58] Similarly, Bishop Vasconius of Lugo had several suburban churches and cemeteries within his jurisdiction, but the churches serving rural communities, such as at Saint Eulalia de Bóveda about 14 miles west of Lugo, merited travel with his episcopal retinue to ensure generous payments.[59] For Bishop Gotomarus of Iria Flaviae, Igrexa Vella in the hills of modern Valga was only five miles away,[60] but he and his entourage also could travel 35 miles and reap the benefits of collect-

[57] This is based on the estimate that in imperial Rome one could easily travel at least 20 miles per day and the typical average was up to 32 miles daily. See *Travel & Geography in the Roman Empire*, ed. by C. Adams, R. Laurence, London – New York, 2001, pp. 32, 160, 172.

[58] Archaeologists at Veranes – located 100 miles north of Astorga – think the Roman villa began to be used for burial in the fifth century and that the grand hall was transformed into a Christian basilica by the sixth century. C. Fernández Ochoa, F. Gil Sendino, J. Salido Domínguez, "Nuevas evidencias del cristianismo en Asturias: los crismones de la villa roman de Veranes (Gijón)", *Gerión*, 31 (2013), pp. 385, 390-406; Fernández Ochoa, Gil Sendino, Saco del Valle, "La villa romana de Veranes", pp. 198, 202, 208. Some of the churches and monasteries in this region evolved from the productive sites of villas. For example, the Villa Romana de Vega del Ciego was located close to where the church of Santa Cristina de Lena still stands, which some investigators think began as a church associated with a monastery in the seventh century. Chavarría, *El Final De Las 'Villae'*, p. 287.

[59] Christians living in a rural community at Saint Eulalia de Bóveda may have begun to use a former pagan temple by the sixth century or before, but the evidence for the Christian basilica is stronger for the seventh century: R. Blanco Rotea, S. García-Rodríguez, P. Mañana-Borrazás, A. Rodríguez-Costas, A. Rodríguez Paz, "Levantamento planimétrico e lectura de Alzados en Santa Olaia Bóveda (Lugo)", *Actuacións Arqueolóxicas* (2007), pp. 101-103; A. S. Iglesias, *III Premio De Investigación Manuel Vazquez Seijas*, Lugo, 2006, pp. 57-59, 82-96; A. R. Colmenero, *Lucus Augusti, Urbs Romana: As Orixes Da Cidade De Lugo*, A Coruña, 2003, p. 206; L. V. Caeiro, "Posibilidades de la aplicación de la Arqueología de la Arquitectura en Santa Eulalia de Bóveda (Lugo)", *Arqueología de la arquitectura*, 2 (2003), pp. 278-281; F. Singul, "La pintura de Santa Eulalia de Bóveda (Lugo), ortodoxia y clasicismo en la pintura paleocristiana del Noroeste Hispánico", *Boletin Avriense*, 17 (1997), pp. 176-177.

[60] The site had been a center for glass and metal production until patrons transformed it into a site for burial and then constructed a church by the early sixth century. This church remained on the site until it was burned down in the eighth or ninth century, after which a new Christian temple was built: E. Ramil, "Escavación arqueolóxica en Santa Comba de Louro-Valga", in *Escavación Arqueolóxica Consolidación e Acondicionamento do Xacemento Arqueolóxica*, Xunta de Galicia, 2012, pp. 1-4. The EMCHAHE project, under the direction of José Carlos Sánchez Pardo, Rebeca Blanco Rotea and Jorge Sanjurjo Sánchez, continues to investigate this site and has recently confirmed via OSL dating that the building considered a church was constructed between 311-526 ce.

ing from the church at the former coastal villa and fish salting facility of Adro Vello.[61]

In the case from 646 the lower clergy did receive support from the ecclesiastical leadership at Toledo, but bishops acting as secular lords continued to create difficulties for the clergy and their dependent communities. The council ruled that the Gallaecian bishops should observe regulations mandating how much any given presbyter managing a basilica could be required to pay annually. Additionally, they limited the retinue and number of horses the bishops could bring to 50 and length of stay to one day at each church.[62] Nevertheless, there was little the presbyters could do if their episcopal leaders chose to break these stipulations. The council in Toledo specifically said that the bishops in Gallaecia were to observe the decisions that had been made at a previous synod in Braga.[63] Since the bishops already had ignored these regulations, it is feasible that they would continue to do so even after the ruling in Toledo.

In 656, only ten years after attempts were made to rein in episcopal greed in Gallaecia, we see that there was concern about bishops continuing to act as secular patrons when making their decisions about whom to appoint to certain parochial churches and monasteries. The Tenth Council of Toledo again censured bishops for acting like secular lords. Apparently they chose their "favorites" and also family members to head the monasteries and parochial churches. In some cases the bishops even went so far as to remove members of the lower clergy already holding these positions in order to replace them with someone with whom they had patronage,

[61] Adro Vello had served as a fish salting facility through the sixth century – the tanks associated with the villa still had sardines and mackerel in them when they were discovered – and people used it for burial from the fifth century and continued do so after they built a church on the site in the sixth or seventh century. The local community undoubtedly still utilized the marine resources in the mid-seventh century: J. C. Sánchez Pardo, "Arqueología de las iglesias tardoantiguas en Galicia (ss. V-VIII). Una valoración de conjunto", *Hortus Artium Medievalium*, 18, no. 2 (2012), p. 398; Chavarría, *El Final De Las 'Villae'*, p. 287; L. X. Carballo Arceo, *Arqueoloxía De Galicia: Itinerarios Polo Pasado*, Vigo, 2006, pp. 143-144; Rodríguez Resino, *Del Imperio Romano a La Alta Edad Media*, p. 42; X. C. Otero, "Xacemento Antropo-arqueoloxico de Adro Vello (San Vicenzo do O Grove, Pontevedra)", *Arqueoloxia Informes*, 1, Campaña (1987), pp. 86-90; P. Reynolds, *Hispania and the Late Roman Mediterranean,* ad *100-700: Ceramics and Trade*, London 2009, p. 46.

[62] Council of Toledo VII (646), can. 4, ed. by Vives, pp. 254-255. For the Latin, see note 40.

[63] This ruling reflects a division of donations and collections in thirds, with two parts pertaining to the maintenance of the church and one third reserved for the bishops. Braga II (572), c. II, ed. by Vives, pp. 81-82. See also, Orlandis, Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios de la España Romana Y Visigoda*, p. 333.

friendship or familiar ties.[64] It seems then, if a member of the lower clergy wanted to obtain a position that would allow them to provide for their own dependents, it was necessary to curry favor and patronage from the bishops. To this point, in 675 the council of Braga ruled that bishops could not sell church offices or take gifts for ordaining someone.[65]

5. Failure to Maintain the Patrimony of the Church

Members of the lower clergy in Gallaecia also experienced difficulties when their episcopal leadership failed to separate the patrimony of the church from their personal finances. Some bishops certainly had wealth prior to taking office, but they also were able to accumulate significant capital during their tenures. This became problematic when they utilized both indiscriminately or otherwise divested the estates of the church without compensation. It is important to note that this issue was not limited to the northwestern province. While there was some discussion of confusing the church patrimony with the assets of individual bishops in councils prior to 589, it became a more prevalent concern for the ecclesiastical leadership of the Iberian Peninsula starting in later sixth century. From this point on, the councils frequently regulated things such as the luxurious lifestyles of the clergy and bishops who incorrectly willed possessions of the church to family members or the poor as if they belonged to them personally. This development – an indication of the growing wealth under episcopal control – seems to have coincided with a desire to define the differences in responsibilities and privileges between the lower clergy and bishops. This increased regulation certainly was part of a natural progression in the development of church norms, but when coupled with more secular con-

[64] Council of Toledo X (656), c. 3, ed. by Vives, pp. 310-311: *Reverentiae totius auditum, qui res adiit dura, non frustra cogimur hanc duriori extirpare censura: agnovimus enim quosdam pontifices praecepti Principis apostolorum, qui ait: 'Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Dei, non coacte sed spontanee neque vi dominantes in clero sed forma facti gregi', ita esse inmemores ut quibusdam // monasteriis parrocialibusque ecclesii aut suae consanguinitatis personas aut sui favoris participes iniquum saepe statuant in praelatum, ita illis providentes conmoda inhonesta ut eisdem deferantur aut quae proprio episcopo dare iustus ordo proposcerit aut rapere quae deputati exactoris violentia potuerit. Proinde decenter omnibus placet et in preesenti tale rescindere factum et non esse de cetero faciendum: nam quisque pontificum deinceps aut sanguine propinquus aut favore sibi personis quibusquumque devinctis talia conmendare lucra temtaverit ausum nefandae praesumtionis, et quod iussum fuerit devocetur in inritum, et quod ordinavit annuae excomunicationis ferat excidium. Que vero ablata fortasse fuerint, ab eo qui tulit reddatur in duplum.*

[65] Council of Braga III (675), can. 7, ed. by Vives, pp. 377.

cerns such as financial gain, it caused tension between the clergy and the bishops they accused of acting like "greedy" lords.

Ten years after the presbyters at the Seventh Council of Toledo complained about such greedy bishops in Gallaecia, the issue of conflating personal and ecclesiastical wealth continued to be a problem in the region as the case of Bishop Ricimirus of Dume demonstrates.[66] Dume had been a Roman villa, but was converted into a monastery with an associated church around the middle of the sixth century.[67] It was less than two miles from Braga, but was located above the city in an area of fertile agricultural lands and it is clear that Ricimirus and others at Dume enjoyed imports from North Africa and elsewhere in *Hispania*.[68] Sometime before the Tenth Council of Toledo in 656, Ricimirus died.[69] Before that, however, he decided that everything he had accumulated during his tenure as the bishop belonged to him, even those objects that were clearly possessions of the church – such as the furnishings of the episcopal palace. He sold many things, including goods manufactured at Dume – apparently at cheap prices – and then donated the proceeds to the poor.[70] He also freed the church's slaves. However, the ecclesiastical leadership at Tenth Council of Toledo overturned his will and obligated his successor, Fructuosus, to restore the church patrimony by determining what goods and slaves had been divested improperly.[71]

[66] For an excellent discussion of this case and its significance in terms of the estates the clergy managed and the issues associated with conflating personal wealth with the church patrimony, see Buenacasa Pérez, "Espiritualidad vs. racionalidad económica", pp. 10, 12-13, 18-23.

[67] Lemos, *Bracara Augusta*, p. 117.

[68] Some modifications may have been made to complex during Ricimirus' time, perhaps to allow for burials within the basilica: L. Fontes, *A Basílica Sueva de Dume e o Túmulo Dito de São Martinho*, Braga, 2006, pp. 13-14; L. Fontes, *Salvamento Arqueológico de Dume Campanha de 2003 (Smd 2003). Relatório Final*, Braga, 2011, pp. 27-28, 40-41; L. Fontes, "Escavações arqueológicas na antiga igreja de Dume, Notícia preliminar da campanha de 1989", in *Actas Congresso Internacional IX Centenário da Dedicação da Sé de Braga, I.* Braga, 1990, p. 158.

[69] For the possible dates of Ricimirus' tenure, see Buenacasa Pérez, "Espiritualidad vs. racionalidad económica", pp. 8-9.

[70] Ferreiro, "The See of Dumium", p. 106.

[71] Council of Toledo X (656): *Item aliud decretum eorundem prafatorum pontificum*, ed. by Vives, pp. 322-324. For additional discussions of this case, see Ferreiro, "The See of Dumium", pp. 106-107; Wickham, *Framing the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 220-221; Orlandis, Ramos-Lissón, *Historia de los Concilios de la España Romana Y Visigoda*, pp. 367-368; Barbero, Vigil, *La formación del feudalismo*, p. 66. Buenacasa Pérez, "Espiritualidad vs. racionalidad económica", pp. 13-14, suggests that Fructuosus likely tried to solve the issue via a synod in Gallaecia before bringing the matter to the attention of the council in Toledo.

Ricimirus' conflation of his sacred role as bishop with the secular impulses of a lord or patron caused tensions and economic strain for the clerical community that served him. The members of the lower clergy who were enlisted to help unload Dume's assets were forced to go against known canonical traditions. Yet, if they wanted to be one of his "favored" clients, they could not refuse their bishop. Any presbyters and deacons who had counted on collections at Dume lost these resources when their bishop diverted land holdings and tribute payments to the poor. The upkeep of the buildings and estates at Dume also was disrupted because the slaves who had maintained them were freed.[72]

It is important to note that the primary concern here – failure to separate ecclesiastical and personal wealth – was an ongoing issue, and bishops were not the only ones causing difficulties. The year before Ricimirus' will was overturned, a provincial council in Toledo warned that bishops and members of the lower clergy had to be very careful not to combine donations to the church with their own patrimony since this would essentially defraud the donors who hoped to achieve forgiveness for their sins.[73] Even after the turmoil Ricimirus' actions caused, the conflation of secular and church finances remained a problem affecting the clergy in Gallaecia. In 675, the Third Council of Braga reprimanded rectors for being more diligent in keeping up with their own assets than those associated with the Church. Certain bishops also were accused of exploiting the slaves of the church for their own work. Essentially by focusing on increasing their own wealth, these ecclesiastical leaders in Gallaecia were neglecting the church's properties and impairing their productivity.[74] This type of conflation of the secular and sacred spheres also may have contributed to the apparent problem of clerics being ordained unprepared to carry out their liturgical duties. Only a few years prior, at the Eighth Council of Toledo in 653, the ecclesiastical leadership dealt with complaints about men holding divine offices without knowing how to do things such as administer baptism or perform chants and Psalms properly.[75]

[72] Ferreiro, "The See of Dumium", p. 106. As *liberti ecclesiae*, these freedmen and women continued to have some obligations to their patron, the Church; these expectations became increasingly regulated in the later seventh century. For a discussion of this and the importance of dependents of the church in the maintenance of its estates, see Buenacasa Pérez, "Espiritualidad vs. racionalidad económica", pp. 18-29.

[73] Council of Toledo IX (655), can.1, ed. by Vives, pp. 297-298. The same council ruled that the goods of the church should be accounted for so they would not be confused with those of the bishop and potential heirs: can. 4, ed. by Vives, pp. 299-300.

[74] Council of Braga III (675), can. 8, ed. by Vives, pp. 377-378.

[75] Council of Toledo VIII (653), can. 8, ed. by Vives, pp. 281-282. This council ruled that it was the bishops' responsibility to make sure all clergy learned how to fulfill the obligations of their positions, even if they had to force them to do so.

6. Conclusions

Over the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, the properties of the church as well as the official capacities of the clergy within their communities had increased greatly, so that holding episcopal office became even more honorable not only in spiritual terms but also for the access to revenue and prestige it provided. Certainly these circumstances were not isolated to northwestern *Hispania*, but we know that bishops who saw themselves as lords or patrons directly affected Gallaecian presbyters and deacons, since they expected the lower clergy to expend significant time and resources to serve them. Further complicating the situation for the lower clergy, the bishops had a hard time separating their own wealth from that of the church. Because they relied on bishops for promotions within the church hierarchy, it was difficult for presbyters and deacons to avoid such obligations. Furthermore, in the mid-seventh century, many members of the lower clergy in Gallaecia had families and other dependents making promotions and appointments to potentially lucrative churches and estates imperative. To obtain one of these positions, the presbyters and deacons had to develop positive patronage relationships with their bishops. Yet, the bishops had other clients, such as freedmen, and sons and relatives to whom they might more readily grant these benefices. Even if a member of the clergy was lucky enough to gain an appointment that allowed him to earn a sufficient livelihood, a bishop's failure to check secular impulses could create excessive financial burdens or chaotic circumstances, as we saw with the cases of the "greedy" bishops in 646, and Potamius and Ricimirus in 656.

This paper certainly does not seek to suggest that all bishops were primarily driven by social and economic ambitions or carnal desires. Nevertheless, the conflation of the secular and sacred spheres did shape the dynamics within the clerical communities of Gallaecia. The power, prestige and lucrative nature of holding church office caused at least some Gallaecian bishops to merge their roles as spiritual leaders with more worldly ambitions. Moreover, in the middle of the seventh century, Gallaecian bishops who saw themselves as secular lords made demands on their clergy, which sometimes had detrimental effects on these presbyters and deacons, as well as their dependents and local communities.

Summary

Like elsewhere in the Latin West, by the mid-seventh century, holding episcopal office in northwestern *Hispania* had become honorable not only in spiritual terms, but also for the access to revenue and prestige it provided. This paper uses written and material sources to argue that some bishops merged their sacred duties with worldly ambitions, which made it difficult for members of the lower clergy to progress within the church hierarchy through diligence, piety and seniority alone. Clerical marriages and the families they produced created a financial imperative for presbyters and deacons to maintain good relations with the bishops in charge of their promotions and appointments. However, even working to become the favorite of a particular bishop did not guarantee security for the members of the lower clergy and their dependents in the northwestern Visigothic Kingdom.

Rebecca A. Devlin
University of Louisville
rebecca.devlin@louisville.edu

Isidore of Seville and the Hispanic Order of Grades

Considerations on the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and the *Epistola ad Leudefredum*

Thomas Deswarte

(*Angers*)

Isidore, bishop of Seville (600-636), played an important role in the Visigothic kingdom, especially for the reformation of its Church.[1] Indeed, after the conversion of king Reccared to the Nicene Creed in 589, the kingdom of Toledo offered a good environment to reorganize and reform the Church, particularly its *ordo graduum*, the order of clerical grades. This task was all the more important since there were no councils under the reign of the last Arian kings (Agila, Athanagild and Leovigild), from the Council of Valencia in 546 to the Third Council of Toledo in 589. It is a fact that after the conversion of Reccared, councils cared about the discipline of clerics, notably their chastity (e.g. Toledo III in 589) and their duties (e.g. Narbonne in 589). But the Second Council of Seville (619) and the Fourth of Toledo (633), which were both presided over by Isidore, were the two assemblies that enacted the most canons about Church discipline. The Second (provincial) Council of Seville, for instance, was faced with territorial conflicts between bishoprics in Betica and with the outflow of clerics from their Church to another one, notably because of the war between Toledo and Byzantium (until 624/625).

Of course, the action of Isidore in these councils was anything but a coincidence, for he was particularly interested in organizing the clerical hierarchy: he was the metropolitan bishop of Betica, the first to subscribe to the conciliar acts, and also the first author to write an ecclesiological treatise, that is the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (*DEO*), and most likely an "ecclesiological" letter, namely his response to bishop Leudefredus of Cordoba.

[1] I am grateful to Robert Wiśniewski (University of Warsaw) for his useful advice, and to Rebecca Devlin (University of Louisville) and David Hunter (University of Kentucky) for their corrections to my English text.

In these two texts, he lists and describes the various grades of the clergy: bishop, *corepiscopus* (only in the *DEO*), presbyter, deacon, *custos sacrorum*/ sacristan (only in the *DEO*), subdeacon, lector, psalmist, exorcist, acolyte, and porter. The first surprise is that the order of low grades differs from the other ones in the Church at the same period and from the *ordo* in the Isidorian *Etymologies*[2] (bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, psalmist, porter),[3] which looks like the Roman *ordo graduum* (bishop, presbyter, deacon, subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, lector, porter).[4] (See Chart 1)

Do these discrepancies tell us something about the authenticity of these texts? We must react against this approach, which discredited the authenticity of the *Epistola ad Leudefredum* (*EL*) and of the *De Acolytis* chapter in the *DEO*, and study these various orders of grades in their literary and historical context, for these works do not have the same purposes. In fact, the *DEO* (with its chapter on acolyte) and the *EL* have *ordines* whose similarity consolidates their authenticity (1 and 2) and which seem to testify – alongside the encyclopaedic approach of the *Etymologies* (3) – to the proposition of Isidore for a new order of low grades (4).

[2] In my last article, I have inadvertently and erroneously affirmed that the *ordo graduum* in the *Etymologiae* was the Hispanic one: "Why a New Edition of Isidore's 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis': The 'De Acolythis' Chapter and the Three Versions of the Treatise", *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 52 (2017), pp. 352 and 356.

[3] Isidore, *Etymologiae* VII, 12 (*De clericis*), 2-3, ed. by J.-Y. Guillaumin, trad. by P. Monat, Paris, 2012 (*Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge*), p. 135: *Generaliter autem clerici nuncupantur omnes qui in Ecclesia Christi deserviunt, quorum gradus et nomina haec sunt: ostiarius, psalmista, lector, exorcista, acolythus, subdiaconus, diaconus, presbyter, episcopus*.

[4] This *ordo* has been reconstructed by: M. Andrieu: "Les ordres mineurs dans l'ancien rit romain", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 5-2 (1925), pp. 232-274; and A. Faivre, *Naissance d'une hiérarchie: les premières étapes du cursus clérical*, Paris, 1977, in part. pp. 350-351.

Roman order	Roman *orationes solemnes*	*Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua* (in *Hispana Collection*)	(Pseudo-Hieronymian) *De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae*	Toledo I Council (527/531)	Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis*	Isidore, *Epistola ad Leudefredum*	Isidore, *Etymologiae*	(Pseudo-Isidorian) *De officiis septem graduum*
Episcopus	Episcopus	Episcopus	Episcopus	Episcopus	Episcopus	Episcopus	Episcopus	Episcopus
					Chorepiscopus			
Presbyter	Presbyter	Presbyter	Presbyter	Presbyter	Presbyter	Presbyter	Presbyter	Presbyter
Diaconus	Diaconus	Diaconus	Diaconus	Diaconus	Diaconus	Diaconus	Diaconus	Diaconus
					Custos sacrorum			
Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus	Subdiaconus
Acolitus	Acolitus	Acolitus	Lector	Lector	Lector	Lector	Acolitus	
Exorcista	Exorcista	Exorcista			Psalmista	Psalmista	Exorcista	Exorcista
Lector	Lector	Lector			Exorcista	Exorcista	Lector	Lector
					Acolitus	Acolitus	Psalmista	
Ostiarius	Ostiarius	Ostiarius	Ostiarius	Ostiarius	Ostiarius	Ostiarius	Ostiarius	Ostiarius
	Confessor	Psalmista	Fossarius		Monachus			
	Virgo	Virgo			Paenitens			
	Vidua	Vidua vel sanctimonialis			Virgo			
	Omnis populus sanctus Dei	Sponsus et sponsa			Vidua			
					Conjugati			
					Catecumenus			
					Conpetens			

e orders of grades (4th-7th century)

1. The *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and its *De Acolythis* Chapter

Studying this topic requires first a new critical assessment of the *DEO* and the *EL*. The treatise *On the ecclesiastical offices* consists of two parts: the first one describes "the origin and the rationale of the offices which are celebrated in common by the Church", in accordance with the new meaning of the word *officium*; the second one lays out "the origin of those who devote their religious ministry to the divine worship",[5] that is all the Christians from the bishop to the married people. This second part includes a chapter on acolyte (Chart 2), which is authentic and which should be chapter 14 of the second book.[6] Indeed, its last editor, Lawson, deemed it to be an interpolation taken from book VII of the *Etymologiae* (VII, 12, 29-30) and added within the Iberian Peninsula or in the Carolingian Empire after Isidore's death, before it spread by "contamination" into other codices, in particular the first Hispanic one, Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio, MS d-I-1.[7]

Lawson's theory comes up against serious objections. The manuscript Escorial d-I-1 (ψ by Lawson), which was copied in 992 in San Martín de Albelda,[8] transmits the best text of the treatise, which stands closest to the archetype. Thus its division of chapter *De dominica die* (I, 24) in two by adding a chapter *De sabbato* (I, 25) is more coherent, for the content of these two chapters corresponds now to its title. Furthermore, some readings of Escorial d-I-1 help us to improve Lawson's edition of the *DEO*. On the other hand, some readings from this manuscript are certainly quite far from the archetype; but these spelling and grammar variants, due to copy or phonetic and linguistic shifts, are often shared by other manuscripts and are never major variants in terms of meaning. Even the title of the treatise, *De generibus officiorum*, derives from *De genere officiorum*, probably one of the two original titles (with *Liber officiorum*). Finally, this "Hispanic" version is already attested in the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the eighth

[5] Isidorus Hispalensis, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II, praef., ed. by Chr. Lawson, *Isidori Hispalensis de ecclesiasticis officiis*, Turnhout, 1989 (*CCSL*, 113), p. 51: *Quoniam origines causasque officiorum quae in communi ab Ecclesia celebrantur ex parte aliqua explicuimus, deinceps exordia eorum qui divino cultui ministeria religionis inpendunt ordine persequemur*.

[6] Deswarte, "Why a new edition of Isidore's 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis'", pp. 347-361.

[7] Lawson, *Isidori Hispalensis de ecclesiasticis officiis*, pp. 33*, 94*-95* and 147*-149* (App. B.3). M. A. Andrés Sanz, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep. De ecclesiasticis officiis", in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. Te.Tra. 2*, ed. by P. Chiesa, L. Castaldi, Firenze, 2005, pp. 323-332, p. 330, n. 103.

[8] M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval*, Logroño, 1979, p. 64 *sqq*. et 155 *sqq*.; *Códice Albeldense (976): original conservado en la Biblioteca del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial (d-I-2)*, ed. by J. García Turza et al., Madrid, 2002.

century in Beatus of Liebana's *Adversus Elipandum* (I, 73-80), which cites four chapters of *DEO* (I, 15-18) containing readings consistent with Escorial d-I-1, sometimes exclusively.[9]

In addition to these philological arguments, I notice that this chapter on acolytes is consistent with the other ones of the second part of the *DEO* in its structure and purpose, which describes "the origin of those who devote their religious ministry to the divine worship" and "the very sacred orders of clerics and their origin"[10] by relying on the origin of words and on the Bible: e.g. the chapter *De conpetentibus* lays out "those who ask for the grace of Christ", *id est gratiam Christi petentes*.[11] In this chapter on acolytes, Isidore drew his inspiration from two phrases of the letter of Jerome against Vigilantius, that is from a Father of the Church who is quoted elsewhere in this treatise. Furthermore, Isidore could not have ignored the acolyte's role, which is listed among ecclesiastical offices in his *Etymologiae* and in the *EL* (Chart 2).

Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, c. 94 = *Carthago IV*, can. 6 (in *Hispana Collection*)[12]	*De ecclesiasticis officiis*, II, 14[13] (= *Etymologiae*, VII, 12, 29-30)	*Epistola ad Leudefredum*[14]
Acolythus cum ordinatur, ab episcopo quidem doceatur qualiter se in officio suo agere debeat, sed ab archidiacono accipiat **ceroferarium** cum **cereis**, ut sciat se ad **accendenda** ecclesiae **luminaria**	De acholitis.[15] Accoliti Grece, Latine **ceroferarii** dicuntur, ad portandis **cereis**, quando legendum est euangelium aut sacrificium offerendum. Tunc enim **acceduntur luminaria** ab eis et deportantur, non ad	Ad acolitum pertinet preparatio **luminariorum** in sacrario; ipse **cereum** portat; ipse **suggesta** pro **eucharistia** calicis praeparat

[9] Lawson, *Isidori Hispalensis de ecclesiasticis officiis*, pp. 157*-158*.

[10] Ibid., II, praef., p. 51: [...] *deinceps exordia eorum qui divino cultui ministeria religionis inpendunt ordine persequemur*; II, 5, (I), p. 56: *Veniamus ergo nunc ad sacratissimos ordines clericorum eorumque originem singulariter demonstremus*.

[11] Ibid., II, 22, p. 97.

[12] *Concilium Carthaginense IV*, can. 6, ed. by G. Martínez Diez, F. Rodríguez, *Colección canónica hispana*, Madrid, vol. III: *Concilios griegos y africanos*, 1982 (*Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, Serie canónica*, 3), pp. 354-355 = *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, can. 94, ed. by Ch. Munier, *Les* Statuta ecclesiae antiqua, Paris, 1960, pp. 96-97; other edition by the same: *Concilia Galliae a. 314-506*, Turnhout, 1963 (*CCSL*, 148), p. 181.

[13] Escorial d-I-1, fol. 336v.

[14] Escorial d-I-1, fol. 336v. I have slightly modified the edition of R. E. Reynolds: "The 'Isidorian' Epistula ad Leudefredum: Its Origins, Early Manuscript Tradition, and Editions", in *Visigothic Spain: New Approaches*, ed. by E. James, Oxford, 1980, pp. 251-272, here pp. 269-272.

[15] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II, 14 (= *Etymologiae* VII, 12, 29-30), see Deswarte, "Why a new edition of Isidore's 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis'", art. cit., p. 352.

mancipari; accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad **suggerendum** vinum in **eucharistiam** sanguinis Christi.	effugandas tenebras,[16] dum sol eo tempore rutilet, sed ad signum letitiae demonstrandum, ut sub tipo luminis corporalis illa lux ostendatur, de qua in euangelio legitur: "Erat lux vera, que inluminat omnem hominem uenientem in hunc mundum" (Ioh. 1, 9)	
When the acolyte is ordained, let him be taught by the bishop about what he has to do in his office, and let him receive from the archdeacon a candelabra with candles, so that he knows that he is devoted to light the illuminations of the church; and let him receive an empty burette to offer the wine for the Eucharist of the Blood of Christ.	Those called "acolytes" in Greek are called "candle bearers" in Latin from their carrying candles when the gospel is read or the sacrifice offered. For at those times lights are lit by them and carried, not to chase away darkness, since the sun shines at the (same) time, but to present a sign of joy, so that in the form of a material light source, that light is set on display about which we read in the Gospel: "He was the true light that shines upon every human who comes into this world".	That's for the acolyte to prepare lights in the sacristy; that's him who carries the candle; that's him who prepares gifts for the Eucharist of the chalice.

Chart 2: *De Acolythis* chapter in the *SEA*, the *DEO* and the *EL* (words in common are in black)

2. The *Epistola ad Leudefredum*

This letter, in fact authentic, is generally considered to be a forgery from the late seventh century or the eighth, notably by Roger Reynolds.[17] The first argument against Isidore's authorship is the wide variety of the readings in the manuscript tradition, and the late date of the codices, although that

[16] See Hieronymus Stridonensis, *Contra Vigilantium* 7, *PL* 23, col. 361: *Nam et absque martyrum reliquiis per totas Orientis Ecclesias, quando legendum est Evangelium, accenduntur luminaria, jam sole rutilante: non utique ad fugandas tenebras, sed ad signum laetitiae demonstrandum*.

[17] Reynolds, ibid. Opinion shared by: J. C. Martin, "Isidorus Hispalensis ep. Epistulae", in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo*., pp. 387-396; C. Codoñer et al., "Isidoro de Sevilla", in *La Hispania visigótica y mozárabe. Dos épocas en su literatura*, ed. by C. Codoñer, Salamanca, 2010, pp. 139-155, p. 149. I quote here my own transcription of Escorial d-I-1.

means nothing about the original. In fact, the best version of the Letter is – once again – in Escorial d-I-1 (fol. 336rb-337rb), which is the oldest one to transmit a complete Latin text – whereas the Carolingian manuscripts have an amputated text.[18] Indeed, this manuscript contains (sometimes alone) many good readings for the spelling, the grammar or the sense: the name itself Leudefredus is well spelled only in this codex; the title and the address (*Domno meo Dei servo Leudefredo episcopo, Isidorus*) are close to those of other Isidorian letters (e.g. *Domno meo et Dei servo Braulioni episcopo Isidorus*).[19] And if the structure of this letter is very different from the other authentic Isidorian ones (five letters to Braulio, one to Helladius, three preface/letters to Braulio/Sisebut, Fulgence, and Florentina), it means nothing because the structure of letters of a sole author can differ a lot, and because at that time the epistolary form is limited to the title, the address and the prayer request.

Of course readings quite far from the archetype are more numerous in Escorial d-I-1 than in Carolingian manuscripts. But far from being major variants in terms of meaning, readings in Escorial d-I-1 are minor spelling or grammar errors that date from the early Middle Ages and can be easily corrected – as did Carolingian manuscripts, which restored a "classical" Latin closer to the Isidorian Latin. There are copying errors, for instance mistakes of case endings (e.g. *nostri judicii* instead of *nostro judicio* in the sentence *Nec aliquid ex his nostri judicii deputes*) or gender endings (e.g. *qui* instead of *quae* in the sentence *Vela et ornamenta baselicarum, qui in urbe sunt basilica*), case attractions (e.g. *victui* instead of *victus* in the passage *dispensatio vestimenti et victui domesticorum clericorum servitialium quoque et artificum*), or conjugation mistakes (e.g. *nuntiatur* instead of *nuntiantur* in the passage *Ab archidiacono nuntiantur episcopo excessus diaconorum*). We can also find errors due to phonetic shifts characteristic of early Medieval Latin, such as declination changes (e.g. *exorcistum* instead of *exorcistam*) and case confusions (between accusative and ablative, e.g. *in eandem baselicam* instead of *in eadem basilica*). Some of these readings are phonetic and linguistic shifts characteristic of Late Antiquity and which can belong to Isidore, such as transformations of grammatical construction: e.g. the *de* + ablative used for a genitive, and the relative adverb *unde* used as a relative pronoun (*Patrem autem monasterii, unde innotuistis*, "Concerning the Father of the monastery you told me about").[20]

[18] At the moment I am preparing a new critical edition with French translation of the *EL*.

[19] *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. by W. M. Lindsay, Oxford, 1911, *Epistola* I.

[20] Other examples in A. Blaise, *Manuel du latin chrétien*, Strasbourg, 1955, p. 121. I am grateful to Jacques Elfassi (University of Lorraine) for his useful advice on this topic.

An old argument against authenticity was the fact that this letter is named neither by Braulio of Zaragoza (631-651) in the notice about Isidore he adds to his *De viris illustribus*, nor by Ildephonsus of Toledo (657-667) in his *De viris illustribus*; but it means actually that the *EL* was still viewed as a letter and not as a treatise, and so did not deserve to be quoted – as Augustine of Hippo (*Retractationes*) catalogued among his works only nine of his *epistolae*, in fact those that he considered as *libri* and to which he gave a title.[21] From an historical point of view, the two protagonists are contemporary, for Leudefredus of Cordoba participated in the Fourth and Sixth Councils of Toledo (638), so that the *EL* can be dated between *c.* 620 (beginning of the episcopacy of Leudefredus) and 636 (death of Isidore).

The discrepancies between the orders of grades and their description in the various writings of Isidore (chart 1) are also often invoked to reject the authenticity of the *EL*. In fact, the authenticity of the *Letter to Leudefredus* becomes a strong argument in favour of the authenticity of the *De Acolythis* chapter at this same place in the *DEO*. And Isidore was aware of discrepancies of traditions and customs inside Christianity, which did not contradict its unity: e.g. the Fourth Council of Toledo imposed the ritual of baptism with one immersion, although the Roman Church was practicing the triple immersion.[22] But let us analyse now the two different orders of grades that appear, on the one hand, in the *EL* and in the *DEO*, and, on the other hand, in the *Etymologies*.

3. The *ordo graduum* of the *Etymologies*

The *Etymologiae* are an "encyclopaedia" written by Isidore during the last period of his life; a first version was sent in 633 to Braulio of Zaragoza; the final version was dedicated to the bishop his friend (or the king Sisebut). This book aims to reveal the real nature of things through the etymology of words. Here, the bishop of Seville presents an order of grades that is, for the low clerics, very different from the Hispanic reality, and from the Gallic and Irish areas, where the exorcist and above all the acolyte were often ignored.[23] This *ordo* is close to the Roman one (Chart 1), but it does not seem to derive directly from Roman sources for two reasons: we do not know any available Roman text in the Iberian Peninsula that lists clearly

[21] P. Descotes, "L'épistolarité des lettres-traités d'Augustin d'Hippone", in *Ecriture et genre épistolaires, IVe-XIe siècle*, ed. by Th. Deswarte, K. Herbers, H. Sirantoine, Madrid, 2018, pp. 195-208, at pp. 195-196.

[22] *Concilium Toletanum* IV, can. 6, ibid., pp. 189-193.

[23] Deswarte, "Why a New Edition of Isidore's 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis'", pp. 358-359.

the Roman order of low clerics – especially sources that are in the *Hispana Collectio* (made in 633-635 probably under the direction of Isidore) –;[24] and the *ordo graduum* of the *Etymologiae* mentions the psalmist, a grade that is unknown in the Roman order.

In fact, Isidore drew his inspiration from the *Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua*, in which grades are listed in the same order, except for the inversion of psalmist and porter (chart 1). This small liturgical and canonical compilation was written in Provence sometime around 476-485 maybe on the initiative of Gennadius of Marseille,[25] and with Oriental (probably *The Apostolic Constitutions* and *The Apostolic Tradition*)[26] and Roman sources.[27] This "ritual idéal, archaïsant" spread quickly in the West,[28] for it was used at the Council of Agde in 506 and its ritual for clerics was taken up by the Gelasian Sacramentary;[29] moreover, the whole text was integrated into the *Hispana Collectio* and then in the (False) *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, before being transmitted to the whole Europe.

To be more exact, Isidore used the "Hispanic" version of the *SEA*, which means the version that was integrated into the *Hispana Collectio* under the title of *Concilium Carthaginis Africae quartum* (398).[30] In this pseudo council, the text of the *Statuta* is completely reorganised and begins with the examination of the future bishop (can. 1) and the rituals of ordination for clerics (can. 2 to 10). There is another proof of the influence of the *SEA* on the *Etymologies* (and the *EL*): the same terms are used in the same sense to describe the duties of the acolyte, that is the preparation of candles (*luminaria, cereum*, *ceroferarium*) – which the acolyte carries – (*SEA*, *Etymologies*, *EL*), and the offering of the wine (*suggerendum vinum*, *suggesta*) for the Eucharist (*eucharistia sanguinis Christi*, *eucharistia calicis*) (*SEA*, *EL*). (Chart 2)

However, the problem remains how to explain the sequence psalmist-porter in the *Etymologies*, which is in reverse order of the *SEA*. The presence of the office of psalmist is in fact a new thing in the *SEA*, because it was

[24] Th. Deswarte, *Une Chrétienté romaine sans pape. L'Espagne et Rome (586-1085)*, Paris, 2010, pp. 46-50.

[25] Munier, *Les* Statuta ecclesiae antiqua, pp. 209-236.

[26] M. Smyth, "L'anaphore de la prétendue 'tradition apostolique' et la prière eucharistique romaine", *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 81/1 (2007), pp. 95-118.

[27] Munier, *Les* Statuta ecclesiae antiqua, pp. 170-185.

[28] Ibid., pp. 180 and 231: 92 manuscripts.

[29] B. Botte, "Le ritual d'ordination des Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 11 (1939), pp. 223-241, at pp. 229-231.

[30] *Concilium Carthaginense* IV, can. 1-13, ed. by G. Martínez Diez, F. Rodríguez, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-376 (= *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, can. 94, ed. by Munier, pp. 95-100). The *Statuta* are sometimes likened to an African council since the beginning of the sixth century: Botte, "Le ritual d'ordination des Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua", pp. 224-226.

ignored in the West. Indeed, it cannot be explained by the influence of the Roman *Orationes solemnes* during the Good Friday (transmitted by Gelasian and Gregorian Sacramentaries): this old theory, developed by Dom G. Morin, was based on the identification of *confessor*, mentioned in the *Orationes solemnes*, with *psalmist*.[31] Yet Bernard Botte has perfectly proved that *confessor* cannot be the equivalent of psalmist,[32] but means, as usual, ascetic or confessor of the Faith. Besides, the function of cantor was assumed in Italy and Africa by the lector or by other low clerics.

Also the *SEA* shows an innovation, which is the appearance of a new category in the Western Church, that of cantors called psalmists for the first time.[33] But the *SEA* did not consider these psalmists as clerics, for they were mentioned (c. 10) under the porter (c. 9), which was the lowest clerical order; however, they were indicated above nuns, widows, and married people (c. 11-13). In fact, all the Christians, clerics or laypeople, were officially "ordained" to assume a mission inside the Church, either by a blessing and a laying on of hands (bishop, presbyter, diacon), or by a sole blessing (married people), or without any blessing (low clerics, psalmists, nuns and widows).

We can now better understand why Isidore chose to describe this order of grades in the *Etymologiae*. The book VII *De Deo, angelis et sanctis* lays out God, his angels and his saints, that is all the Christian faithful from "these men who received their name in a presage" until "all the other faithful", in particular clerics "who serve in the Church of Christ" and that Isidore described in its chapter 12: "Generally speaking, all those are called clerics who perform a service in the Church of Christ, and whose grades and names are [...]". So, in his encyclopaedic approach, Isidore presented what seems to be the most common clerical hierarchy in the Church, clearly presented by a so-called African council and guaranteed by the authority of one of the greatest Fathers of the Church, Augustine of Hippo. But the Sevillan innovated by moving the office of psalmist between the porter and the lector to integrate it in the clerical hierarchy, as he had already proposed for the Hispanic Church.

[31] G. Morin, "Que faut-il entendre par les confessores auxquels était adressé le traité de Macrobe le Donatiste?", *Revue bénédictine*, 29 (1912), pp. 82-84; id., "Les Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua sont-ils de S. Césaire d'Arles?", *Revue bénédictine*, 30 (1913), pp. 334-342.

[32] B. Botte, "Confessor", *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi*, 16 (1942), pp. 137-148; id., "Le ritual d'ordination des Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua", pp. 237-239; See also: P. De Clerck, *La prière universelle dans les liturgies latines anciennes. Témoignages patristiques et textes liturgiques*, Münster, 1977, pp. 125-144, at pp. 138-139.

[33] Botte, "Le ritual d'ordination des Statuta Ecclesiae antiqua", pp. 239-240.

4. A new "Isidorian" Order of Grades

Before describing the most common order of grades in the *Etymologies*, Isidore presented in the *DEO* and in the *EL* an *ordo graduum* specifically adapted to the Hispanic context. In these two works addressed to two Hispanic clerics, respectively his brother Fulgentius, bishop of Ecija, and Leudefredus, bishop of Cordoba, he invented a new *ordo* that never existed before. In order to do that, he added to the old Spanish hierarchy, between the porter and the lector, grades which were largely ignored at that time in Iberian Peninsula but existed elsewhere in the Christian world, that is psalmist, exorcist, and acolyte.

Indeed, porter and lector were clearly the only minor grades regularly mentioned in Spanish sources before Isidore;[34] in this regard, the last exorcist to be mentioned in the Iberian Peninsula is a Rufinus who came from Zaragoza and subscribed the acts of the First Council of Arles in 314.[35] The First Council of Toledo (527 or 531) described the clerical hierarchy organised around the offices of porter, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter and episcopus;[36] and, in the Suevic kingdom, the First Council of Braga (561 or 563) imposed clearly a *cursus honorum* to become bishop, namely one year as lector or subdeacon, and then "through each grade", that is, of course, major grades.[37] Only the acolyte appeared some time before in this kingdom under the pen of Martin of Braga, whose canonical collection called *Capitula ex orientalium patrum synodis* mentions the subdeacon, the acolyte, and the lector.[38]

What sources did Isidore use? It is impossible to prove a link between these two Isidorian works and the pseudo-Hieronymian treatise *De septem ordinibus Ecclesiae*, composed in southern Gaul or in the Iberian Peninsula between the fifth and the seventh century,[39] and whose hierarchy of minor grades is quite different: grave-digger, porter, lector, and subdeacon.[40] Actu-

[34] Faivre, *Naissance d'une hiérarchie*, pp. 269-278.

[35] G. Martínez Diez, F. Rodríguez, *Colección canónica hispana*, t. IV: *Concilios galos, concilios hispanos: primera parte*, Madrid, 1984 (*Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, Serie canónica*, 4), p. 31 ([30]).

[36] *Concilium Toletanum* I, can. 1-5, ed. ibid., pp. 328-330.

[37] *Concilium Braccarense* I, can. 20, ed. and transl. by J. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos*, Barcelona-Madrid, 1963, p. 75: *Item placuit, ut ex laico ad gradum sacerdotii ante non veniat, nisi prius anno integro in officio lectorati vel subdiaconati disciplinam ecclesiasticam discat, et sic per singulos gradus eruditus ad sacerdotium veniat*.

[38] Martin of Braga, *Capitula ex orientalium patrum synodis*, can. 40, 41, 43, ed. by Cl. W. Barlow, in *Martini episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia*, New Haven, 1950, p. 135.

[39] Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ*, p. 32.

[40] Faivre, *Naissance d'une hiérarchie,* pp. 191-192 and n. 40; R. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, Berlin – New York, 1978.

ally, the influence of the *Statuta* and of the Laodicea Council (copied in the canonical collection *Hispana*) is the only solution to explain the addition by Isidore of the exorcist, the psalmist, and the acolyte in the old Hispanic hierarchy. But the new sequence lector-psalmist-exorcist, which drew probably its inspiration from the Laodicea Council, shows the will of Isidore to establish in Spain a new hierarchy of minor grades different from all the other ones in the West.

If the *EL* and the *DEO* present (more or less) the same clerical hierarchy, differences in phraseology appear in the text because these two ecclesiological writings do not have the same purposes: in themselves, these discrepancies don't mean anything about the authenticity or falsity of these two texts.[41] The *EL* is a practical response sent to another bishop and which deals with clerical hierarchy and the whole organization (liturgical and material) of the Church. In this regard, after describing minor and major grades, Isidore introduced into Visigothic Spain or formalized four offices that do not belong to the *ordo* in itself, namely the *archediaconus*, the *primicerius*, the *tesaurarius*, and the *oeconomus*. The archdeacon is an old dignity in Christianity mentioned in Spain at the time of bishop Masona of Merida (573-before 610)[42] in the *Vitas sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* – unless this occurrence dates from the redaction of this work (633-638).[43] The first clerical occurrences of the *primicerius* date from the sixth century in Rome and name this high functionary of the papal administration at the head of the *notarii* and the *defensores*.[44] This office seems unknown in the Iberian Peninsula before Isidore; probably after writing the *EL*, Isidore used the term *primiclerius* in a letter (625/6-631) to his friend Braulio of Zaragoza instead of *primicerius*, which probably was too secular.[45] The treasurer and the bursar already existed in the Iberian Peninsula, but were frequently lay, which was prohibited by the Second Council of Seville and the Fourth of Toledo when bishops were asked to establish a clerical *oeconomus* to manage Church property.[46]

[41] Contra Reynolds, "The 'Isidorian' Epistula ad Leudefredum", art. cit., p. 259.

[42] L. García Moreno dates the end of his episcopate from *ca* 600: *Prosopografía del reino visigodo de Toledo*, Salamanca, 1974, n° 435, p. 169.

[43] *Vitas Sanctorum Patrum Emeretensium* 5.13.5, ed. by A. Maya Sánchez, Turnhout, 1992 (*CCSL*, 116), p. 94.

[44] Faivre, *Naissance d'une hiérarchie*, p. 359. See also J. F. Niermeyer, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus*, Leiden, 1984, p. 848.

[45] Braulio, *Ep.* 2, ed. by J. Madoz, *Epistolario de S. Braulio de Zaragoza*, Madrid, 1941, pp. 73-74: *Quaternionem regularum per Maurentionem primiclerium direximus*. Dating of R. Miguel Franco, *Braulio de Zaragoza: Epístolas*, Madrid, 2015, p. 31.

[46] *Concilium Hispalense* II, can. 9, ed. by J. Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, p. 169; *Concilium Toletanum* IV, can. 48, ed. by G. Martínez Diez, F. Rodríguez, *Colección canónica hispana*,

We can guess that Isidore omits these offices in the *DEO*, because the *archediaconus*, the *primicerius*, the *tesaurarius*, and the *oeconomus* assume – in addition to their specific "clerical" assignments – organizational tasks (for the liturgy, the funds and property management, etc.): so they did not have to be mentioned in an ecclesiological treatise which speaks only about "those who devote their religious ministry to the divine worship", which consists in both the public cult (e.g. mass, monastic office, etc.) and the private cult in the broad sense of the term (prayers, fast, abstinence, etc.), even for married people – e.g. having children, abstaining from sex, and being faithful. Conversely, the ecclesiological approach of the *DEO* explains the presence of the *corepiscopus* and the *custos sacrorum*, for the first is attested in old councils and is figured in the New Testament by the 70 disciples of Jesus Christ,[47] while the second is a deacon/levita over the age of 49 entrusted with the custody of the tabernacle and the sacred vessels, that means with liturgical duties.[48] The response to Leudefredus logically omits the *corepiscopus*, because Isidore doesn't want to restore an office absent from Spain for a long time, and the *custos sacrorum* since his responsibilities remain limited.

5. Conclusion

Isidore described logically in his *Etymologies* what seems to be to him the most common order of grades, actually the one which is in the Laodicea Council and the *SEA*, more precisely its Hispanic version that is the so-called Fourth Council of Carthage: grounded in a prestigious past, this order testify indirect Oriental and Roman influences. Three of its low grades, that are acolyte, exorcist and psalmist, were largely ignored in the West (especially psalmist). At the same time, he proposed another order of low grades in the *DEO* and the *EL*. Indeed, the acolyte chapter of the *DEO* and the *EL* must be considered as authentic writings of Isidore, whose edition have to prioritize the codex Escorial d-I-1, which transmits the version closest to the archetype: although this late manuscript contains many errors due to the copyist or to phonetic, grammatical and linguistic

vol. V: *Concilios hispanos: segunda parte*, Madrid, 1992 (*Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, Serie canónica*, 5), p. 229.

[47] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II, 5, (I), (V), p. 56: *Corepiscopi, id est uicarii episcoporum, iuxta quod canones ipsi testantur, instituti sunt ad exemplum septuaginta seniorum tamquam consacerdotes propter sollicitudinem pauperum*.

[48] Isidore, *De ecclesiasticis officiis* II, 9, p. 68: *Ipsis enim iussum est custodire tabernaculum et omnia uasa templi. Quique ideo in lege ab anno quinquagenario eleguntur custodes vasorum* [...].

shifts, various philological, lexicological, scriptural and historical arguments justify choosing it as base manuscript for a new edition of these two texts.

The *DEO*, the first ecclesiological treatise in the history of the Church, and the *EL*, which is a more practical description of the clerical hierarchy, prove that Isidore wanted to expand the Hispanic *ordo graduum* by introducing new grades and offices. Instead of reproducing an order common in the West, the bishop of Seville proposed for the Visigothic Church a specific order with new low grades (acolyte, exorcist and psalmist) found once again in the *SEA* but organized in a very original sequence, which was different from all the other ones in the West. The offices of archdeacon, *primicerius*, treasurer and bursar already existed in the West, but they were systematized and in the *EL*, for three of them (*primicerius*, treasurer and bursar), "clericalized" to ameliorate the management of churches. This "new" Hispanic *ordo graduum* testifies to Isidore's interest in the management of churches, to his will to give a specific clerical identity to Spain, and to his ecclesiology justified by the worship offered to God: according to the bishop of Seville, liturgy is at the heart of the activity of the *Ecclesia* and is the main duty of clerics, so that its importance in Isidorian thought explains the strengthening of the clerical hierarchy with new grades.[49]

However, no council intended to impose this new *ordo* as a reform of the clergy in the Iberian Peninsula. We can guess that, according to Isidore, new low grades and other new offices were to be adopted voluntarily by each bishop and not by the Positive Law. The sole canonical (and partial) realization of this new model was at the Council of Merida (666), which asked every bishop to appoint the offices of archpriest, archdeacon and *primiclerius*:[50] Indeed, one of the rebels captured by Wamba in Narbonne during the revolt of Duke Paul (672-673) is the *primiclerius* Gultrician;[51] and in 688, the Acts of the Fifteenth Council of Toledo were subscribed by *Vuisandus arcidiaconus*, *Massacius primiclerius*, and *Sesuldus arcipresbyter*.[52] But surprisingly the low grades remain absent from the sources, even in the *Liber ordinum* of 1052, which contains ordination rituals for the

[49] It explains also other decisions taken under the direction of Isidore, such as the unification of the liturgy for "sacraments" in Visigothic Spain by the Fourth Council of Toledo (633): *Concilium Toletanum* IV, can. 2, ed. by Martínez Diez, F. Rodríguez, pp. 183-184.

[50] *Concilium Emeritense*, can. 10 and 14, ed. by Vives, *Concilios visigóticos*, p. 332.

[51] Julian of Toledo, *Judicium in tyrannorum perfidia promulgatum* 3, ed. by W. Levison, Hannover-Leipzig, 1910 (*MGH SRM*), p. 532.

[52] *Concilium Toletanum* XV, ed. by G. Martínez Diez, F. Rodríguez, *Colección canónica hispana*, vol. VI: *Concilios hispanos: tercera parte*, Madrid, 2002 (*Monumenta Hispaniae sacra, Serie canónica*, 6), pp. 340-341.

archdeacon, the *primiclericus* and the archpriest[53] – alongside those for the *custos sacrorum* (or *sacrista*, the head of porters), the *custos librorum*, the subdeacon, the deacon and the priest.[54] We have to wait until the end of the eleventh century to discover in charters several mentions of acolytes and exorcists, but in a very different context: the Romanization of the liturgy in the Leonese-Castilian Kingdom.

Summary

Isidore, bishop of Seville (600-636), played an important role in the Visigothic kingdom, especially for the reformation of its Church. Indeed, after the conversion of king Reccared to the Nicene Creed in 589, the kingdom of Toledo offered a good environment to reorganize and reform the Church. The Second Council of Seville (619) and the Fourth of Toledo (633), both presided over by Isidore, produced numerous canons about Church discipline. As metropolitan bishop of Betica and author of two ecclesiological writings the bishop of Seville was particularly interested in organizing the clerical hierarchy. In his *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and his letter to bishop Leudefredus of Cordoba, Isidore presents an order of grades (*ordo graduum*) different from those used in the other Western Churches.

Thomas Deswarte
Université d'Angers, TEMOS
(Temps, Mondes, Sociétés – CNRS FRE 2015)
thomas.deswarte@univ-angers.fr

[53] *Liber ordinum episcopal: Cod. Silos, Arch. Monástico, 4*, ed. by J. Janini, Silos, 1991, n° XV, XVI, XVIII, pp. 94-97.

[54] Ibid., n° X, XIII, XIIII, pp. 89 and 91-94.